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VOL. IV.

THE

WORKS

OF

NATHANIEL LARDNER, D. D.

WITH A LIFE BY DR. KIPPIS.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

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THE

CREDIBILITY

OF THE

GOSPEL HISTORY,

OR,

THE PRINCIPAL FACTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT CONFIRMED BY PASSAGES OF ANCIENT AUTHORS WHO WERE CONTEMPORARY WITH OUR SAVIOUR, OR HIS APOSTLES, OR LIVED NEAR THEIR TIME.

PART II.

PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

THE

PRINCIPAL FACTS

OF THE

NEW TESTAMENT

CONFIRMED, &c.

CHAP. LXX.

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, THE FIRST CHRISTIAN EMPEROR.

I. *The time and place of Constantine's birth, and the condition of his mother Helena.* II. *The state of the Roman empire in the latter part of the third, and the beginning of the fourth century, with a view of Constantine's reign.* III. *His conversion to the christian religion.* IV. *His acts as a christian, or favourer of christians:* 1. *Edicts in favour of the christians, soon after the defeat of Maxentius.* 2. *Particular privileges for catholic christians, and their ministers.* 3. *Edicts in favour of the christians, and restraining the heathens, after the final defeat of Licinius.* 4. *The council of Nice.* 5. *Churches built by Constantine and Helena in Palestine.* 6. *Of her finding the cross at Jerusalem.* 7. *Heathen people farther restrained, their temples shut up, and some of them demolished.* 8. *His treatment of heretics.* 9. *His religious exercises, and laws for observing the Lord's day, for abolishing the punishment of the cross, for prohibiting shows of gladiators, and the like.* 10. *Other laws and edicts.* V. *His character.* VI. *The censures passed upon several of his actions examined.* VII. *Remarks upon the different treatment of catholics, heretics, and heathen people.* VIII. *His testimony to the sacred scriptures.*

I. CONSTANTINE, called the[a] great, son of Flavius Valerius Constantius, surnamed Chlorus, and Helena, was born on

[a] His name at length, in Latin, is Caius Flavius Valerius Aurelius Claudius Constantinus Magnus.

the 27th day of February, in the year of Christ[b] 272, or, as some think, in[c] 273, or as others, in[d] 274.

Baronius,[e] and many others, have thought, that Constantine was born in Britain. Others,[f] (which I suppose to be at present the more common opinion,) say, he[g] was born at Naissus, now called Nissa, a town of Dardania in Illyricum.

The opinion, that Constantine was born in Britain, is chiefly founded upon a passage in the panegyric of an anonymous author to Maximian and Constantine, spoken in the year 307; where it is said, that[h] Constantine had ennobled Britain by his birth. But that expression may be as well understood[i] of his royal, as of his natural birth. Eumenes likewise, in his panegyric to this prince, calls[k] Britain happy, which first saw Constantine Cæsar. But the meaning, I apprehend, is not, that Britain first saw Constantine, but first saw him Cæsar: he having been there proclaimed Cæsar by the soldiers, immediately after his father's death.

It is generally allowed, that Helena, the mother of Constantine, was a woman of a mean birth. And S. Ambrose[l] calls her stabulariam, perhaps, as being the daughter of an innkeeper.

Whether Helena was the lawful wife of Constantius Chlorus, or only his concubine, is a disputable point: for even

[b] Natus est tertio Calendas Martii A. 272. Anno 306, octavo Cal. Augusti, patre Eboraci mortuo, in imperatorem levatus est. Cav. H. L. in Constant. M.

Natus est Constantinus anno Ch. 272, ex Helenâ priori Constantii Chlori conjuge. Pagi Ann. 337. n. iv.

Constantinus—anno vel 272 vel 273, natus est. Basnag. 306. n. iii.

[c] Imprimis certum est Constantinum natum esse anno circitur 273, Aureliano imperante. Noris. Diss. de M. Constantini patriâ et parentibus.

[d] Natus Naïsi Daciæ oppido A. C. 274, die 27 Februarii. Fabric. B. Gr. l. v. c. 3. sect. 1.

Il naquit le 27 Février, vers l'an 274. Tillem. L'Emp. Constantin. Art. iv. in.

[e] Ann. 306. n. xvi. [f] Pagi. Crit. in Baron. 306. n. ix. Basnag. 306. n. iii. Cuper Pr. ad Lact. de M. P. Tillem. Hist. des Emp. T. iv. P. i. Constantin. Art. iv. Noris. Diss. de M. Constantin. patr. et parent.

[g] Hic igitur Constantinus natus Helenâ matre vilissimâ in oppido [forte vilissimo in oppido. Cuper.] Naïso, atque eductus, quod oppidum postea magnifice ornavit. Excerpta auctoris incerti a Valesio edita, ap. Amm. Marcell. p. 710. Lugd. Bat. 1693. Vid. et Jul. Firmic. Mathes. l. i. c. ult. et Steph. de Urbibus. V. Ναισος.

[h] ———Liberavit ille [Constantius] Britannias servitute: tu etiam nobiles illic oriendo fecisti. Paneg. vi. sect. 4. p. 192. Paris. 1676.

[i] Vid. Basnag. 306. n. iii. Pagi 306. c. xiv. xv.

[k] O fortunata, et nunc omnibus beatior terris, Britannia, quæ Constantinum Cæsarem prima vidisti. Paneg. vii. sect. ix. p. 207.

[l] Stabulariam hanc primo fuisse asserunt, sic cognitam Constantio seniori, qui postea regnum adeptus est. Amb. de Obit. Theod. sect. 42. p. 1209. T. ii.

some[m] christians, as well as[n] heathen authors, call her concubine, and her son spurious. It may seem strange that Constantine should succeed his father in the empire without dispute, when there were several sons by a legal wife, if he was not legitimate. But the writer of the Paschal Chronicle (who calls Constantine spurious) assigns this reason for it, that[o] all the other children of Constantius were young at the time of his death.

However beside that undisputed succession, there are several reasons to think, Helena was the lawful wife of Constantius Chlorus. If Constantine had been illegitimate, he would not have been treated, when young, with so much[p] respect by Dioclesian as he was. When it was proposed to choose new Cæsars, it does not appear that[q] any exception was made to Constantine, on account of his birth. The author of a panegyric pronounced in 313, speaks of Constantine, as the[r] genuine son of Constantius: which would scarce have been openly mentioned, if there had been any ground for suspicion or contradiction. And the historians, who speak of Constantius's marriage with the daughter of Maximian, say, he[s] was divorced from his former wife. All which seem to be arguments of no small force, for the lawful marriage of Helena: and will at least render it probable, that if she was originally a concubine only, she was afterwards married to Constantius.

Cardinal Noris ingeniously accounts[t] for Constantine's

[m] Constantius sexto decimo imperii anno diem obiit Eboraci. Post quem filius ejus Constantinus, ex concubinâ Helenâ procreatus, regnum invadit. Hieron. Chron. p. 180.

Και εδεξατο αυτον ὁ παις αυτϑ Κωνϛαντινος, ὁ νοθος εξ Ἑλενης αυτῳ γενομενος· οἱ γαρ απο Θεοδωρας αυτῳ τεχθεντες μικροι ὑπηρχον. Chr. Pasch. p. 278. A. B. Paris. 1688.

[n] Κωνϛαντινος εξ ὁμιλιας γυναικος ϑ σεμνης, ϗδε κατα νομον συνελθϑσης, Κωνϛαντιῳ τῳ βασιλει γεγενημενος. Zos. l. ii. p. 672.

Verum Constantio mortuo, Constantinus, ex obscuriore matrimonio ejus filius, in Britanniâ creatus est imperator. Eutrop. l. x. cap. 2.

[o] Vid. not. [m].

[p] ———συν τῳ πρεσβυτερῳ των βασιλεων· ϑ και επι δεξια παρεϛως. κ. λ. Euseb. V. C. l. i. c. 19.

[q] Vid. de M. P. cap. 18, 19.

[r] Quod erat ille Maximiani suppositus, tu Constantii Pii filius. Paneg. ix. c. 14.

[s] Relictâ enim Helenâ priore uxore, filiam Maximiani Theodoram duxit uxorem. Vales. Anonym. in.

Prior Herculii privignam, alter Diocletiano editam sortiuntur, diremptis prioribus conjugiis. Aurel. Vict. de Cæsar. c. 39.

———Tradens Constantio Theodoram Herculii Maximiani privignam, abjectâ uxore priori. Victor. Epit. c. 39.

Ambo uxores, quas habuerunt, repudiare compulsi. Eutrop. l. ix.

[t] Cœterum Helenam origine plebeiam fuisse, si antiquioribus ulla fides.—Hæc verisimiliora fient, si primam in castris Constantii dignitatem considere-

marrying a woman of mean condition, from the low military office he was in, when young. And if there is any ground for the story in[u] Nicephorus, one might be apt to think, that Constantius became first acquainted with Helena at Drepanum in Bithynia: which too might be the place of her birth, and as is well known, was afterwards in honour of her called Helenopolis.

Constantine, as a dutiful son, took care, when emperor, that the highest honours should be given her. By his appointment,[v] she had the titles of Augusta and empress all over the empire, and medals were coined with her head upon them.

From christian writers she[w] has the character of a discreet, pious, and devout woman.

It has been however insinuated by some to her disadvantage, that[x] she was the occasion of Constantine's neglecting for a long time his brothers, sons of his father Constantius by Theodora. And indeed soon after her death, they or their children had signal testimonies of regard from Constantine. Nevertheless it has been thought, that it had been better for him to have followed the prudent directions of his mother: for their preferments in the issue proved fatal to them. Valesius[y] makes no scruple to commend that part of her conduct.

Helena lived to a great[z] age: she is supposed by some, to have died[a] in the year 326. Fabricius, in his Chronology of the life of Constantine, placeth her death[b] in 327, as does Valesius.[c] Tillemont computes, that[d] she died in 327, or 328.

By Eusebius we are informed, that[e] she was buried at Rome; where she died too, as some think. Others say, she did not die there, because Eusebius's account is, that she was conveyed thither with great funeral pomp. It is, how-

mus. Fuit enim primum Protector.—Fieri ergo potuit, ut Constantius cum ex injuncto munere Protectoris itinerum custodiis præesset, ac publicorum equorum stabula, quæ amplissima per Romanum imperium publicis impensis servabantur, Helenæ stabularii filiæ pulchritudine captus, cum eâdem nuptias iniverit. Noris. ubi supr. p. 648. [u] Vid. Niceph. T. i. p. 463, 464.

[v] Euseb. de V. C. l. iii. c. 47. Vid. et c. 43.

[w] ———Θεοφιλες βασιλεως Θεοφιλης μητηρ.—Ἡ βασιλις Θεοσεβεστατη. Eus. de V. C. l. iii. c. 43. et passim.—ὑπερβαλλεση φρονησει, ib. c. 42.—την θαυμασιαν. c. 45.

[x] See Tillemont, Saint Helene, Art. i. et Constantin. Art. 85.

[y] Annot. ad Eus. de V. C. l. iii. c. 42.

[z] Eus. ib. c. 42. et 56.

[a] Vid. Pagi 326. n. xiv. xv. Basnag. 326. n. xi.

[b] Lux Evangelii, p. 270.

[c] Vid. Ann. ad Eus. de V. C. l. iii. c. 47.

[d] See him in Constantin. Art. 63. et Helene, Art 7.

[e] Ἡλειτῃ γεν δορυφοριᾳ επι την βασιλευουσαν πολιν ανεκομιζετο. De V. C. c. 47.

ever, allowed that her death happened at no great distance from[f] Rome.

II. It will be of use, before we proceed any farther in the history of Constantine, to take a general survey of the state of the Roman empire about his time.

Diocletian, a[g] man of mean original, born at Dioclea, an obscure town in Dalmatia, having signalized himself by his valour and conduct, was proclaimed emperor, on the 17th day of September, in the year 284. On the first of April, in 286, Maximian, called Herculius, born near Sirmium in Pannonia, who had been Cæsar some time before, was[h] declared Augustus, and joint emperor with Diocletian. This[i] was done at a place near Nicomedia, the capital city of Bithynia.

On the first of March 292, Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximian[k] were created Cæsars, by the two fore-mentioned emperors. And the better to secure the fidelity of the Cæsars, new marriages were concluded for them. Constantius dismissing Helena, mother of Constantine, married Theodora, daughter-in-law of Maximian Herculius. And Galerius Maximian married Valeria, daughter of Diocletian.

Constantius, the first of the two Cæsars, was a man of a good family. His[m] father, Eutropius, was a nobleman of

[f] See Tillemont in St. Helene, Art. viii. et Basnag. An. 326. n. xi.

[g] Vid. Pagi in Baron. 284. n. iv. Basnag. Ann. 284. n. ii.

[h] Pagi 286. n. ii. Basn. 286. n. i.

[i] Erat locus altus extra civitatem ad millia fere tria, in cujus summo Maximianus ipse purpuram sumserat. De Mort. Pers. c. 19.

[k] Pagi 292. n. ii. Basnag. 292. n. i. ii.

[l] Atque ut eos etiam affinitate conjungeret, Constantius privignam Herculii Theodoram accepit, ex quâ postea sex liberos Constantini fratres habuit. Galerius filiam Diocletiani Valeriam. Ambo uxores, quas habuerunt, repudiare compulsi. Eutrop. l. ix. c. 22.

His de causis Julium Constantium, Galerium Maximianum, cui cognomen Armentario erat, creatos Cæsares, in affinitatem vocant. Prior Herculii privignam, alter Diocletiano editam sortiuntur, diremptis prioribus conjugiis. S. Aur. Victor. de Cæsar. ib. c. 39.

Is Maximianum Augustum effecit. Constantium et Galerium Maximianum cognomento Armentarium, Cæsares creavit, tradens Constantio Theodoram Herculii Maximiani privignam, abjectâ uxore priori. Victor. Epit. c. 39.

Iste cum Galerio a Diocletiano Cæsar factus est. Relictâ enim Helenâ priore uxore, filiam Maximiani Theodoram duxit uxorem. Anon. Vales. p. 710.

[m] Claudius, Quintilius, et Crispus, fratres fuerunt. Crispi filia, Claudia. Ex eâ et Eutropio, nobilissimo gentis Dardanæ viro, Constantius Cæsar est genitus. Trebell. Poll. in Claudio, n. 13.

Diocletianus Maximianum Herculium ex Cæsare fecit Augustum, Constantium et Maximianum Cæsares, quorum Constantius per filiam nepos Claudii traditur. Eutrop. l. ix. c. 22.

Constantius Divi Claudii optimi principis nepos ex fratre. Anon. Vales. p. 710.

Dardania: His mother Claudia, was daughter of a brother of the emperor Claudius the second.

Constantius is highly commended by[n] Eusebius, and has a good character likewise from[o] heathen authors. By Claudia Theodora, whom he now married, he had[p] six children, three sons, and as many daughters. Their names are[q] generally reckoned to be these: Julius Constantius, Dalmatius, Anibalius, Constantia, Eutropia, Anastasia.

Galerius Maximian, the other Cæsar, was surnamed[r] Armentarius, because his father was a grazier, or he himself had been so. He[s] was born in Dacia near Sardica.

Now the empire was divided betwixt those[t] four. Constantius, as Cæsar, had to his share Britain and Gaul.

Under these emperors, and their two Cæsars, began what is called Dioclesian's persecution; which lasted ten years, or more, in some parts of the empire, before it was universally extinguished.

There had been a persecution some time[u] before, in the[v] court and the army, but it became general in the year 303. For on[w] the 23d day of February in that year, the church of the christians[x] at Nicomedia in Bithynia was demolished, Dioclesian and Galerius being then both in that city. On

[n] H. E. l. viii. c. 13. p. 309. B. C. p. 317. C. D. De. Vit. Const. l. i. c. 13, 14.

[o] Vir egregius, et præstantissimæ civilitatis, &c. Eutrop. Brev. l. x. c. 1.

[p] Ex quâ postea sex liberos Constantini fratres habuit. Euseb. Chron. p. 178. Vid. et Eutrop. l. ix. c. 22. et Anon. Vales. p. 710.

[q] Vid. Basnag. Ann. 306. n. 2. Tillem. Const. Art. iii. Hist. T. iv. p. 130.

[r] Igitur Constantio, Armentarioque, his succedentibus. Aurel. Vict. c. 40. in Cæs.

Galerius autem fuit (licet incultâ agrestique justiciâ) satis laudabilis——— ortus parentibus agrariis, pastor armentorum: unde ei cognomen Armentarius fuit. Vict. Epit. cap. 40.

[s] Maximianus Galerius in Daciâ haud longe a Sardicâ natus. Eutrop. l. ix. c. 22.———Ortus Daciâ Ripensi, ibique sepultus est. Vict. Epit. c. 39.

[t] Quasi partito imperio, cuncta quæ trans Alpes Galliæ sunt, Constantio commissa: Africa, Italiaque Herculio; Illyricique ora ad usque Ponti fretum, Galerio: Cætera Valerius retentavit. Aurel. Vict. Cæs. c. 39.

[u] Vid. Pagi Ann. 298. n. 2.

[v] Tunc irâ furens sacrificare non eos tantum qui sacris ministrabant, sed universos qui erant in Palatio, jussit: et in eos, qui detraxissent, verberibus animadverti, datisque ad præpositos literis, etiam milites cogi ad nefanda sacrificia præcepit, ut qui non paruissent, militiâ solverentur. Hactenus furor ejus et ira processit, nec amplius quidquam contra legem aut religionem Dei fecit. De M. P. c. 10.

[w] Vid. Pagi 302. n. iii. v. Basnag. 303. n. v.

[x] Terminalia deliguntur, quæ sunt ad septimum kalendas Martias. Qui dies cum illuxisset,———ad ecclesiam prôfectus cum ducibus et tribunis et rationalibus venit. Veniebant igitur prætoriani, acie structâ, cum securibus, ———et immissi undique, templum illud editissimum paucis horis solo adæquatur. De M. P. c. 12.

the next day, February 24th, the[y] edict against the christians was published. According to the writer of[z] the book Of the Deaths of Persecutors, and[a] Eusebius, Galerius was the chief author of this persecution. When the edict had been published at Nicomedia, it[b] was sent to Herculius and Constantius, to be put in execution by them in those parts of the empire, which were particularly under their care. Maximian Herculius, in Italy, readily[c] complied: but Constantius, though he did not dare openly to oppose his colleagues, moderated[d] the persecution within the extent of his government.

In the year 305, Dioclesian and Maximian resigned the empire, both on the same day, being[e] the first of May; the former at a place near Nicomedia, the latter at[f] Milan. At the same time Constantius Chlorus, and Galerius Maximian were declared Augusti and emperors, and[g] Maximin and Severus Cæsars. Dioclesian after this spent the remainder of his days near Salonæ in Dalmatia, and died in 313. Maximian Herculius retired for the present to that part of Italy which was called Lucania.

Maximin and Severus were both[h] of Illyricum. The former, whose[i] original name was Daia, or Daza, was[k] son of

[y] Postridie propositum est edictum, quo cavebatur, ut religionis illius homines carerent omni honore ac dignitate, tormentis subjecti essent. Ib. c. 13. in. [z] Cap. 10, 11, 12. [a] H. E. l. viii. c. 16. p. 314. D.

[b] Et jam literæ ad Maximianum atque Constantium commeaverant, ut eadem facerent. Eorum sententia in tantis rebus exspectata non erat. D. M. P. c. 15. [c] Et quidem senex Maximianus libens per Italiam paruit, homo non adeo clemens, Id. ib.

[d] Nam Constantius, ne dissentire a majorum præceptis videretur, conventicula, id est, parietes, qui restitui poterant, dirui passus est: verum autem Dei templum, quod est in hominibus, incolume servavit. D. M. P. c. 15.

Vexabatur ergo universa terra, et præter Gallias, ab oriente usque ad occasum tres acerbissimæ bestiæ sæviebant. Id. c. 16. Vid. et Eus. H. E. l. viii. c. 13. p. 309. D. et p. 317. D. Vit. Const. l. i. c. 13. p. 413. D. et cap. 16. et 17. [e] Cum hæc essent constituta, proceditur kalendis Maiis. De M. P. c. 19. in.

[f] Uterque unâ die privato habitu imperii insigne mutavit: Nicomediæ Diocletianus, Herculius Mediolani.—Concesserunt autem Salonas unus, alter in Lucaniam. Diocletianus privatus in villâ, quæ haud procul a Salonis est, præclaro otio senuit. Eutrop. l. ix. c. 27, 28. Vid. et Victor. Epit. cap. 39.

[g] Tunc repente pronuntiat Severum et Maximinum Cæsares. De M. P. c. 19.

[h] Igitur Constantio Armentarioque his succedentibus, Severus Maximinusque Illyricorum indigenæ Cæsares. Aur. Vict. c. 40. in Cæs.

[i] Hunc, inquit, ostendens Daiam adolescentem quemdam semibarbarum, quem recens jusserat Maximinum vocari de suo nomine. De M. P. c. 18.

[k] Galerius Maximinus sorore Armentarii progenitus, veroque nomine ante imperium Daza dictus, Cæsar quadriennio, dehinc per Orientem Augustus triennio fuit: ortu quidem atque instituto pastorali, &c. Vict. Epit. c. 40.

a sister of Galerius, and[l] only a grazier, or feeder of cattle, as the rest of the family were. The[m] family of Severus is unknown.

The empire was[n] then divided between Constantius and Galerius, and their Cæsars. Constantius had for his part Italy, Gaul, Britain, Africa, and the other provinces of the western part of the empire; Galerius had Illyricum, Thrace, Asia, the East, with Egypt. Constantius soon quitted Italy, and the other provinces belonging to him, and gave[o] them to Severus, contenting himself with Gaul and Britain. Galerius[p] too kept only Illyricum, Thrace, and Asia; yielding to Maximin the East, that is, Syria, and the provinces depending upon it, together with Egypt.

It was expected by many, that[q] at the resignation of Dioclesian, Constantine should have been declared Cæsar; but he was passed by for the sake of those just mentioned, and[r] was kept by Galerius, as an hostage for the fidelity of Constantius, as he had been before by Dioclesian. However, it was not very long after this, before Constantine obtained leave of Galerius to depart: which he did immediately, and though not without difficulty, yet by[s] great diligence and prudent circumspection, he got safe to his father Constantius: with whom he was, when he died at York in[t] Britain, July 25, 306.

[l] Daia vero, sublatus nuper a pecoribus et silvis, statim scutarius, continuo protector, mox tribunus, postridie Cæsar, accepit Orientem calcandum et conterendum, &c. De M. P. c. 10.

[m] Severus filium habuit Severianum, ubi constat ex cap. 50. Nomen uxoris et parentum incognitum. Cuperus in not. ad libr. De M. P. c. 39. p. 219. Ultraj. 1693.

[n] His igitur abeuntibus, ad administrationem reipublicæ, Constantius et Galerius Augusti creati sunt, divisusque inter eos Romanus orbis, ut Galliam, Italiam, Africam Constantius: Illyricum, Asiam, Orientem Galerius obtineret, sumtis duobus Cæsaribus. Eutrop. l. x. init. Vid. et Eus. H. E. l. viii. c. 13. p. 309. B.

[o] Constantius tamen, contentus dignitate Augusti, Italiæ atque Africæ administrandæ solicitudinem recusavit. Eutrop. l. x. c. 1.

[p] Interea Cæsares duo facti, Severus et Maximinus. Maximino datum est Orientis imperium. Galerius sibi Illyricum, Thraciam, et Bithyniam tenuit. Severus suscepit Italiam, et quidquid Herculius obtinebat. Anon. Vales. p. 711.

His diebus Constantius Constantini pater, atque Armentarius, Cæsares, Augusti appellantur; creatis Cæsaribus Severo per Italiam, Maximino Galerii sororis filio per Orientem. Vict. Epit. c. 40. Vid. et Zos. l. ii. p. 672.

[q] Vid. De M. P. c. 19.

[r] Hic igitur Constantinus,—obses apud Diocletianum et Galerium, sub iisdem fortiter in Asiâ militavit. Anon. Vales. p. 710.

Nam is a Galerio, religionis specie, ad vicem obsidis tenebatur. Aur. Vict. c. 40.

[s] Vid. De M. P. c. 24. Anonym. Vales. p. 710, 711. Aur. Vict. c. 40. Vict. Epit. c. 41. Zos. l. ii. p. 672. Euseb. V. Const. l. i. c. 20, 21.

[t] It is commonly said by learned moderns, that when Constantine came

Constantius upon his death-bed appointed his son Constantine his heir and successor, with the style and[u] titles, as it seems, of emperor and Augustus. And immediately upon the death of his father, Constantine was so proclaimed[v] by the soldiers in Britain, in[w] the fourth year of the persecution. But Galerius Maximian would allow him no higher title than that of Cæsar, which[x] Constantine accepted for the present.

On the 27th[y] of October, 306, Maxentius,[z] son of Maximian Herculius, who had also married a daughter of Galerius, assumed the title of Augustus at Rome. And being sensible, that this would displease Galerius, he sends for his father Maximian Herculius, who[a] thereupon resumed the

to York, he found his father dying. And they have for it the authority of the writer, De M. Persec. c. 24. pervenit ad patrem jam deficientem, as also Euseb. de V. C. l. i. c. 21. et Zos. l. ii. c. 572. and Aurel. Vict. Epit. Et forte iisdem diebus ibidem Constantium parentem fata ultima perurgebant. But Tillemont in Constantin. art. vii. p. 144. says, that this is not exact. For Eumenes in the presence of Constantine, before the war with Maxentius, and probably in 309, says, that Constantine came to his father, when he was weighing anchor for Britain. Cum ad tempus ipsum, quo pater in Britanniam transfretabat, classi jam vela facienti repentinus tuus adventus illuxit. Paneg. viii. sect. 7. And the Anonymous author, published by Valesius, says, that Constantine found his father at Bologne; and speaks of a victory, which Constantius obtained afterwards over the Picts. Ad patrem Constantium venit apud Bononiam.—Post victoriam autem Pictorum Constantius pater Eboraci mortuus est. Excerp. p. 711.

[u] Vid. Basnag. 306. n. 2. Pagi 306. n. 7. Tillem. Constantin. Art. vii. T. iv. p. 145.

[v] Pervenit ad patrem jam deficientem, qui ei militibus commendato imperium per manus tradidit, &c. De M. P. c. 24. Vid. et Eus. H. E. l. viii. c. 13. p. 309. C. V. Const. l. i. c. 21. Vales. Anonym. p. 711. Socrat. l. i. c. 2. in.

[w] Quarto persecutionis anno Constantinus regnare orsus. Eus. Chr. p. 180.

[x] Cujus tanta maturitas est, ut cum tibi pater imperium reliquisset, Cæsaris tamen appellatione contentus, exspectare malueris, ut idem te, qui illum, declararet Augustum. Incerti Paneg. ad Maximian. et Constantin. cap. 5.

[y] Imminebat dies, quo Maxentius imperium ceperat, qui est ad sextum kalendas Novembris. De M. P. cap. 44.

[z] Erat autem Maximiano [filius] Maxentius, hujus Maximiani gener,—adeo superbus et contumax, ut neque patrem, neque socerum, solitus sit adorare. Et idcirco utrique invisus fuit. De M. P. c. 18.

Genuit ex Eutropiâ Syrâ muliere Maxentium et Faustam conjugem Constantini: cujus patri Constantio tradiderat Theodoram privignam, &c. Vict. Epit. c. 40.

[a] Patri suo post depositum imperium in Campaniâ moranti purpuram mittit, et bis Augustum nominat. Ille vero, et rerum novarum cupidus, et qui deposuerat invitus, libenter arripuit. De M. P. c. 26.

Romæ interea Prætoriani, excitato tumultu, Maxentium Herculii filium, qui haud procul ab urbe in villâ publicâ morabatur, Augustum nuncupaverunt: quo nuntio Maximianus Herculius ad spem erectus resumendi fastigii, quod invitus amiserat, Romam advolavit a Lucaniâ, &c. Eutrop. l. x. c. ii. Vid. et Zos. l. ii. p. 673. Anon. Vales. p. 711.

purple. And in this year, or the[b] beginning of the year following, 307, Severus, who, as Cæsar, had to his share Italy and Africa, was overcome,[c] and put to death.

Maximian and his son Maxentius did not long agree together: Maximian[d] therefore, the better to strengthen his interest, and carry on his own views, goes to Constantine in Gaul: and some time in this year,[e] 307, gives him in marriage[f] his daughter Fausta; Minervina, the former wife or concubine of Constantine, by whom he had[g] his eldest son Crispus, being dead, as is supposed. And now, as[h] it seems, Constantine receives the title of Augustus from Maximian.

About this time Galerius[i] makes Licinius, his old acquaintance, and of mean extraction, Augustus. And now there were in[k] effect six emperors; Maximian, who, as we said before, had resumed the purple, Galerius, Constantine, Maximian, Maxentius, and Licinius.

Maximian, after a base and unsteady conduct, was[l] condemned and put to death by Constantine's order in 310. Galerius died[m] in 311, of a long[n] and grievous distem-

[b] Vid. Pagi 307. n. 5. Baluz. not. ad libr. de M. P. c. 27. p 66.

[c] Auctæ Maxentio opes, confirmatumque imperium. Severus fugiens Ravennæ interfectus est. Eutrop. l. x. c. 3. Vid. Zos. l. ii. p. 673. Aur. Vict. c. 40. Vict. Epit. c. 40.

[d] Herculius tamen Maximianus, post hæc in concione exercitûs filium Maxentium denudare conatus, seditionem et convicia militum tulit. Inde ad Gallias profectus est dolo composito, tamquam a filio esset expulsus, ut Constantino genero jungeretur. Eutrop. l. x. c. 3.

[e] Vid. Baluz. ad libr. De M. P. c. 27. p. 66.

[f] ———proficiscitur in Galliam, ut Constantinum partibus suis conciliaret suæ minoris filiæ nuptiis. De M. P. c. 27. Vid. et Zos. l. ii. p. 673, 674.

[g] Filiumque suum Crispum nomine, ex Minervinâ concubinâ susceptum. Vict. Epit. cap. 41. *Κωνσταντινος μεν καθιστησι Καισαρα Κρισπον, εν παλλακης αυτῳ γεγονοτα Μινερβινης ονομα.* Zos. l. ii. p. 679. Vid. et Basnag. Ann. 326. n. i.

[h] Et tibi, Constantine, per socerum nomen imperatoris accreverit. Incerti Paneg. Maxim. et Const. cap. 2. Vid. et cap. 5. et Basnag. Ann. 307. n. 3.

[i] Aderat ibi Diocles a genero nuper accitus, ut, quod ante non fecerat, præsente illo imperium Licinio daret, substituto in Severi loco. De M. P. c. 29.

Per hoc tempus Licinius a Galerio imperator est factus, Daciâ oriundus, notus ei ex antiquâ consuetudine, et in bello, quod adversus Narseum gesserat, strenuis laboribus et officiis acceptus. Eutrop. l. x. c. 4.

Licinius itaque ex novâ Daciâ vilioris originis a Galerio factus imperator, velut adversum Maxentium pugnaturus. Anon. Vales. p. 713. Vid. et Eus. H. E. l. viii. c. 13. p. 310. A. Aur. Vict. c. 40. Vict. Epit. c. 40. Zos. l. ii. p. 674.

[k] Sic uno tempore sex fuerunt. De M. P. 29.

[l] Moliens tamen Constantinum, repertâ occasione, interficere, qui in Galliis, et militum et provincialium favore regnabat.———Detectis igitur insidiis per Faustam filiam, quæ dolum viro enuntiaverat, profugit Herculius Massiliam, ibique oppressus. Eutrop. l. x. c. 3. Vid. et De M. P. c. 29, 30. Euseb. H. E. l. viii. c. 13. p. 310. A. B. De V. C. l. i. c. 57. Zos. l. ii. p. 674. Vict. Epit. c. 40.

[m] Vid. Pagi 311. n. 14, 15.

[n] Jam decimus

per, supposed to be inflicted on him as a judgment from heaven, for his inhuman cruelty to the christians. Maxentius was overcome by Constantine, and drowned in the Tiber,[o] on the 27th of October, in 312. Maximin died in 313: the manner of his death is particularly described[p] in the book Of the Deaths of Persecutors, and[q] in Eusebius. I may just add here, though it was mentioned before, that Diocletian also died[r] in the year 313.

But before the death of Maximin, in the same year, 313, Constantine[s] married his sister Constantia to Licinius. And as from that time their interests were united, so upon the death of Maximin, the whole empire was in their power, and divided between them.

But their friendship did not long subsist without[t] interruption. For in the year[u] 314, the animosity between them broke out into an open war; and two battles were fought, the first at Cibalis in Pannonia, the second in Campo Mardiense, which place is not certainly[v] known: immediately

et octavus annus agitur, cum percussit eum Deus insanabili plagâ. Nascitur ei ulcus malum in inferiori parte genitalium, serpitque latius, &c. De M. P. c. 33, 34. Vid. et Euseb. H. E. l. viii. c. 16, 17.

Paulloque post vulnere pestilenti consumptus est. Aur. Vict. c. 40.

Galerius Maximianus consumtis genitalibus defecit. Vict. Epit. c. 40.

Tunc Galerius in Illyrico Licinium Cæsarem fecit. Deinde illo in Pannoniâ relicto, ipse ad Sardicam regressus, morbo ingenti occupatus sic distabuit, ut aperto et putrescente viscere moreretur, in supplicium persecutionis iniquissimæ ad auctorem scelerati præcepti justissimâ pœnâ redeunte. Anon. Vales. p. 712.

[o] Ipse in fugam versus properat ad pontem, qui interruptus erat, ac multitudine fugientium pressus in Tiberim deturbatur. De M. P. c 44.

Ipsum postremo adversus nobiles omnibus exitiis sævientem, apud pontem Milvium vicit, Italiâque potitus est. Eutrop. l. x. c. 4. Vid. Vict. Epit. c. 40. Incerti Paneg. Constant. Aug. c. 17. Eus. H. E. l. ix. c. 9. p. 358. D. 359. A.

[p] Angore animi ac metu confugit ad mortem, quasi ad remedium malorum, quæ Deus in caput ejus ingessit.—Et sic hausit venenum, &c. De M. P. c. 49.

[q] Eus. H. E. l. ix. c. 9. p. 365, 366. De V. C. l. i. c. 58, 59.

[r] Vid. libr. de M. P. c. 42, 43. Pagi A. 316. n. 3, 4, 5. Basn. An. 313. n. 2.

[s] Constantinus, rebus in Urbe compositis, hyeme proximâ Mediolanum contendit. Eodem Licinius advenit, ut acciperet uxorem. De M. P. c. 45.

Sed oppresso Maxentio cum recepisset Italiam Constantinus, hoc Licinium fœdere sibi fecit adjungi, ut Licinius Constantiam sororem Constantini apud Mediolanum duxisset uxorem. Anon. Vales. p. 713. Vid. et Eutrop. l. x. c. 5. Vict. Epit. c. 41. Eus. H. E. l. x. c. 8. p. 395. B. V. Const. l. i. c. 50.

[t] Ita potestas Orbis Romani duobus quæsita: qui quamvis per Flavii sororem nuptam Licinio connexi inter se erant, ob diversos mores tamen anxie triennium congruere quievere. Aur. Vict. c. 41.

[u] Vid. Pagi 517. n. 4, 5, 6. Basn. 214. n. 1, 2, 3, 4.

[v] My learned friend, Mr. Ward, Professor of Rhetoric at Gresham College, has favoured me with this conjecture: 'May it not be Margensi? Pliny mentions the river Margis in Mœsia, which joins to Pannonia. Lib. iii. cap. 26.

after which, peace was concluded, and a new partition made of the empire.

A second war between them began in[x] 323, which was concluded in 324, with the entire defeat of Licinius, who was reduced to a private condition. Others[y] place that total defeat of Licinius in the year 323: and though his life was then given him at the intercession of Constantia, he was[z] put to death in the year 324, or 325.

This was the end of those civil wars in the empire, and Constantine now became sole emperor both of the East and West. And having reigned above thirty years from the death of his father Constantius, he died on the day of Pentecost, May 22, 337.

III. Having given this general account of the state of the Roman empire, in the latter part of the third, and beginning of the fourth century, and of the reign of Constantine, the[a] first emperor of Rome who made an open profession of the christian religion; it is fit we should now distinctly observe some parts of his history.

His conversion is a remarkable period in his life, as well as an important event, in which the christians were greatly concerned. The time, occasion, and reasons of it, deserve our consideration.

One might have been apt to think, that Constantine should have received some impressions in favour of the christian religion in the early part of his life; for his father Constantius is said from the beginning of the persecution to have treated the christians with mildness, in that part of the empire which was under him. And Eusebius says, that [b] Constantius was a worshipper of the one true God, and had in his palace christian ministers. It might be also conjectured, that Helena, mother of Constantine, had trained up her son in the principles of the christian religion. And it must be owned, that[c] Theodoret, in one place, seems to say[d]

[‘] And in the Notitia Im. Rom. we have in the same country, Auxilium Mar-
[‘] gense Margo. Where Margum is the name of a town. Sect. 30. Ed. Labbe.
[‘] This situation seems to suit the former battle.’

[x] Vid. Pagi 318. n. 2, 3, 5—8. Basnag. 324. n. 1. 325. n. 2, 3.

[y] See Tillemont, in Constantin. Art. 48, 49, 50. and Note 43, 44.

[z] Varia deinceps inter eos bella, et pax reconciliata rupta est. Postremo Licinius navali et terrestri prælio victus apud Nicomediam se dedidit, et contra religionem sacramenti Thessalonicæ privatus occisus. Eutrop. l. x. c. 6.

[a] Vid. Pagi Crit. in Baron. A. D. 244. n. iv.—vii. et 247. n. vi.—x.

[b] ——— *μονον μεν Θεον τον επι παντων ειδως, κ. λ.* V. C. l. i. c. 17. p. 416. C. Vid. et c. 27. p. 421. C.

[c] ——— *ἡ τον μεγαν τουτον φωτηρα τεκουσα, και την της ευσεβειας αυτῳ προσενεγκουσα τροφην.* Thdrt. H. E. l. i. c. 18. p. 47. D.

[d] Possibly Theodoret means no more, than that Helena nourished and che-

as much. But yet, I think, it cannot but be more reasonable for us, to rely rather upon Eusebius; who expressly makes it one of the commendations of Constantine, that[e] he taught his mother the true religion, who before was ignorant of it.

In order to judge rightly of this matter, it may be best for us to take Eusebius's account at large; who makes Constantine to have chosen the God whom he should worship, when he was undertaking the war with Maxentius, or however before he had finished it: which war[f] began in 311, when Constantine was a good deal above thirty years of age.

The title of the 27th chapter of the first book of Eusebius's Life of Constantine is thus: 'That Constantine, weighing in his mind the misfortunes of those who had worshipped idols, made choice of the christian religion.' 'Considering with himself,' (says the historian) 'that he wanted some better assistance than military forces, ——he sought for a God that might be his helper. ——He considered therefore with himself, what God he should take to be his helper. Whilst he was deliberating about that matter, this thought came into his mind: that all who before him had arrived at empire, and had placed their hopes in a multitude of gods, and worshipped them with sacrifices and offerings, had been at first deluded by flattering speeches composed to please them, and by oracles that promised them success and prosperity, and afterwards met with an unfortunate end: nor were any of their gods able to deliver them from the calamities inflicted on them by the divine hand: that his father alone, who had taken a course contrary to theirs, and had condemned their error, and[g] worshipped in the whole of his life the one supreme God, had experienced him to be the saviour and protector of his empire, and the author of all good.—Having well considered these things, he was convinced, that it was the utmost folly to trifle so far, as to pay honour to such gods as were nothing at all. He therefore determined to worship only the God of his father.'

Eusebius proceeds in the following chapter: 'He there-

rished her son's faith by her devout exercises and pious example. So this place may be reconciled with another, where he speaks of Constantine's conversion, as the work of heaven itself. L. i. c. 2. p. 6. B.

[e] Ούτω μεν αυτην θεοσεβη καταστησαντα, εκ εσαν προτερον, κ. λ. V. C. l. iii. c. 47. p. 506. D.

[f] Quinto tamen Constantinus imperii sui anno bellum adversum Maxentium civile commovit. Eutrop. l. x. c. 4.

[g] ——αυτον δε τον επεκεινα των ὁλων Θεον δια πασης τιμησαντα ζωης, σωτηρα και φυλακα της βασιλειας, αγαθα τε παντος χορηγον εὑρεσθαι. p. 421. C.

'fore called upon this God in his prayers, earnestly entreating and beseeching him that he would make himself 'known to him, and afford him his powerful aid in the difficult affairs before him. Whilst the emperor was putting 'up these earnest prayers and supplications, a[h] divine sign 'of a most wonderful nature appeared: which thing, possibly, if related by another, would not be easily credited. 'But the victorious emperor himself having told it to us 'who write this history a long time after, when we had the 'honour of his acquaintance and conversation, and[i] having 'likewise confirmed it with an oath, who can refuse his 'assent to it; especially when following events have borne 'testimony to the truth of it? He said then, that about noon, 'when the day was declining, he saw with his own eyes in 'the heavens, the trophy of the cross, placed above the sun, 'consisting of light, with an inscription annexed, BY THIS 'CONQUER: that at the sight of it, astonishment seized 'him and his whole army, which then followed him in a 'certain march, and beheld that wonderful sight.

'In[k] the mean time, as he said, he began to doubt with 'himself, what the meaning of this should be: but whilst 'he was revolving it in his mind, and continued meditating 'upon it, at length night came on. As he slept, the Christ 'of God appeared to him with that sign which had appeared in the heavens; and commanded him to make a standard resembling the sign, which he had seen in the heavens, 'and to use it as a defence in the battle with his enemies.

'As[l] soon as it was day, he arose, and communicated this 'wonderful thing to his friends. And then sending for 'such as worked in gold and precious stones, he seated 'himself in the midst of them, and gave them a description 'of the sign, and commanded them to make one like it in 'gold and precious stones; which also we have seen.'

The[m] standard is presently afterwards described by Eusebius, who thereupon proceeds again.

'Being[n] then deeply affected with that wonderful sight, 'and resolving to worship no other God but him that had 'appeared to him: he sent for some of those that were ac-

[h] ——— *θεοσημεια τις επιφαινεται παραδοξοτατη.* p. 422. A.

[i] ——— *ὁρκοις τε πιστωσαμενη τον λογον, τις αν αμφιβαλοι μη εχι πιστευσαι τῳ διηγηματι;—αμφι μεσημβριας ἡλιε ὡρας, ηδη της ἡμερας αποκλινουσης, αυτοις οφθαλμοις ιδειν εφη εν αυτῳ ϐρανῳ ὑπερκειμενον τε ἡλιε σταυρε τροπαιον, εκ φωτος συνιστἀμενον, γραφην τε αυτῳ συνηφθαι, λεγουσαν, Τουτῳ νικα· ϑαμϐος δ' επι τῳ ϑεαματι κρατησαι αυτον τε και το στρατιωτικον ἁπαν, ὁ δη στελλομενῳ ποι πορειαν συνειπετο τε και ϑεωρον εγινετο ϑαυματος.* De V. C. l. i. c. 28. p. 422.

[k] Ib. c. 29.

[l] Ib. c. 30.

[m] C. 31.

[n] C. 32.

'quainted with the mysteries of his doctrine, and asked 'them who that God was, and what was the meaning of the 'sign he had seen. They told him, that he was God, the 'only-begotten Son of the one and only God: that the sign 'which had appeared to him was the symbol of immorta- 'lity, and the trophy of the victory obtained by him over 'death, when he was on earth. They informed him like- 'wise of the causes of his advent, and gave him accurate 'instructions concerning his incarnation. In such dis- 'courses as these was he taught: but he was taken up with 'the divine appearance that had been afforded him; and 'comparing the heavenly vision with the interpretation 'given of it, he was strengthened in his mind; being[o] fully 'satisfied, that the knowledge of these matters had been 'given by God himself. From that time he resolved to 'give himself to the reading of the divine scriptures. And 'taking those priests of God for his counsellors, he was per- 'suaded that the God he had seen was carefully to be wor- 'shipped. Thus filled with good hopes, he undertook to 'extinguish the flames of tyranny.'

This is the account left us by Eusebius, who had it from Constantine himself. And hence it is apparent, I think, that Constantine's conversion, if he is to be credited, was not the work of men, or of any christian ministers, but of God himself, together with the reflections he made in his own mind upon past events. And so Theodoret, agreeably enough to this account in Eusebius, says, 'that[p] Constan- 'tine was called not of men, but from heaven, as the divine 'apostle Paul was.'

We must, however, make here some remarks, particularly upon the appearance of the luminous cross in the heavens. For it is quite denied by some, who call it[q] a fiction, a stra-

[o] ——— *Θεοδιδακτον αυτῳ την τῶτων γνωσιν παρειναι πειθομενος.* ib. p. 424. A. B.

[p] *Ὁς εκ απ' ανθρωπων, ȣδε δι' ανθρωπȣ, αλλ' ȣρανοθεν, κατα τον Θειον αποστολον, της κλησεως ταυτης ετυχε.* Thdrt. H. E. l. i. c. 2. p. 6. B.

[q] Stratagema hoc Constantini non minus scitum, quam illud Philippi Macedonis, quo sacrilegos Phocenses protrivit. Jacob Tollius, in not. ad c. 44. libr. De M. P. p. 267. Traj. ad Rhen. 1693. Vid. et ejusd. not. ad c. 46. p. 278, 279.

Mais moy,—trouvant, que le Roi Antigonus, successeur d'Alexandre le Grand, s'est servi du même stratagême, feignant d'avoir vu au ciel une pentagone, qui est le symbole du salut, avec ces paroles, 'in hoc signo vinces,' et qu'il le fit peindre aux boucliers de ses soldats, et gagna ainsi le bataille; trouvant aussi, qu'un Roi de Portugal a eu la même vision que Constantin, et qu'il a par la remporté la victoire sur ses ennemis, j'avoue, que je considère tous ces miracles comme des finesses militaires des grands capitaines. On trouvera

tagem, a political device of Constantine. It was also looked upon to be a pious fraud by[r] some in former times.

This opinion, as[s] Fabricius assures us, has been fully considered and confuted by Mr. Wolff, in a Dissertation which I have not seen; though I should have gladly perused it, if I could have met with it. I mention it, however, that they who have an opportunity may consult it. If I should commit any mistakes in the remarks which I propose upon this subject, perhaps they may see them corrected in the Dissertation of that learned writer.

And indeed the cross, which is said to have been seen by Constantine in the heavens, is generally reckoned not only a reality but a miracle. The fore-mentioned great man, J. A. Fabricius, thinks[t] it was a natural phænomenon in a solar halo. He therefore allows and contends for the reality of it, though he does not think it properly[u] miraculous.

I shall now mention some observations upon this history, which offer themselves to my mind.

1. This relation is delivered by Eusebius upon the sole credit of Constantine: whereas a thing of so public a nature, could not have rested upon his credit and authority only, if it had been true. If such an appearance as this had happened about twenty years before Eusebius wrote

dans tous les siecles une infinité de ces inventions. Preface du même à Longin du Sublime.

Johannes Hoornbeek, professor Leydensis in Examine Bullæ Urbani VIII. de cultu imaginum edito anno 1653, a paginâ 181, somnium merum ac fabulam putat Constantini visionem crucis in aëre. H. Norisii. Opp. T. iv. p. 661.

Audax enimvero nimium fuit Jacobus Oiselius, qui in Thesauro Numismatum antiquorum pag. 463, ait, eum qui totum hoc negotium de cruce ostensâ Constantino ad pias veterum fraudes retulerit, parum a rei veritate aberraturum. Baluz. Annot. ad c. 44. libr. de M. P.

Et vid. omnino C. A. Heummanni Poec. Tom. ii. p. 50, &c. De Cruce Cœlestiâ Constantino M. conspectâ.

[r] *Τϐτο το διηγημα τοις μεν απιϛοις μυθος ειναι δοκει και πλασμα, τοις δε ἡμετεροις δογμασι κεχαρισμενον.* Gelaz. Cyz. de Conc. Nic. l. i. c. 4.

[s] Argumentis cæteris, quibus totum hoc de visâ cruce negotium prefidenter nimis inter commenta adscripserunt viri docti, diatribâ singulari Witebergæ A. 1706. edita satisfecit clarissimus doctrinâ atque ingenio vir et collega meus conjunctissimus. Jo. Chr. Wolfius, Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. vi. p. 18.

[t] Vid. ejusdêm Exercita Crit. quâ disputatur crucem, quam in cœlis vidisse se juravit Constantinus Imp. fuisse phænomenon naturale in halone solari. Ap. Bib. Gr. l. v. c. 3. T. vi. p. 8, &c.

[u] At, si me audis, non statim hinc, quod faciunt multi, crucem illam, a Constantino visam, totam callidis adscribes commentis.—Sed vere oblatam ipsius oculis credes tot testibus antiquis, Constantino denique ipsi, saltem jurato: neque tamen illico propterea eam stupebis tamquam rem miraculis proprie accensendam. Id. ib. p. 9.

the life of Constantine, but yet in his own time, and especially if it had been seen by the whole army with astonishment, he would have been able to call other witnesses to vouch for the truth of it. And out of his dutiful affection for Constantine, and a just concern for his honour, he would not have failed to add something to this purpose: that he had heard the same account from others, who were present, or who had received it from those who were present, and were spectators of that wonderful sight.

2. The oath, or oaths of Constantine upon this occasion, rather bring his relation into suspicion. A man of virtue and reputation can seldom be under a necessity to corroborate what he says with an oath; especially when he is speaking to a friend, who too, if the thing were true, must have known it long before, from the report of general fame, and many credible accounts. I put some thoughts of another relating to this in the[v] margin.

3. Eusebius renders this whole account suspicious, by not mentioning the place of this wonderful sight; a necessary and proper circumstance to be taken notice of in such a history. It hence appears to me probable, that Eusebius himself did not believe this story, nor intend to vouch for the truth of it. Constantine's army, he says, was following him in a certain march: this expression seems to me designed as a hint to the readers, not to depend upon the truth of what had been said. So that if, notwithstanding this caution of Eusebius, any believe the story, he is scarce accountable for their mistake: it is to be ascribed to their own credulity.

4. There are other things concerning the standard related by Eusebius, which he also had from Constantine, and, I think, are very unlikely, if not altogether incredible. Our historian says, that[w] wherever the standard was, the enemies fled: which may have been true enough, in many instances. It might animate Constantine's soldiers, and terrify the enemy. It is added by him, 'That[x] there was a 'company of fifty chosen men, remarkable for strength of 'body, and valour of mind, and piety, appointed to attend 'the standard, and to relieve each other by turns in bear-

[v] Ipse Eusebius hanc objectionem sentit. Quapropter in V. C. c. 22. magnâ cautione præfatur, rem admirabilem esse, et vix credibilem, nisi imperator ipse, sed longo tempore post, ipsi eam narrâsset, et juramento confirmâsset.—Saltem illud urgere licebit: Si totus exercitus prodigium istud vidit, quo pudore Eusebius potuit prætendere tanti in vulgus notissimi ignorantiam? quo colore poterit persuadere lectori, id ob incredulitatem debuisse ab imperatore juramento confirmari? Observ. Hallens. xxiv. T. i. p. 394.

[w] V. C. l. ii. c. 7.

[x] Ib. c. 8.

'ing it; and that the person who held it was always safe. 'For[y] the salutary trophy was a safeguard to him that bore 'it; insomuch that though darts were cast at it, he who 'bore the standard was always unhurt, the spear of the 'standard receiving the darts. This was a thing surpass-'ing all miracles, that the darts of the enemy should light 'upon the narrow circumference of the spear, and there 'stick fast, and the standard-bearer be safe. Yea, never 'was any one wounded in this service. This is not our ac-'count, but the emperor's, who among other matters told 'this also to us.'

So Eusebius concludes this account, who but a little before had used the like expressions[z] in this relation; thus careful was he, not to make himself answerable for the truth of it, and indeed, this is above all miracles, I mean above all credible accounts of miracles; that when many darts were thrown, none should strike the bearer, nor yet light upon the upper part of the standard, where was the cross, and the motto, but only, and always, upon the narrow circumference of the spear, or pole of the standard.

5. Lactantius, or whoever was the author of the book Of the Deaths of Persecutors, who undoubtedly wrote a few years after this appearance in the heavens is supposed to have happened, says nothing of it, but only[a] mentions Constantine's dream or vision in his sleep. That this author speaks of nothing else, and that his words are not to be understood of any sign seen by Constantine in the sky, is plainly shown by Fabricius[b] himself; who observes likewise, that some other authors besides mention the dream

[y] Τϐ δε το σωτηριον τροπαιον αιωρϐντος ζωης εγενετο φυλακτηριον· ὡς πολλακις βελων κατ' αυτϐ πεμπομενων, τον μεν φεροντα διασωζεσθαι· το δε τϐ τροπαιϐ δορυ δεχεσθαι τα βαλλομενα. Και ην δε τϐτο παντος επεκεινα θαυματος, πως εν βραχυτατῃ περιφερειᾳ τϐ δορατος ἱκνϐμενα τα των πολεμιων βελη, εν αυτῳ μεν πηγνυμενα κατεπειρετο—ουχ' ἡμετερος δ' ο λογος, αλλ' αυτϐ παλιν βασιλεως, εις ἡμετερας ακοας προς ἑτεροις και τϐτον απομνημονευσαντος. Ib. c. 9.

[z] Ταυτα βασιλευς αυτος τοις την γραφην ποιϐμενοις——— ὑφηγειτο. Ib. c.8. fin.

[a] De M. P. c. 44. Vid. infr. not. [l].

[b] Solet etiam pro confirmandâ hac re ad Lactantium provocari. Sed ille de cruce visâ in cœlo tacet. Solum somnium commemorat libro de M. P. cap. 44. Commonitus est in quiete Constantinus, ut cœleste signum Dei notaret in scutis, atque ita prœlium committeret, &c. Posset quidem videri a Lactantio dici cœleste signum Dei, quasi in cœlo ostensum a Deo, et in cœlo a Constantino visum. Verum qui hoc in dubium vocaturus esset, facile posset efferre plura loca scriptorum Græcorum, Latinorumque, quibus, sine ullo respectu ad Constantini visionem, crux vocatur signum cœleste.—Somnium quoque, quod miror, commemorat non Johannes modo Malala in Chronicâ Historiâ. l. ii. p. 2.———sed quoque antiquior longe Rufinus, l. ix. H. E. c. 9. et ex eo auctor Hist. Miscellæ, xi. 7, &c.———Fabric. Diss. Crit. sect. 3. ap. Bib. Gr. ut sup. p. 11, 12.

only. Basnage too is clearly of opinion, that[c] this author speaks only of Constantine's dream, and says nothing of the cross seen in the heavens. And he likewise observes the silence of so many other writers as to that sight, that he seems very much to weaken the credit of the thing. He however allows, that Constantine really received a divine admonition in his sleep, to make use of the sign of the cross in his wars. But in my mind he has also overthrown the truth of the vision in Constantine's dream; for this must solely rest upon the emperor's word: but by denying the appearance of the cross in the heavens, which Constantine confirmed to Eusebius with an oath, he so weakens the credit of the emperor, as to this whole matter, that nothing concerning it can be taken upon the authority of his testimony only.

We may farther observe, that since several ecclesiastical historians, who wrote after Eusebius, particularly Rufinus, and[d] Sozomen, (as is shown by Basnage,) insist not upon the appearance of the cross in the heavens; there were at that time christians, as well as others, who either were totally ignorant of it, or else did not credit the account, as related by Eusebius from Constantine. Indeed, it seems not reasonable to believe the relation of any one man, concerning a public appearance, which is attested by no others. Nor did Eusebius himself believe it, as I have sufficiently shown already; though it must be owned, that Constantine did his best to impose upon his learned friend, the bishop of Cæsarea.

[c] Ac primum, Lactantius, qui magister datus Crispo Cæsari, familiari Constantini colloquio usus est sæpius, de diurno crucis trophæo ex luce conflato ne verbum quidem habet. Hæc tantum habet: commonitus est in quiete Constantinus, ut cœleste signum Dei notaret in scutis, atque ita prælium committeret.—Argumenti vires intendit Rufinus in Eusebianæ Historiæ versione: Constantinus vidit per soporem ad orientis partem in cœlo signum crucis igneo fulgore rutilare. Dormienti igitur, non vigilanti, cœleste signum Constantino oblatum est; idque prædicabat traditio, quæ Rufini tetigit aures. Visi quoque diurni Sozomenus ignarus est. Belli Maxentiani curis districtus Constantinus vidit in somnis signum crucis in cœlo resplendens. Sozom. l. i. c. 3.———Denique ethnicorum nullus historicorum celeberrimæ hujus visionis meminit.—Itaque sunt eruditi, qui in somnio divinitus profecto visam a Constantino crucis figuram existiment, quorum unus Johannes Columbus in notis ad Lactantium. Basnag. A. 312. n. 5.

[d] It is true, that after this account of the vision in the dream, Sozomen puts down the other story. But he relates it upon the sole authority of Eusebius, and does not confirm it as true. For he introduceth it in this manner: Eusebius indeed affirms, that he had heard the emperor say, with an oath, that he had seen the trophy of the cross about noon when the day was declining.—*Ευσεβιος γε μην ὁ Παμφιλε, αυτε φησαντος ενωμοτως τε βασιλεως ακηκοεναι ισχυριζεται, ὡς αμφι μεσημβριαν, κ. λ.* l. i. c. 3. p. 404. A.

This difference in the account, together with the silence of so many historians, about the sight in the heavens, is a thing so remarkable, that some perhaps may have a curiosity to know the cause of it. I shall therefore mention one conjecture: it is probable, that when Constantine first informed people of the reason that introduced him to make use of the sign of the cross in his armies, he alleged nothing but a dream for that purpose: but in the latter part of his life, when he was acquainted with our Eusebius, he added the other particular, of a luminous cross seen somewhere by him and his army in the day-time. And the emperor having related this, and in the most solemn manner, Eusebius thought himself obliged to mention it. But the first account had been so long and so often told, that it was generally known, and the only one that was so known. Whence it came to pass, that historians a good while afterwards related the vision in the dream, as the original cause of Constantine's using the cross, that being the common and prevailing tradition concerning it.

Whether the author of the book Of the Deaths of Persecutors makes any mention of the sight of the cross in the heavens, or not; many learned men think, that by way of conclusion, they have learned from him the place, day, and hour of the appearance to Constantine, about which there have been so many disputes; and that this author has put an end to that controversy, It[e] happened, they say, in Constantine's camp, when he was besieging Rome, on the 26th day of October.

But with due submission to the judgments of so many learned men, I question whether this be yet a clear point. Let us then now at last take the words of this writer. 'Now[f] the war was begun between Maxentius and Con-

[e] Constituendum est, visionem illam crucis Constantino ostensæ contigisse in castris, dum Romam obsideret, vii. cal. Novembris anno Chr. 312. Baluz. not. ad l. De M. P. c. 44. p. 97.

Obtulit sese crux videnda Constantino post prœlia cum barbaris commissa, de quibus Nazarius in Panegyrico c. 18. sub dio in castris, cum Romam obsideret, an. Chr. 312. die vii. cal. Nov. Hoc recte colligit Steph. Baluzius. Fabr. Diss. de Cruce Const. M. n. vi. ap. B. Gr. T. vi. p. 15. Vid et Pagi Crit. in Baron. 312. n. 5.

[f] Jam mota inter eos fuerant arma civilia. Et quamvis se Maxentius Romæ contineret,—tamen bellum per idoneos duces gerebatur—Dimicatum—et Maxentiani milites prævalebant, donec postea confirmato animo Constantinus, et ad utrumque paratus, copias omnes ad urbem propius admovit, et e regione pontis Milvii consedit. Imminebat dies quo Maxentius imperium ceperat, qui est ad sextum calendas Novembris, et quinquennalia terminabantur. Commonitus est in quiete Constantinus, ut cœleste signum Dei notaret in scutis, atque ita prœlium committeret. Fecit ut jussus est, et transversa X litera

'stantine. Maxentius himself continued at Rome; but he 'had good generals to command his army.——The two 'armies engaged, and that of Maxentius had the better: yet 'Constantine afterwards took courage, and being prepared 'for either event, marched all his forces near to Rome, and 'posted them opposite to the Milvian bridge. The 27th of 'October was now near, which was the anniversary of Max-'entius's empire, and his fifth year was almost out. Con-'stantine was warned in a dream to put the divine heavenly 'mark [the sign of the cross] upon the shields of the soldiers, 'and so to give battle. He took care to execute this, and 'ordered[g] the letter X circumflexed at the top, denoting the 'name of Christ, to be put on all their shields. Having 'taken this for his distinction, he drew out his army.'

Hence it is argued, It being already known from Eusebius, that the trophy of the cross was seen by Constantine in the heavens in the afternoon: and that the very next night, when he was in doubt about the meaning of it, Christ appeared to him, as he slept, with the sign that had appeared in the heavens, and commanded him to make a resemblance of it, and use it in his army: therefore both the visions happened in the same place, and within the space of a few hours of each other. The fore-mentioned author having assured us, that the dream, or night-vision, was in the night of the 26th of October, 312, the appearance in the day-time was also on the 26th of October. So[h] Pagi, and in like manner other learned men, who are of the same opinion.

But it seems to me, that this author, compared with Eusebius, will not determine the time, either of the appearance of the cross in the heavens, or of the dream. On the 27th day of October, Constantine fought with Maxentius, and overcame him. But he could not have the dream in the preceding night, because Eusebius assures us, that the next day after the night-vision, Constantine sent for men who wrought in gold and precious stones, and seating himself in the midst of them, he gave them directions for making the standard. The day succeeding the night-vision therefore was not a day of battle.

Farther, it is next to impossible, that the shields of Constantine's soldiers throughout his army, should be marked

summo capite circumflexo Christo in scutis notavit. Quo signo armatus exercitus capit ferrum. De M. P. c. 44. in.

[g] The author's words are obscure. They are thus explained by G. Cuper upon the place: 'Christum in scutis notat:' id est, Christi nomen, quod exprimitur per duas primas salutaris vocis literas.

[h] Crit. in Baron. 312. u. 5.

with the sign of the cross on the 27th of October, the day he fought with Maxentius, if the dream had happened but the night[i] before.

Lastly, I see no reason so to undersand the passage of the fore-cited author, as to assure us, that the dream happened in the night before the 27th of October. He has no words that express the time of the dream; and it may be as well supposed, according to his account, that Constantine had the dream before he came to besiege Rome, some short time after his defeat by Maxentius: when, as this writer says, in bishop Burnet's version, 'Yet Constantine for that 'did not lose heart:' or, as the words may be better rendered, 'Yet Constantine afterwards took courage, and resolving 'to hazard all, he marched on to the gates of Rome.' The time, when Constantine took courage, or was strengthened in mind, seems to me, so far as we can judge from this writer, as likely a time as any, for Constantine's thinking of the use of the cross: that time was a little before he resolved to march to Rome.

Upon the whole then it appears to me, that this author has led us to the time, when the sign of the cross began to be made use of by Constantine in his armies and battles. It was in the last battle with Maxentius; some short time at least before which battle, and the day of it, the thought of employing this sign must have come into Constantine's mind: whether by divine revelation and admonition, or his own politic contrivance, let the inquisitive judge, after mature thought and consideration.

I do not in the least doubt, but that about the time of his victory over Maxentius, or rather, probably, some time before it, Constantine became a sincere christian, and continued so the remaining part of his life, and educated his children in the same belief. And his conversion might be partly owing to his own reflections upon the state of things, and partly to conversation and discourse with christian ministers and people; with whom Constantine, son of Constantius their friend and favourer, must have been for some time well acquainted. But I think, that Constantine was a politician, as well as a christian. A change of religion is attended

[i] This writer does not speak of one standard only. But he says, that Constantine was directed in a dream, to 'put the heavenly mark upon his soldiers' 'shields.' Allowing that a single standard, adorned as Eusebius describes it, might be made in the forenoon, and a battle fought afterwards: yet it is not easy to conceive, that the soldiers' shields, throughout a whole army, should receive a new mark in a few hours. Therefore, in all probability, this author did not suppose the day immediately succeeding the dream to be the day on which Constantine fought with and overcame Maxentius.

with hazards, and is likely to expose men to difficulties of which great men especially are sensible: and Constantine was willing to reconcile the minds of men to this change, and to secure himself therein, as well as he could. He might also aim at making some advantage of it, and improving it as a mean of success in his designs, and of victory over his enemies. And for those ends, the standard of the cross, and the mark of it upon his soldiers' shields, would be of no small service.

As for the story which Constantine told Eusebius, of the perpetual safety of the standard-bearer in the greatest dangers, and the darts of the enemies sticking fast in the narrow circumference of the spear; it must be owned, that here Constantine over-did it, and exceeded almost the bounds of modesty, as well as of all reasonable probability. Some indulgence however is due to Constantine, with regard to this fine contrivance of using the salutary trophy in his battles: we are all apt to be too fond of our own inventions.

I have insisted chiefly on the history of Constantine's conversion, which we have left us by Eusebius. Photius in his abridgment of Philostorgius's Ecclesiastical History, says, 'That[k] writer, agreeably to other historians, relates, 'that the cause of Constantine the Great's conversion from 'Gentilism to christianity, was his victory over Maxen-'tius. At which time also, the sign of the cross was seen 'eastward, extended to a great length, shining with a sur-'prising brightness, stars at the same time surrounding it 'like a rainbow, and composing the form of letters in the 'Latin tongue, expressing these words, *By this conquer.*'

From which I think we may conclude, upon the authority of that learned Patriarch, that the general account of the more ancient historians was, that Constantine was converted in or about the year 312. Eusebius makes Constantine to have chosen the God whom he should worship before the victory over Maxentius, as[l] does Sozomen expressly, when he relates the vision of the cross in Constantine's sleep. Philostorgius says, that victory was the cause of Constantine's conversion. They are easily reconciled by only supposing, that the victory, which Constantine obtained over Maxentius, confirmed the dispositions, which were before begun to be formed in him.

[k] Ὅτι την τȣ μεγαλȣ Κωνσταντινȣ μεταβολην εκ της Ἑλληνιδος θρησκειας εις τον χριστιανισμον, και ȣτος τοις αλλοις φθεγγομενος, αιτιαν γενεσθαι αναγραφει την κατα Μαξεντιȣ νικην, κ. λ. Philost. l. i. c. 6.

[l] Ἡνικα γαρ επιστρατευσαι Μαξεντιῳ βεβȣλευετο,—εν τοιαυταις δε φροντισι γενομενος, οναρ ειδε το τȣ σταυρȣ σημειον εν τῳ ȣρανῳ σελαγιζειν. Soz. l. i. c. 3. in.

Zosimus says, that it was not till after the death of Crispus and Fausta, that Constantine became a christian; that is, not before the year 325, or 326. 'For,' as he[m] says, 'Constantine being conscious to himself of those bad actions, and also of the breach of oaths, and being told by 'the priests of his old religion, that there was no kind of 'purgation sufficient to expiate such enormities; he began to hearken to a Spaniard, named Ægyptius, then at 'court, who assured him, that the christian doctrine contained a promise of the pardon of all manner of sins.'

But that is a false and absurd story; and Sozomen has[n] a chapter on purpose to confute such accounts of Constantine's conversion. It is true, however, that Constantine was not baptized till after those events; which I take to have been, in part, the foundation of that story. And it is not impossible, nor very improbable, that this might be one reason of Constantine's deferring his baptism, as he did, till near his death [though he might also have other reasons]: thinking this would be some security to him, and fearing lest he should be guilty of some great sin after baptism, if he long survived it. Du Pin seems to have suspected some such thing, when he says, 'It[o] may be thought strange, 'that Constantine was not baptized till now. But so it is: 'and whether he deferred to receive baptism till he was 'ready to die, that by that sacrament he might expiate all 'his sins, and appear innocent before God, or whether he 'had any other reason for that delay; he did not prepare 'himself for baptism, till he found himself sick; nor procure the imposition of the hands of the bishops, for putting 'him into the rank of Catechumens, till the year 337, a few 'days before his death.'

Since, then, Constantine did so long defer to receive baptism, which was well known to be the initiating rite of the christian religion, it is very likely, that this delay may have been one ground of that common opinion among heathen people concerning Constantine's late conversion.

Another reason of that opinion may have been, that after the entire conquest and death of Licinius, (which also was soon followed with the death of Crispus,) Constantine appeared more openly a christian, and more vigorously attacked heathenism by his edicts, than he had done before, when his empire was not so completely settled.

We have now seen the accounts of Constantine's conversion, which generally prevailed. Whether it was also in

[m] Zos. l. ii. p. 685.
[n] Sozom. l. i. c. 5.
[o] Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 16.

part a piece of policy, though accompanied with serious conviction, we cannot certainly say: for if it was, we are not to expect any hints of such a reason in the ecclesiastical historians of those times, or near them. But we learn from more than one writer, that about the same time Maxentius, son of the persecutor Maximian Herculius, and brother-in-law to Constantine, after his marriage with Fausta, began to flatter and compliment the christians. Eusebius says, 'Maxentius,'[p] son of the forementioned Maximian, who had possessed himself of Rome, at 'first made an hypocritical 'profession of our religion, to please and flatter the people 'of Rome; and commanded those in subjection to him, to 'forbear persecuting the christians: making a show of 'piety, and desiring to appear much more just and mild 'than his predecessors. But in time he showed himself by 'his actions to be very different from what was hoped of him.'

This was in the beginning of his reign, therefore in[q] 306, or 307. And it must be looked upon as an order for restraining the persecution of the christians in that part of the empire, which was then subject to Maxentius; namely, at Rome, and throughout Italy.

And Optatus speaks of an end[r] being put to the persecution in Africa by an edict of Maxentius; which probably happened in the year[s] 311, or[t] 312, but not before[u] 311, because Maxentius was not sooner master of Africa, which till then was held by Alexander.

However, if there is no positive evidence, that political views and considerations had any influence in the change of Constantine, it is nevertheless very honourable to the christian religion, and the professors of it, both in that, and former times, that though they had never had the princes of this world on their side, and they had endured from their first original a variety of difficulties, and several open persecutions, and were now under a severe persecution, which had raged with great violence for several years, in most parts of the Roman empire; yet at this very time, of those who were contending for worldly power and empire, one actually fa-

[p] ———αρχομενος μεν την καθ' ἡμας πιστιν επ' αρεσκειᾳ και κολακειᾳ τῳ δημῳ Ῥωμαιων καθυπεκρινατο. Ταυτῃ τε τοις ὑπηκοοις τον κατα χριστιανων ανειναι προσταττει διωγμον, ευσεβειαν επιμορφαζων, κ. λ. H. E. l. viii. c. 14. in.

[q] Vid. Pagi 306. n. 23, 24.

[r] Tempestas persecutionis peracta et definita est. Jubente Deo, indulgentiam mittente Maxentio, christianis libertas est restituta. Optat. l. i. n. 18.

[s] Prius deferbuerat anno 305. Sed subinde recruduerat, nec pax omnino reddita, nisi postquam Maxentius rerum in Africâ potitus est anno 311. Du Pin ad Optat. loc.

[t] Vid. Pagi 306. n. 23.

[u] Vid. Basn. Ann. 311. n. 15.

voured and flattered them, and another may be suspected[v] to have joined himself to them, partly from considerations of interest. So greatly had this people increased under external disadvantages of all sorts!

IV. Having thus related the time and causes of Constantine's conversion, we will observe some of his actions as a christian, or a favourer of christians.

1. The author of the book Of the Deaths of Persecutors informs us, that[w] Constantine, immediately upon his becoming emperor, restored the christians their liberty. This liberty must be supposed to have extended over Britain and Gaul, which were then under Constantine. And hereby, I think, must be chiefly intended liberty of public worship; for his father, Constantinus, had not persecuted them: all that he had allowed of, and consented to, was the demolition of their places of worship. If any suffered death in his part of the empire, (as doubtless some did,) it must have been owing to popular tumults, or the sentences of inferior officers and magistrates, without express commission from him.

The next thing we meet with in the history of Constantine, in favour of the christians, is an edict[x] published jointly by him and Licinius, in the year 312, probably at[y] Rome, soon after the defeat of Maxentius. It was also sent to Maximin in the east, to be published by him, for the benefit of the christians in that part of the Roman empire. Eusebius calls it a full and complete law for christians. But it is not now[z] extant.

In the next year 313, another edict was published by the joint authority of Constantine and Licinius, at[a] Milan, where they[b] were on account of the marriage of Licinius with

[v] Avant que trois siecles se soient écoulés depuis la mort de J. Christ, le parti des Chrêtiens est déjà si fort, qu'un empereur l'embrasse sans craindre celui des payens. Il semble même, que, bien loin d'affoiblir par là sa puissance, il l'augmenta et la fortifia par ce moien. Sermons de S. Werenfels, p. 27. 1723.

[w] Suscepto imperio Constantinus Augustus nihil egit prius quam christianos cultui ac Deo suo redderet. c. 24.

[x] *Και δη επι τουτοις αυτος τε Κωνσταντινος και συν αυτῳ βασιλευς Λικινιος— αμφω μιᾳ βουλῃ και γνωμῃ νομον ὑπερ χριστιανων τελεωτατον πληρεστατα διατυπουνται.———Και τον νομον αυτον, Μαξιμινῳ των επ' ανατολης εθνων ετι δυναστευοντι, φιλιαν δε προς αυτους ὑποκριζομενῳ, διαπεμπονται.* Eus. H. E. l. ix. c. 9. p. 360. A. B.

[y] Secundum edictum Mediolani, ut suo loco videbimus, prius loco incerto datum: videtur tamen Romæ, ubi reliquo hoc anno Constantinus egit, promulgatum. Pagi 312. n. 10.

[z] Vid. Vales. Annot. ad Eus. l. x. c. 5. Pagi 312. n. 10. 314. n. 9. Basn. 313. n. 10, 11.

[a] Eus. l. x. c. 5. p. 388. c. De M. P. c. 48.

[b] Constantinus, rebus in Urbe compositis, hieme proximâ Mediolanum contendit. Eodem Licinius, ut acciperet uxorem—De M. P. c. 45. in.

Constantia, Constantine's sister. This edict we still have in the original Latin in the book[c] Of the Deaths of Persecutors, and in a Greek version, in[d] Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History. Herein[e] liberty is given to christians in particular, and to all men in general, to make an undisturbed profession of their religious sentiments. Moreover it is ordained, that all places of worship, which had been taken from the christians, by whomsoever then possessed, should be restored to the said christians without delay, and without any price to be paid or demanded of them on that account: and the loss, which any might hereby suffer, to be referred to the imperial judgment, to determine what amends should be proper to be made to those, who were seized of such places, either by grant or purchase. It is likewise herein ordained, that all other places, beside those wherein their assemblies had been held, which had belonged to any churches in common, as bodies corporate, should be restored to them without fraud or dispute, upon the terms before mentioned.

2. There was about the same time a letter sent to Anulinus, proconsul of the province of Africa, signifying, as Eusebius says, that[f] the imperial beneficence was intended for the catholic church only; that is, the places of worship, or other things, that had been taken from the christians, were to be restored to the catholics.

There follows soon after in Eusebius,[g] the copy of a letter of Constantine to Cæcilian, bishop of Carthage; wherein the emperor informs him, that he had sent orders to Ursus, receiver-general for Africa, to give a certain sum of money for the use of[h] several ministers of the genuine and most holy catholic religion, throughout all the provinces of Africa, Numidia, and each Mauritania.

In the next place, we have[i] a letter of Constantine to the fore-mentioned Anulinus, giving immunity from civil or burdensome offices to the christian clergy within his province, who are of the catholic church, over which Cæcilian presides.

In the year 313, Constantine[k] appointed a synod at Rome, and in 314, another at Arles, to compose the differences between Cæcilian, bishop of Carthage, and the Donatists.

[c] Cap. 48. [d] L. x. c. 5.

[e] Vel in primis ordinanda esse credidimus, quibus divinitatis reverentia continebatur, ut daremus et christianis et omnibus liberam potestatem sequendi religionem, quam quisque voluisset.—Ut in colendo, quod quisque diligeret, habeat liberam potestatem. De M. P. c. 48.

[f] ——— *μονῃ τῃ καθολικῃ εκκλησιᾳ την δωραν δεδοσθαι ὑποσημηναμενοι.* l. x. c. 5. p. 390. C. [g] Ib. c. 6.

[h] *Ῥητοις τισι των ὑπηρετων της ευθεσμε και αγνωτατης καθολικης θρησκειας.* ib. p. 293. A. [i] Ib. c. 7. [k] Ib. l. x. 9. c. 5. p. 391, 392.

3. Eusebius informs us, that[l] Constantine, when possessed of the whole empire, (which could not be before the year 324, and after Licinius was subdued,) sent letters to all the provinces, written in Greek and Latin, acknowledging the goodness of God to him, and ascribing his successes to the favour of divine providence. Now the provinces of the east became equally sensible of the emperor's favour and goodness, with the provinces of the west. Our ecclesiastical historian has left us[m] a copy of Constantine's edict, sent particularly to the people of the province of Palestine, the original of which was in his own possession. Herein the emperor restores those who had been banished or proscribed or confined in islands, or who had been condemned to the mines or any other public works. It is herein ordained, that christians, who had been deprived of any military posts, may resume them, or betake themselves to any other kind of life they choose, and therein enjoy repose and honour. They who had been condemned to slavery in the public works, are restored to freedom, and to all the honours which before they were entitled to. All goods, and lands, and houses, which had been confiscated, are to be restored to the original possessors or proprietors: or, if they were dead, whether martyrs or confessors, to their heirs and successors. If such, who had been deprived of their rights, have no relations left, the church of the place where they had lived is to be their heir, and succeed to them. All these things, whether lands, houses, gardens, or country seats, are to be restored, but not the mean profits. This law of restitution is to be understood to relate to public treasury, as well as to other possessors. And besides this, the cemeteries are to be restored to the several churches to which they had belonged. All which things, as[n] the historian assures us, were performed and executed, according to the tenor of this law.

After this, as the historian farther assures us, Constantine gave[o] the government of the provinces chiefly to christians: and when any Gentiles were made governors, they were prohibited to sacrifice: which law comprehended not only presidents of provinces, but also higher officers, and even the pretorian prefects. If they were christians, they were required to act according to their principles: if they were otherwise disposed, yet the practice of idolatrous rites was forbidden.

Afterwards there were published[p] two laws at the same

[l] Vit. Const. l. ii. c. 23. [m] Ib. c. 24—42.
[n] Ib. c. 43. [o] Ib. c. 44. [p] C. 45, 46.

time, one forbidding the detestable rites of idolatry, of old time used in cities and villages; wherein it was enacted, that for the future none should erect statues of gods, or practise divination, or offer any sacrifice. The other law was for enlarging christian oratories and churches, or for rebuilding them more lofty, grand, and splendid.

Moreover, the emperor still making progress in piety, wrote[q] an Oration against idolatry; which was sent to the several provinces of the empire, both in the east and the west. In this Oration Constantine says, that[r] during the late persecution the barbarians received and entertained kindly the christians that fled to them, and allowed them the liberty to worship God according to their own sentiments; which he says was a reproach upon the Roman name, in that barbarians were more merciful than they. In another part of the Oration he expresseth his desire, that[s] the Gentiles, who are in error, may enjoy the same peace and quiet with believers, as being conducive to the bringing them into the right way. Let every one do, says he, what his soul desires. He wishes that all were unanimous in the truth, and in obedience to God's holy laws: nevertheless, if any dissent, and withdraw themselves, let them have their temples of lies, since[t] they chose them.

Such is that Oration: and Eusebius assures us, that[u] the emperor would sit up whole nights, employing himself in study and meditation, for improving his own mind, and composing Orations, which he afterwards spoke in numerous assemblies.

4. After this Oration, Eusebius gives[v] an account of some differences and controversies among the christians themselves, which occasioned the calling of the council of Nice in 325, where Constantine was present.

5. We have also[w] an account in Eusebius of several churches built by Constantine's order, and at the public expense; as the churches at Bethlehem, and mount Olivet, and the church of the Sepulchre, called[x] also Anastasis or

[q] C. 47—60. [r] C. 53.

[s] *Ὁμοιαν τοις πιστευουσιν οἱ πλανωμενοι χαιροντες λαμβανετωσαν ειρηνης τε και ἡσυχιας απολαυσιν. Αυτη γαρ ἡ της κοινωνιας επανορθωσις, και προς ευθειαν αγαγειν ὁδον ισχυει· Μηδεις τον ἑτερον παρενοχλειτω· ἑκαστος, ὁπερ ἡ ψυχη βουλεται, τουτο και πραττετω.* ib. c. 46.

[t] *Οἱ δ' εαυτους αφελκοντες, εχοντων βουλομενοι τα της ψευδολογιας τεμενη.* ibid. [u] De V. C. l. iv. c. 29. in. [v] Ib. c. 61—73.

[w] Vid. de V. C. l. iii. c. 25—43.

[x] That by the Martyrion, or church of the Sepulchre, and Anastasis, are to be understood one and the same building, see Vales. ad. l. iv. De V. C. c. 47.

the church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem. Which last was very magnificent, and was solemnly[y] consecrated by Constantine's special order, in the year 335.

Eusebius does indeed in one place say, that[z] Helena built two churches at Bethlehem, the place of our Saviour's nativity; the other at mount Olivet, the place of his ascension. But the meaning is no more than what is said by him, just before, that[a] Constantine let her have the honour of founding or building those churches.

Nevertheless, Socrates[b] and some other ancient writers ascribe to Helena the building of all the three fore-mentioned churches or temples in Palestine. But it must be better, I think, to rely upon Eusebius himself, with whom also Sozomen agrees[c] entirely. Besides, Helena was in that country but a very short time: she could not go thither before Constantine's conquest of Licinius in 324. According to the course of Eusebius's narration, this journey of Helena was undertaken after the Council of Nice, which was held in 325, and when she was of a great age; as is particularly observed by[d] Theodoret. And according to all accounts, she died at Rome, or near it, in 326, or soon after.

6. It is well known likewise, that Helena is said to have found at Jerusalem the real cross on which our Saviour suffered. This is related by several writers of the fourth and fifth centuries; but with so many different circumstances, as to render the whole story doubtful. And, which is very material, there is nothing said of it in Eusebius: his silence is the more remarkable, because he has[e] with great particularity related the clearing of the ground about the sepulchre, and expatiates very much in his account of the temple there built by Constantine. As the silence of Eusebius is alone satisfactory upon this head, I forbear to confute at large the common accounts of the invention of the cross; and only refer to a few authors, who[f] seem to me to have made good observations upon them.

[y] De V. C. l. iv. c. 42—45.

[z] ——δυο νεως αφιερ· τον μεν προς τῳ της γενεσεως αντρῳ· τον δ' επι τῳ της αναληψεως ορους. De V. C. l. iii. c. 43. in.

[a] ——της μητρος—διαιωνιζων την μνημην. ib. c. 41.

[b] Socr. l. i. c. 17. [c] Εν μερει δε και Ἑλενη ἡ αυτου μητηρ δυο ναους ῳκοδομησε, κ. λ. Soz. l. ii. c. 2. in.

[d] Αυτη των της ὁδοιποριας πονων ανασχομενη, και τῳ γηρως ῳ λογισαμενη τα παθη· προ γαρ ολιγου της τελευτης αποδημιαν ταυτην εστειλατο, ογδοηκοντουτους δε τῳ βιῳ το τερμα κατειληφεν. H. E. l. i. c. 18. in.

[e] Vid. de V. C. l. iii. c. 26, &c.

[f] Vid. Basnag. Ann. 326. n. ix. x. Jacob Gothofredi Notæ seu Dissertationes in Philostorg. c. 14. p. 388, &c. Witsii Miscellan. T. ii. Exercita xii.

Montfauçon pleased himself with the thought, that in the Commentary upon the Psalms published by him, Eusebius had referred[g] to the miracles, said by Rufinus, Sozomen, and others, to have been done at Christ's sepulchre, when Helena was at Jerusalem. But I humbly conceive, that there is no ground for that supposition: Eusebius says no more in his[h] Commentary upon the Psalms, than he had done in[i] the Life of Constantine. The finding, after so long a space of time, the sepulchre of our Saviour, which had been hid by rubbish, and by buildings placed over it by the heathens, the raising a magnificent temple upon the spot by the order of an emperor, the journey of Helena to Jerusalem, the great concourse of people there, and the other things, appeared to him wonderful facts, that exhibited to the world a proof of Christ's death and resurrection, as related by the evangelists, and foretold by the prophets. Valesius[k] understood our author in this manner: and it was very natural for the christians of that time, who had been witnesses of the sufferings of their brethren, and of the extreme contempt cast upon every thing that bore the name of Jesus, or belonged to him, to behold these alterations with astonishment. The fault was that they were not only surprized at them, but were too much pleased with the external peace, splendour, and prosperity of the church.

These are thoughts which offered themselves to me, upon reading Eusebius's Commentary, and Montfauçon's remarks. I have since had the pleasure of seeing Wesselingius's observations upon this matter, in his notes[l] upon the Itinera-

p. 361—369. Chamier. Panstrat. l. xxii. c. 4. Le Clerc. Bibl. Ancien. et Mod. T. xvi. p. 112, &c.

[g] De miraculis in Sepulchro et Martyrio Christi editis ne verbum quidem habet Eusebius in Vitâ Constantini: etsi detectum, curante Helenâ, Sepulcrum et Martyrium memoret—verum hic de miraculis agi quæ a Rufino, Sulpitio Severo, Socrate—recensentur, ne ambigas. Mont. Prælim. in Euseb. Comm. in Ps. p. 8.

[h] Ει δε τις τον νεν επιτησειε τοις καθ' ήμας αμφι το μνημα, και το μαρτυριον τϑ σωτηρος ήμων επιτελεσθεισι ϑαυμασιοις, αληθως εισεται ὁπως πεπληρωται εργοις τα τεθεσπισμενα. Euseb. Comm. in Ps. 87. p. 545. B.

[i] ———αυτο δε λοιπον το σεμνον και παναγιον της σωτηριϑ αναϛασεως μαρτυριον παρ' ελπιδα πασαν ανεφαινετο· και τοτε—αντρον—διο μετα την εν σκοτῳ καταδυσιν, αυθις επι το φως προηει, και τοις επι ϑεαν αφικνεμενοις εναργη παρειχεν ὁραν των αυτοθι πεπραγμενων ϑαυματων την ἱστοριαν· εργοις ἁπασης γεγωνοτερως φωνης την τϑ σωτηρος αναϛασιν μαρτυρεμενον. De V. C. l. iii. c. 28. Vid. et c. 29, 30. et 26.

[k] Est autem hic hujus loci sensus: illam Domini sepulchri post tot secula restitutionem, re ipsâ confirmâsse resurrectionem Domini nostri. Vales. ad Euseb. De V. C. l. iii. c. 28.

[l] Et quî possunt ea hoc loco intelligi? Loquitur de rebus stupendis, quæ ad Christi sepulchrum et martyrium suâ ætate contigerunt. Atqui Martyrium

rium Hierosolymitanum: who, I think, has well confuted Montfauçon's argument; and has some thoughts not very[m] different from those already insisted on by me. And moreover observes not only the silence of Eusebius before insisted on, but also the[n] silence of Constantine in his letter to Macarius bishop of Jerusalem, recommending to him the care of erecting the designed temple, and the[o] silence of the author of the Itinerary, who seems to have written in the latter part of the reign of Constantine.

7. Though Constantine expressed himself with so much mildness in the Oration before taken notice of, yet certainly he did not intend to leave the temples to the heathen people, and let them enjoy their worship there. This is inconsistent with some things already transcribed, in the order in which they are mentioned by Eusebius.

And afterwards, comparing Constantine with other emperors, he says: They[p] commanded the temples to be magnificently adorned: he demolished them to the foundation, especially such as were most respected by superstitious people. Moreover Constantine[q] made very free with the statues of the gods, taking them out of the temples, and placing them in the forum, and other parts of the city of Constantinople: thereby serving, as the historian says, two ends, both adorning the city, and exposing to contempt those gods whose images they were. And many rich statues of the gods, consisting of gold and silver, were melted down by him.

Our historian has also left us a particular account of the demolishing several heathen temples by Constantine's order, beside the depriving many others of their richest and most

illud nusquam erat, cum ea fierunt, quæ evenisse Sulpitius atque alii prodiderunt, &c. Pet. Wesseling. Annot. ad Itinerar. Hieros. p. 593, 594.

[m] Ecquid magis mirabile et stupendum Judæis ac paganis esse poterat, quam Augusti matrem, ejusque exemplum imitatos plures, ad vilem antea et despectum eum locum, ut Christo Domino meritum honorem haberent, confluere; mirificis operibus illum exornari; quod quam admirandum utrisque fuerit, ex Orat. de Laudibus Constantin. p. 633, colligas. Id. p. 594.

[n] Quam rem et Constantini imp. in ep. ad Macarium, et Eusebii, in his locis et gestis recensendis versati, silentium adfirmat. ib. p. 593.

[o] Id vero maximopere demiror, nullam hic de cruce, Helenæ auspiciis inventâ, nec ullam de stupendis operibus, ejus virtute et contactu patratis, fieri mentionem. Dicemusne præterire ea scriptorem, qui summâ diligentiâ rumusculos, de locis Hierosolymitanis in vulgus sparsos, collegit?———præsertim cum paucissimis ante ejus in urbem Hierosolymitanam adventum annis facta ferantur. Mihi nihil aliud dici posse videtur, quam ea miracula, et quæ illis arctissime cohærent, in urbe eo tempore nondum fuisse audita. ib. p. 593.

[p] Οἱ μεν τῆς νεως φιλοτιμως κοσμειν εκελευον· ο δε εκ βαθρων καθῃρει τουτων αυτων, τα μαλιστα παρα τοις δεισιδαιμοσι πολλη αξια. V. C. l. iii. c. 1. p. 483. B.

[q] Ib. l. iii. c. 54.

respected ornaments: as[r] a temple dedicated to Venus in a grove at Aphæa in Phœnicia. He says, it was a kind of school of lewdness, and all manner of vice, where no grave or modest people came. The emperor ordered it to be totally demolished, which was done by his soldiers. A temple of Æsculapius at Ægis in Cilicia was in like manner destroyed by the military power at the emperor's command. He does not say that any lewdness was practised here. However, this temple was a means of seducing people, and it was much respected by the philosophers. At[s] one nod of the emperor, as Eusebius says, this celebrated wonder of the egregious philosophers lay flat upon the ground, being pulled down by a band of soldiers. Besides these, there[t] was another temple of Venus, a place of much lewdness, destroyed at Heliopolis in Phœnicia; and a spacious christian church was erected in the room of it.

And afterwards Eusebius expressly says, that[u] throughout the whole Roman empire, the doors of idolatry were shut to the commonalty and to the soldiery; and that every kind of sacrifice was prohibited. Again he says, that[v] there were several laws published for these purposes, forbidding sacrifices, divinations, raising statues, and the secret mysteries or rites of initiation. And he says farther, that[w] in Egypt a sort of priesthood, consecrated to the honour of the Nile, was entirely suppressed. And though the heathen people thereupon surmised, that the Nile would no more overflow the fields, it rose the next year very high, and gave them great plenty.

However, it may reasonably be supposed, that the admonitions in the Oration against idolatry were of use to prevent popular tumults, and the doing any things of this kind, which were not authorized by the emperor's order.

8. We have likewise an account of Constantine's[x] treatment of heretics, after he had composed differences, and restored harmony in the church of God: that is, after the council of Nice.

Our historian says, that[y] by a law sent to the presidents of provinces, he dispersed and put to flight all these men. Beside the edict, the emperor gave those people a salutary admonition, exhorting them to repent without delay. This[z] edict is directed against the Novatians, Valentinians, Mar-

[r] Ib. c. 56.
[s] Ἐνι δε νευματι κατα γης ἠπλετο, δεξιᾳ καταῤῥιπτεμενος στρατιωτικῃ το των γενναιων φιλοσοφων βωμενον θαυμα. ibid.
[t] C. 58.
[u] ——— θυσιας τε τροπος απηγορευετο πας. V. C. l. iv. c. 23.
[v] C. 25.
[w] Ib.
[x] L. iii. c. 63—66.
[y] Ib. c. 63.
[z] C. 64.

cionites, Paulianists, and those called Cataphrygians, and all others, who by private meetings endeavour to support heresies. Here the emperor condemns his past forbearance, as an occasion of men's being seduced by these erroneous people. He therefore threatens to extirpate the roots of evil by a public animadversion. 'Wherefore,' says[a] he, 'since this 'your pernicious wickedness is no longer to be endured, we 'by this present law command you, that you no more pre-'sume to meet together. And we have given orders, that 'all those places, where you are wont to hold assemblies, 'should be taken away. Yea, our concern for this matter is 'such, that we not only forbid you to assemble in any public 'place; but we likewise forbid all assemblies of your fool-'ish superstition in private houses, and in all private places 'whatever. All of you therefore, who have any sincere 'love of truth, come to the catholic church.—And that this 'remedy may have its full effect, we ordain, that all your 'superstitious conventicles, I mean oratories of all heretics, 'if it be fit to call such houses oratories, be forthwith taken 'away, and without any opposition delivered to the catholic 'church: and that the rest of your places be adjudged to 'the public. Thus,' says our ecclesiastical historian, 'the[b] 'dens of heretics were laid open by the imperial edict, and 'the wild beasts, the ringleaders of their impiety, were scat-'tered.' He adds, that[c] in this edict orders were given for searching out their books. The effect of all which was, as the historian says, that some of those heterodox people, being terrified by the emperor's edict, renounced their errors, hypocritically only, and in that manner came into the church, whilst others of them became sincere converts.

This edict was published in[d] 326. Here is no mention made of Arians. The reason of it may be, that their cause had been lately determined, and it was supposed, that sufficient care had been already taken of them: or the reason may be, that there were few who went under that denomination. For Sozomen says, that[e] though the Arian scheme was much discoursed of, it did not form a separate people, or make a distinct sect in the time of Constantine. Indeed many who held that sentiment, kept their places in the church.

[a] Ib. c. 65. [b] Ib. c. 66.

[c] Επει δε και διερευνασθαι των ανδρων τας βιβλους διηγορευεν ο νομος. c. 66. ib. [d] Vid. Basnag. Ann. 327. n. 3.

[e] Το δε Αρειυ δογμα, ει και πολλοις εν τοις διαλεξεσιν εσπουδαζετο, υπω εις ιδιον διεκεκριτο λαον, η ονομα τυ ειροντος. Sozom. l. ii. c. 32. in. Et conf. Basnag. Ann. 326. n. iv.

9. I must pass over divers things related by Eusebius, and observe only these following. Constantine[f] constituted a kind of church in his own palace, and with cheerfulness led the way to those that assembled there with him. Taking the sacred books in his own hands, he attentively read and meditated upon the divine oracles: and then recited the usual prayers with the whole assembly of his courtiers. These were public prayers. Constantine besides prayed[g] daily in private in his own closet. In time of war he[h] had a tabernacle, or chapel, at a small distance from his camp; in which he used to pray, especially before a battle, for the divine protection and blessing: having at the same time in his company a few of his friends, who were men of known virtue and piety. He[i] taught even his heathen soldiers a form of prayer, in which they worshipped the one true God, praising him for past benefits, and expressing their trust in him for the future; and praying particularly for the safety of the emperor and his family, and the continuance and prosperity of his government. He ordained by an edict, that[k] the Lord's day should be a day of rest throughout the Roman empire. He[l] was present at divers synods for making up differences between christians, and earnestly recommended to them peace and friendship. He[m] would converse familiarly with christian bishops, and make them sit at his table. He[n] was very kind and bountiful to the poor, especially such as fell into want from plentiful circumstances. He[o] likewise made donations of money and lands to many churches, and certain allowances to poor widows and fatherless children.

By Sozomen we are informed, that[p] Constantine abolished the punishment of the cross, which had been so long used by the Romans. This edict is also mentioned by[q] a heathen historian with commendation. It appears to have been a popular act.

[f] ———ὡς εν αυτοις τοις βασιλειοις εκκλησιας Θεϐ τροπον διεθετο, σπεδη εξαρχων αυτος των ενδον εκκλησιαζομενων· μετα χειρας γετοι λαμβανων τας βιβλϐς, τῃ των Θεοπνευστων λογιων Θεωριᾳ προσανειχε τον νϐν, ειτα ευχας ενθεσμϐς συν τοις τον βασιλειον οικον πληρϐσιν απεδιδϐ. V. C. l. iv. c. 17.

[g] Ib. c. 22. [h] Ib. l. ii. c. 12, 14. [i] L. iv. c. 19, 20.

[k] L. iv. c. 18, 23. Vid. et Soz. H. E. l. i. c. 8. p. 412. B. C. et Cod. i. lib. iii. T. 12. l. iii. [l] V. C. l. i. c. 44.

[m] Ib. l. i. c. 42. [n] Ib. c. 43. [o] L. iv. c. 28.

[p] Αμελει τοι προτερον νενομισμενην Ῥωμαιοις τηv τϐ ταυρϐ τιμωριαν, νομῳ ανειλε της χρησεως των δικαστηριων. Sozom. l. i. c. 8. p. 412. C.

[q] Eo pius, ut etiam vetus vetcrrimumque supplicium patibulum et cruribus suffringendis primus removerit. Hinc pro conditore aut deo creditus. Aur. Vict. Cæs. cap. 41.

He forbad[r] the cruel sports of gladiators; though his authority was not sufficient to abolish them every where, and entirely. There[s] was need of repeated laws of christian emperors for that purpose. He likewise appointed, that[t] criminals, which had been hitherto usually condemned to act as gladiators in the public shows, should rather be sent to work in the mines.

10. I must not allow myself to give a particular account of all the synods held in his time, nor of all his epistles, edicts, or orations. I have already taken notice of several of them, and I may have occasion to make extracts out of some more. A catalogue of Constantine's epistles and orations may be seen in[u] Cave, and[v] Fabricius. Fr. Baudouin, or Balduinus, as we usually call him, wrote[w] two books concerning this emperor's laws. And there is a kind of list or collection of the titles of his laws in Varenius's Life of Constantine.

V. We may now, I presume, be indulged the liberty of drawing Constantine's character, some outlines of it at least, and of making some few general remarks upon his reign.

Constantine was remarkably tall,[x] of a comely and majestic presence, and great bodily strength. It may be concluded from the whole tenor of his life, that he was a person of no mean capacity; the achievements and successes of Constantine do not belong to men of weak and irresolute minds. Indeed, his[y] mind was equal to his fortune, great

[r] ———μη μονομαχων μιαιφονιαις μολυνειν τας πολεις. Eus. de V. C. l. iv. c. 25.

[s] Cruenta spectacula in otio civili, et domesticâ quiete, non placent. Quapropter, quia omnino gladiatores esse prohibemus. Cod. I. l. xi. t. 43. l.

[t] Cruenta spectacula in otio civili, et domesticâ quiete, non placent. Quapropter, quia omnino gladiatores esse prohibemus, eos qui forte delictorum causâ hanc conditionem atque sententiam mereri consueverant, metallo magis facies inservire, ut sine sanguine suorum scelerum pœnas agnoscant. Cod. Th. T. v. p. 395.

[u] H. L. T. i. p. 184, 185.

[v] Bib. Gr. T. vi. p. 2—7. et Lux Evangelii, p. 273—294.

[w] Fr. Balduini Constantinus Magnus: sive Commentariorum de Constantini Imp. Legibus ecclesiasticis et civilibus. Libri duo. Lipsiæ. 1727.

[x] —το, τ' αλλο ειδος· το μεγοεθος τε υπερβαλλον μεν τες αμφ' αυτον απαντας, τῳ τε καλλει της ὡρας, και τω μεγαλοπρεπει της τε σωματος ευπρεπειας, αλκῃ τε ρωμης αμαχε, κ. λ. Eus. De V. C. l. iii. c. 10. p. 488. C. D. Vid. et l. i. c. 19. et de Mort. Pers. c. 18.

[y] Innumeræ in eo animi corporisque virtutes claruerunt; militaris gloriæ appetentissimus, fortunâ in bellis prosperâ fuit: verum ita, ut non superaret industriam. Eutrop. Brev. l. x. n. 7.

Constantio quoque filius erat Constantinus, sanctissimus adolescens, et illo fastigio dignissimus, qui insigni et decoro habitu corporis, et industriâ militari, et probis moribus, et comitate singulari, a militibus amaretur, a privatis et optaretur. De M. P. c. 18.

as it was. His escape from Galerius to his father Constantius, is a proof of considerable sagacity, forecast, and circumspection: his valour had been tried and approved more than once[z] in his youth, and was conspicuous on all proper occasions throughout his whole life: his[a] chastity, together with his valour, justice, and prudence, is commended by a heathen panegyrist: his many acts of bounty to the poor, and his just edicts, are arguments of a merciful disposition, and a love of justice: he was moreover a sincere believer of the christian religion, of which he first of all the Roman emperors made an open profession.

He is taxed by a heathen historian[b] with ambition and prodigality. He owns, however, that these are the faults of great minds: which if Constantine had escaped, he would have been perfect.

Praxagoras, a heathen author, native of Athens, who, beside other works, wrote a[c] History of Constantine, in two books, says, that[d] this emperor surpassed all his predecessors in all virtue and goodness, and in the felicity of his reign.

VI. Having observed these virtues of Constantine, and other things, which are to his advantage; a just respect to truth obligeth us to take notice of some other things, which seem to cast a reflection upon him.

Among these, one of the chief is his putting to death so many of his relations: as Maximian Herculius his wife's father; Bassianus, husband of his sister Anastasia; Crispus his own son; Fausta, his wife; Licinius, husband of his

[z] Fortitudinem autem illius [Constantii patris] jam tum in principiis consecutus es. Paneg. vi. n. 4.

[a] Neque enim forma tantum in te patris, Constantine, sed etiam continentia, fortitudo, justitia, prudentia sese votis gentium præsentant. Quo enim magis continentiam patris æquare potuisti, quam quod te ab ipso fine pueritiæ illico matrimonii legibus tradidisti, ut primo ingressu adolescentiæ formares animum maritalem, nihil de vagis cupiditatibus, nihil de concessis ætati voluptatibus in hoc sacrum pectus admitteres: novum tum miraculum, juvenis uxorius. Paneg. vi. n. 3, 4.

[b] At memoriâ meâ Constantinum, quamquam cæteris promptum virtutibus, ad usque astra votis omnium subvexêre. Qui profecto, si munificentiæ atque ambitionis modum, hisque artibus statuisset, quibus præcipue adulta ingenia gloriæ studio progressa longius in contrarium labuntur, haud multum abesset deo. Aur. Vict. Cæs. cap. 40.

Fuit vero, ultra quam æstimari potest, laudis avidus. Vict. Epit. c. 41.

[c] *Πραξαγορᾳ τᾳ Αθηναιᾳ της κατα τον μεγαν Κωνσταντινον ἱστοριας βιβλια δυο.* Phot. Cod. 62. p. 64. in.

[d] *Καιτοι την θρησκειαν Ἑλληνων, ὁτι πασῃ αρετῃ και καλοκαγαθιᾳ, και παντι ευτυχηματι παντας προ αυτᾳ βεβασιλευκοτας ὁ βασιλευς Κωνσταντινος απεκρυψατο.* ib. p. 65.

sister Constantia; and Licinianus, or Licinius the younger, his nephew, and son of the forementioned Licinius.

To some of these actions Constantine was reduced by a hard necessity, arising from the treacherous conduct of his relations, in which therefore he is generally justified. For the rest he is blamed, especially some of the last; which is one reason, why the[e] latter part of his reign is not reckoned equal to the former part of it.

The death of Maximian in 310, has[f] escaped in a manner all censure. It was partly a just punishment for past crimes, and partly a necessary defence against future dangerous designs and attempts.

In[g] 314 or 315, Constantine put to death Bassianus, to whom he had married his sister Anastasia. We have no very particular account of this matter; but it is said, that[h] Constantine had discovered, that Licinius had set Bassianus against him, by means of Senecion, brother of the same Bassianus, at the time that the emperor was designing favours for him.

In 325,[i] Licinius was put to death at Thessalonica, after that Constantine had reduced him to a private condition, and promised him his life. This action is censured not only by[k] Zosimus, but by others[l] also, as contrary to the promise

[e] Verum insolentia rerum secundarum aliquantum Constantinum ex illâ favorabili animi docilitate mutavit. Primum necessitudines persecutus, egregium virum, et sororis filium, commodæ indolis juvenem, interfecit; mox, uxorem; post, numerosos amicos. Vir primo imperii tempore optimis principibus, ultimo mediis comparandus. Eutrop. l. x. c. 6, 7.

[f] Cumque specie officii, dolis compositis [Herculius] Constantinum generum tentaret acerbe, jure tandem interierat. Aur. Vict. Cæs. c. 40.

Moliens tamen Constantinum, repertâ occasione, interficere.—Detectis igitur insidiis per Faustam filiam, quæ dolum viro enuntiaverat,—pœnam dedit justissimo exitu. Eutrop. l. x. cap. 3. Et vid. omnino De M. P. c. 30.

[g] See Tillem. Constantin. art. 36.

[h] Post aliquantum deinde temporis Constantium Constantinus ad Licinium misit, persuadens ut Bassianus Cæsar fierit, qui habebat alteram Constantini sororem Anastasiam; ut exemplo Diocletiani et Maximiani inter Constantinum et Licinium Bassianus Italiam medius obtineret. Et Licinio talia frustrante, per Senecionem Bassiani fratrem, qui Licinio fidus erat, in Constantinum Bassianus armatur. Qui tamen in conatu deprehensus, Constantino jubente, convictus et stratus est. Anon. Vales. p. 713.

[i] Vid. Basnag. Ann. 325. n. 3. Pagi 318. n. 7, 8. et 324. n. 3.

[k] *Λικινιον δε εις την Θεσσαλονικην εκπεμψας, ως βιωσομενον αυτοθι συν ασφαλειᾳ, μετ' ȣ πολυ τȣς ὁρκȣς πατησας, (ην γαρ τȣτο αυτῳ συνηθες,) αγχονη αυτον τȣ ζῃν αφαιρειται.* Zos. l. ii. p. 685.

[l] Licinius Thessalonicæ contra jus sacramenti privatus occiditur. Hieron. Chr. p. 181.

Postremo Licinius navali et terrestri prœlio victus apud Nicomediam se

which Constantine had made him, of preserving his life. On the other hand, some attempt to justify it, upon account[m] of bad designs, actually formed by Licinius; or to excuse it, by[n] the apprehensions of designs to resume the purple and create disturbances, contrary to engagements. By some this matter is[o] past by, or[p] just mentioned, without either censure or apology. Basnage argues,[q] that there can be no good foundation for the defence made by Socrates, forasmuch as Eusebius says nothing of Licinius having attempted any disturbances after his last defeat. Indeed it is observable, that so many ancient writers charge Constantine with breach of faith in this matter. Nor is it strange, that some should omit to pass any censure upon this action, considering[r] the cruelty, avarice, and other vices of Licinius; who had in him few agreeable or commendable qualities, beside his being a good general, and a lover of military discipline.

In 326,[s] Constantine put to death his son Crispus, and his nephew Licinianus, or the younger Licinius, who had been[t]

dedit, et contra religionem sacramenti Thessalonicæ privatus occisus est. Eutrop. l. x. c. 6.

[m] Socrat. l. i. c. 4.

[n] Sed Herculii Maximiani soceri motus exemplo, ne iterum depositam purpuram in perniciem reipublicæ sumeret, privatum jussit occidi. Oros. l. vii. c. 28. Conf. Anon. Vales. p. 715. in.

[o] Itaque Sexennio post ruptâ pace apud Thracas, Licinius pulsus Chalcedona concessit. Ibi ad auxilium sui Martiniano in imperium cœptato, una oppressus est. Aur. Vict. Cæs. c. 41.

[p] Dehinc Constantinus acie potior apud Bithyniam adegit Licinium, pactâ salute, indumentum regium offerre per uxorem. Inde Thessalonicam missum, paullo post eum Martinianumque jugulari jubet. Hic Licinius annum dominationis fere post quintum decimum, vitæ proxime sexagesimum, occiditur. Victor. Epit. c. 41.

[q] Vellemus quidem eâ rebellione omni labe Constantinianam innocentiam liberari. Verum enimvero creditu difficillimum est, Licinium ad privatam fortunam redactum in bellum consurrexisse, quam Licinii perfidiam Eusebius non præteriisset. Basn. 325. n. 3.

[r] ——ob diversos mores tamen anxie triennium congruere quiverc. Namque illi præter modum magnificentia, huic parsimonia, et ea quidem agrestis tantummodo inerat. Denique Constantinus cunctos hostes honore ac fortunis manentibus texit, recepitque. Licinio ne insontium quidem ac nobilium philosophorum servili more cruciatus adhibiti modum fecere. Aur. Vict. de Cæsar. c. 41.

Avaritiæ cupidine omnium pessimus, neque alienus a luxu Venerio, asper admodum, haud mediocriter impatiens: infestus literis, quas per inscitiam immodicam virus ac pestem publicam nominabat, præcipue forensem industriam. Agrariis plane ac rusticantibus, quia de eo genere ortus altusque erat, satis utilis, ac militiæ custos ad veterum institua severissimus. Vict. Epit. c. 41. Vid. et Euseb. H. E. l. x. c. 8. p. 396, 397. De V. C. l. i. c. 55.

[s] Vid. Pagi 324. n. 3, 4. 325. n. 48. Basn. 326. n. 1, 2.

[t] Crispus et Constantinus filii Constantini, et Licinius adolescens, Licinii

Cæsars ever since the year[u] 317. Crispus had been consul likewise in 318, 321, and 324, and Licinianus in 319.

Crispus, son of Constantine by Minervina, was now at least 25[v] years of age, a person of great qualifications, who had been serviceable to his father in the wars with[w] the Franks, and with[x] Licinius. Many historians relate[y] the unhappy end of this young prince. The silence of Eusebius is reckoned very remarkable: in his Ecclesiastical History, he commends Crispus; in[z] his Life of Constantine, written several years after, as[a] Tillemont observes, he repeats the same matters almost word for word, but leaves out all he had said of Crispus: and though he relates at length Constantine's victory over Licinius, in which Crispus had a large share, as he himself had related in the History, he does not now so much as name him. These silences and omissions, as the same diligent and accurate writer farther adds, speak a great deal. For Eusebius would have excused this thing, if he had been able; but he saw no other method he could take, but to pass it by in utter silence: choosing rather to expose himself to the charge of violating the laws of history, than to undertake to justify what all the world condemned.

Augusti filius, Constantini ex sorore nepos, Cæsares appellantur. Eus. Chron. p. 180.

Filiumque suum Crispum nomine, ex Minervinâ concubinâ susceptum, item Constantinum, iisdem diebus natum oppido Arelatensi, Licinianumque Licinii filium, mensium fere viginti, Cæsares effecit. Vict. Epit. c. 41.

Vid. et Vict. de Cæsar. c. 41. Idat. Fast. Conf. Zos. l. ii. p. 679. f. Anon. Vales. p. 713. f.

[u] Vid. Pagi Ann. 315. n. 3. et 317. n. 2. Basnag. 317. n. 1.

[v] See Tillem. in Constantin. Art. 41. 62.

[w] Declarant ecce rationem cupiditatemque votorum facta Crispi Cæsarum Maximi, in quo velox virtus, ætatis morâ non retardata, pueriles annos gloriis triumphalibus occupavit, &c. Paneg. x. c. 36. Vid. et c. 37.

[x] Constantinus Cæsarem Crispum cum grandi classe ad occupandam Asiam miserat.—Crispus vero cum classe Constantini Calipolim pervenit, ubi bello maritimo sic Amandum vicit, ut vix per eos, qui in litore permanserant, vivus Amandus effugeret. Anon. Vales. p. 714. Vid. et Euseb. H. E. l. x. c. 9.

[y] His cousulibus occisus et Crispus, et edidit vicennalia Constantinus Augustus Romæ. Idat. Fast.

Ad Istriam duxit prope oppidum Polam, ubi quondam diremtum Constantini filium accepimus Crispum. Ammian. M. l. xiv. c. 11. p. 63.

———ut mihi non figuratius Constantini domum vitamque videatur vel pupugisse versu gemello Consul Ablabius, vel momordisse, disticho tali clam palatinis foribus appenso:

Saturni aurea sæcla quis requirat?
Sunt hæc gemmea, sed Neroniana.

Quia scilicet prædictus Augustus iisdem fere temporibus exstinxerat Faustam calore balnei, filium Crispum frigore veneni. Apol. Sidon. l. v. ep. 8.

[z] Conf. H. E. l. x. c. 9. et De V. C. l. ii. c. 19.

[a] Constantine, Art. 62.

The death of Crispus is ascribed by some historians[b] to the calumnies of Fausta. Zosimus's account is, that[c] he was accused of criminal conversation with Fausta, or of attempting it. Gregory of Tours makes[d] the crime he was charged with to be rebellion; in which charge he supposes Fausta to have been joined with him. Some historians[e] do not seem to know the reason of his death; which ignorance, or suspense possibly, may be ascribed to a respect for Constantine himself, or the reigning emperor, in whose time they wrote. Jerom, in an addition, inserted by him in Eusebius's Chronicle, condemns both the death of Crispus and Licinianus. 'In[f] this year,' says he, 'Crispus, son of Con-'stantine, and Licinius the younger, son of Licinius and 'Constantine's sister Constantia, are most cruelly put to 'death, in the ninth year of their empire;' that is, their Cæsarean empire.

The younger Licinius could not then be more than a little above eleven years of age, if so much: he[g] is also spoken of as a hopeful youth; and St. Jerom, in the passage just cited, calls his death, as well as that of Crispus, a cruel action.

Next comes Fausta, not long after the two last. Zosimus says, that[h] Helena being extremely grieved for the death of Crispus, excited Constantine to revenge it on Fausta, the

[b] Ὅτι φησι τον Κωνσταντινον ανελειν τον ιδιον παιδα, διαβολαις της μητρυιας συναρπασθεντα. Philost. l. ii. c. 4.

At Constantinus, obtento totius Romani imperii, mirâ bellorum felicitate, regimine, Faustâ conjuge, ut putant, suggerente, Crispum filium necari jubet. Vict. Epit. c. 41.

[c] Κρισπον γαρ παιδα, της τε Καισαρος (ως ειρηται προτερον) αξιωθεντα τιμης, εις ὑποψιαν ελθοντα τῃ Φαυστῃ τῃ μητρυιᾳ συνειναι, ——— ανειλε. Zos. l. ii. p. 685. m.

[d] Hic Constantinus anno vicesimo imperii sui Crispum filium veneno, Faustam conjugem calente balneo interfecit: scilicet, quod proditores regni ejus voluissent. Gr. T. Hist. Fr. l. i. c. 36.

[e] Quorum cum natu grandior, incertum quâ causâ, patris judicio occidisset. Vict. de Cæs. c. 41.

Sed inter hæc latent causæ, cur vindicem gladium, et destinatam in impios punitionem, Constantinus imperator etiam in proprios egit affectus. Nam Crispum filium suum, et Licinium sororis filium, interfecit. Oros. l. vii. c. 28.

[f] Crispus filius Constantini, Licinius junior, Constantiæ sororis et Licinii filius, crudelissime interficiuntur anno imperii sui nono. Eus. Chron. p. 181.

[g] Primum necessitudines persecutus, Crispum filium, egregium virum, et sororis filium, commodæ indolis juvenem, interfecit, mox uxorem, post numerosos amicos. Eutrop. l. x. cap. 6.

[h] Της δε Κωνσταντινε μητρος Ἑλενης επι τῳ τηλικωτῳ παθει δυσχεραινεσης, και ασχετως την αναιρεσιν τε νεε φερεσης, κακῳ το κακον ιασατο μειζονι· βαλανειον γαρ υπερ το μετρον εκπυρωθηναι κελευσας, και τωτῳ την Φαυσταν εναποθεμενος, εξηγαγε νεκραν γενομενην. Zos. l. ii. p. 685.

adviser of it. There is much the same account[i] in Victor's Epitome. Fausta, however,[k] is accused by some of adultery with a very mean person; but that account does not appear well founded.

These are the executions, which above all others cast a reflection upon the reign of Constantine; though there are also hints of the death of some others about the same time, with whom Constantine had till then lived in friendship.

I do by no means think, that Constantine was a man of a cruel disposition; and therefore I am unwilling to touch upon any other actions of a like nature: as[l] his making some German princes taken captive fight in the theatre, and sending the head[m] of Maxentius to Africa, after it had been made[n] a part of Constantine's triumphal entry at Rome.

At the time of the first affair Constantine was not a christian; and but newly converted at the time of the other. These things, too, may receive an excuse from the custom of those times, and the necessity of some outward severity at the beginning of a reign, the better to settle it, and to deter from farther attempts. The Franks or Germans had been guilty of breach of faith, and therefore were punished for[o] perfidiousness. And, by the confession of Zosimus[p] himself, Constantine used his victory over Maxentius mercifully, and did no more than was necessary for his own and the public security.

As for the deaths of his relations, of which a distinct account has been given, that of Maximian, as before observed, seems a clear case: that of Bassianus lies in obscurity; of the four last, the death of Licinius is also doubtful. And what cause of displeasure there might be against Fausta, we cannot certainly say: one might be apt to suspect, that she had been guilty of unfaithfulness to the emperor's bed, or else had greatly deceived him with regard to Crispus, or

[i] Dehinc uxorem Faustam in balneas ardentes conjectam interemit, cum eum mater Helena dolorenimio nepotis increparet. Vict. Epit. c. 41.

[k] *Κᾳκεινην δε παλιν φωραθεισαν τινι των κȣρσωρων μοιχωμενην, τῃ τȣ λȣτρȣ αλεᾳ αποπνιγηναι προϛαξας.* Philost. l. ii. c. 4.

[l] Puberes, qui in manus venerunt, quorum nec perfidia erat apta militiæ, nec ferocia servituti, ad pœnas spectaculo dati, sævientes bestias multitudine suâ fatigârunt. Paneg. vii. c. 12.

[m] Pari studio missum ejusdem tyranni ad permulcendam Africam caput, ut quam maxime vivus afflixerat, laceratus expleret. Nazar. Paneg. 10. c. 32.

[n] Sequebatur hunc comitatum suum tyranni ipsius teterrimum caput.—Injiciebantur vulgo contumeliosissimæ voces. Id. cap. 31.

[o] Vid. supra not. [1]

[p] *Ὁ Κωνϛαντινος ολιγοις μεν τισι των επιτηδειοτατων Μαξεντιῳ δικην επεθηκε. κ. λ.* Zos. l. ii. p. 677.

some other matter of high importance. And yet it must be owned that Zosimus[q] does not approve of her death; and says, that Constantine did not mend the matter by adding one crime to another. And Apollinarius Sidonius reckons[r] the death of Fausta, as well as of Crispus, among Constantine's cruel actions. The death of Crispus is altogether without any good excuse; so likewise is the death of the young Licinius, who appears not to have been charged with any fault, and can hardly be suspected of any.

In order to judge of the general causes of these last executions, I think it worthy of observation, that they all happened very near to one another; when Constantine was come, as it were, to the top of his fortune, and was in the greatest prosperity. And both[s] Zosimus and[t] Eutropius mentions the pride of his successes, as the cause and spring of these bad actions. Here then lies the general excuse, or alleviation of these faults. Prosperity is a dangerous state, full of temptation, and puts men off their guard. Now also, it is likely, Constantine was thinking how to secure the empire in his family, and perpetuate the quiet possession of it, free from disturbances. For this end, and with this view, he might be too much inclined to cut off both Licinius and his son. And possibly, on the like account, was too susceptible of impressions from Fausta; who for the same reasons, that Constantine was desirous to secure the empire in his own family, was also concerned to secure it to his issue by her.

Empire is esteemed a precious jewel; many are catching at it; and they who are possessed of it, are sensible of as much, which causeth troublesome and exorbitant jealousy. It is to be feared, that this occasioned the death of Licinius, both father and son; and possibly had, some way or other, an influence in the death of Crispus.

We should however be willing to make allowances in favour of princes, and especially of long reigns. It is next to impossible, for human wisdom and discretion in the course of many years filled with action, not to be surprised into some injustice, through the bias of affection, or the specious suggestions of artful and designing people. Though therefore, there may have been some transactions in this

[q] Vid. supr. not. [p].

[r] See before, p. 42.

[s] Επει δ' εις την 'Ρωμην αφικετο, μεσος πασης αλαζονειας, αφ' ἑσιας ψηθη δειν αρξασθαι της ασεβειας· Κρισπον γαρ παιδα. κ. λ. Zos. l. ii. p. 685.

[t] Verum insolentia rerum secundarum aliquantum Constantinum ex illâ favorabili animi docilitate mutavit. Primum necessitudines persecutus, &c. Eutrop. l. x. c. 6.

reign, which cannot be easily justified, and others that must be condemned: yet we are not to consider Constantine as a cruel prince or a bad[u] man.

Upon the whole the highest stations of life are not so desirable as we imagine; the happiness of them does not compensate for all their care and toil: and for all those actions necessary to keep them, which are not consistent with innocence. Great men are rather to be pitied than envied. They, however, who steadily pursue the good of those who are subject to them, will have a great reward for all their labour and care, and attention to government: they are entitled to the highest honours from men, and shall receive a yet greater reward from God, the best friend and truest lover of mankind.

VII. If we proceed to consider the treatment of men under this reign, according to their different religious distinc-

[u] Some have been very severe in their censures of Constantine. They who desire to see an instance of this may read Observat. Hallens. xxiv. Fabulæ de Constantino M. et potissimum de ejus christianismo. Others have passed a favourable judgment upon him. Nor have they scrupled to make an apology for those parts of his conduct, which are not unexceptionable. Among these latter are Balduin. de Legib. Constantini M. and Vitringa upon the Apocalypse. From this last I shall transcribe some observations. Fuitque vere Constantinus talis, qualis hic pingitur, vir fortis, et non minus decoro corporis habitu, quam animi magnitudine et virtute insignis. Vitring. in Apoc. c. 12. ver. 1—6. n. ii. p. 705. in. Fateor enim, me non videre quæ justa causa moveat christianæ professionis homines, cur tam inclementer de hoc principe judicent, in quo Eutropius, ipse paganus homo, ejusque memoriæ, ut constat, minus favens, innumeras animi corporisque virtutes claruisse agnoscit. Id. n. iii. p. 710. Cætera autem quod attinet, si inter se comparemus, et æquâ libremus lance, quæ ab hac parte panegyrici, Eusebius et Eumenius, in ejus laudem, ab alterâ obtrectatores famæ ejus, Julianus et Zosimus, in ejus vituperium scripserunt, longe hic princeps major erit virtutibus, quam vitiis. Fuerit enim supra modum munificus, laudis amans, et quoque, quod negare nolim, plus quibusdam casibus tribuens et fidens amicis, quam sæpe prudentia suadet: quæ vitia in tanti imperii et potestatis principe non sunt ex maximis: cætera imperatorem præstitit optumum et laudatissimum, elegantiæ omnis et literarum non patronum tantum sed et cultorem. Quod enim sævitiæ quoque et crudelitatis ipsi inuratur macula, calumnia est, quam ad memoriam principis dehonestandum livor produxit paganorum. Certe quæ Zosimus tam de hoc vitio, quam de profusâ ejus liberalitate et *ασωτια* scripsit, ex invidiâ et odio hujus principis ab homine pagano vel maligne ficta, vel in majus aucta esse, æquo et veri amanti lectori facile patet. Quæ enim de Crispi et Faustæ conjugis nece habet ille, non tam arguunt Constantini malitiam crudelitatemque, quam illius imprudentiam, quâ factum, ut falsis accusationibus Faustæ conjugis———facilem nimis præbuerit aurem: quæ postquam detectæ fuerint, quis miretur, tantum justo dedisse dolori, ut ab eâ exegerit vindictam?— Certe si hoc vitium in principe regnâsset, non pauca, sed plurima exempla conservata essent in historiâ, quæ spatio triginta, et amplius annorum, quo summa imperii penes ipsum fuit, edidisset. Nec neglexissent gentiles, iniqui omnes hujus memoriæ principis, eadem ad obscurandam ejus laudem committere posteritati. Ib. n. iv. p. 712, 713

tions and denominations, catholic, heretic, and heathen, we shall observe several things liable to exception.

The unequal treatment of catholics and heretics, soon after the first ceasing of the persecution and the opening of liberty to the professors of the christian religion, is not to be justified in point of religion or policy. We do not lay all the blame of this upon Constantine. If there be any fault, it will partly fall upon the christians, both ministers and others, with whom he advised. But it seems, that Constantine should not have made himself a party with any of the sects, into which the christian profession was then divided. It was fit, that as they had all suffered in the late persecution, so they should all share in the liberty now granted. If any, whether catholics or others, were not contented with enjoying equal rights and privileges together with their brethren, fellow-creatures, fellow-sufferers, and fellow-subjects, they were unreasonable men, and showed, that they were not to be humoured.

The following treatment of those called heretics, when Constantine's government was more firmly established, was still more severe, and consequently more unreasonable than the unequal regards to Cæcilian and his party, and the Donatists in Africa. For then, as Eusebius has assured us, the private assemblies of all heretics, Valentinians, Marcionites, Cataphrygians, and others, were prohibited.

It is surprising, that our ecclesiastical historian should relate these things with such manifest tokens of approbation and satisfaction. According to that edict, Tertullian, who in the time of the emperor Severus published so noble an apology for the christian religion and its professors, could not have had liberty of public worship under a christian emperor: no, according to law, he could not now, any more than in his own time, have joined with his friends in the worship of God, in the most private place whatever. In short, liberty was still given to those only, who were of the emperor's religion: and little regard was had for those, who preserved a supreme reverence for him, who is King of kings, Emperor of all emperors, Sovereign Lord of the whole world, and Judge of the thoughts, reasonings, and determinations, as well as the outward actions, of his rational and intelligent creatures. Certainly, there remains a rest for the people of God; there is a future recompence in another world for the strictly and inflexibly virtuous of all denominations. For in this world they scarce ever have security and protection; but under almost all governments,

without any offence whatever against the state, they are treated as impious, profane, and disaffected.

It cannot be reckoned strange, that in this place, and upon occasion of this partiality toward christians by the first christian emperor, I freely deliver my thoughts upon it, considering the said influence of this precedent: and that in consequence of it, and the principle from which it proceeded, not long after this, sometimes Arians, sometimes Homousians, were under persecution, and all its penalties: or else were advanced, without respect to virtue, only in regard to external agreement of opinion and denomination, to the great prejudice of true religion and virtue, in every age from that time to this.

The several laws of Constantine against heathens are not to be justified. How should Constantine have a right to prohibit all his subjects to sacrifice, and worship at the temples? Would he have liked this treatment, if some other prince had become a christian at that time, and he still remained a heathen? What reason had he to think, that all men received light and conviction when he did? And if they were not convinced, how could he expect that they should act as he acted?

Now also the christians, with whom Constantine advised, come into a share of blame with him. It may be said, indeed, that the heathen people had given the christians great provocation by their former terrible persecutions. But did not every christian know, that they ought to forgive injuries? and that they should not return evil for evil? And had they not pleaded a right to worship God according to their consciences, though the rest of the world around them were of a different sentiment?

It may be again said, that the christians, or this christian emperor, did not put men to death for heathenism: but this is no sufficient apology. It would have been strange, beyond all instances of infatuation, if the christians had returned all the tortures which they had suffered. But indeed the lesser degree of persecution is but a small honour to the christian virtue. For whatever was their inclination, it could not be prudent to exasperate the heathens at first by laws of the utmost severity. But it seems, that as Constantine's government and the christian profession were established, the severity of the laws against the heathen people increased.

A prince has the advantage of a right to do many things for the service of truth and virtue. He can protect men in

detecting and exposing frauds. He may prohibit nocturnal, and all secret, clandestine assemblies; and may require men to perform their religious rites by day-light, and in public views, with their temple doors open. He has the right and power of punishing evil-doers of all sorts, and of restraining and punishing all actions injurious to particular persons, or contrary to good manners, and the peace of society in general. He can protect and defend peaceable, innocent men, in their several civil employments, and in their pursuits of truth, and the profession of the principles of religious or philosophic science. Nor have any like him ability to reward and encourage the virtuous and the skilful. All this is the high privilege of those, whom Divine Providence intrusts with the reins of civil government: and he who improves this prerogative to the utmost, without exceeding its due bounds and limits, must be an amiable and glorious character. And if this kind of government had obtained, and been thankfully received and heartily approved and applauded by christian people for some ages, I cannot but think, that the religion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ would have been, before now, the universal religion of mankind.

All those things beforementioned, a supreme magistrate has a right to do: but for a prince to pull down men's temples, where nothing is done contrary to the peace of society, to deprive them of their statues and other consecrated ornaments, and to forbid them to worship in the way they approve, and that under heavy penalties; what is this but to vindicate, so far as he is able, by his conduct, all instances of persecution in times past? and to encourage and excite to the like injustice in time to come, all princes and empeperors toward such as differ from them: and, as it may happen, those of his own religion?

As the late Mr. Le Clerc said, 'They[v] that continued 'heathens, were no doubt extremely shocked at the manner 'in which the statues of their gods were treated; and could 'not consider the christians as men of moderation. For, in 'short, those statues were as dear to them, as any thing, 'the most sacred, could be to the christians.'

And, as the same learned and judicious writer says in another place, speaking of the christians below the period we are (as was also the former observation): 'Thus[w] the 'christians went on, returning to the heathens what they had 'suffered from them, during the first three centuries; in-'stead of gaining them by the patience and gentleness, which

[v] Bibl. Univ. T. 15. p. 54. [w] Bib. ch. T. 8. p. 276.

'they had so much taught and recommended, when they 'were the undermost.'

It is not a little surprising, that Eusebius should triumph over the philosophers, as he does, upon Constantine's soldiers pulling down a temple of Æsculapius without being hindered by that pretended deity. Had not Eusebius often heard with his own ears, and read in the history of ancient martyrs, the insults and triumphs of the heathens over the christians, that they professed themselves the worshippers of the great, and only true God, and yet every body, that pleased, was able to molest and destroy them, as he saw good?

To use the words of bishop Burnet, 'It[x] has been often 'observed, that though a plea for moderation is the sanc-'tuary of all the unfortunate, yet their fortunes come no 'sooner to be changed, but they insensibly get into that 'principle, which was so much decried by themselves, 'when their affairs were in an ill condition: as if the only 'quarrel they had with persecution was, that they had not 'the managing of it themselves.'

How different is this conduct from the principles and sentiments recommended by Lactantius, near the end of the last heathen general persecution, which the christians suffered! whose argument upon this head was at large shown by us some time[y] ago.

And how deplorable was the consequence! The two prevailing evils of this reign, as[z] Eusebius owns, were avarice and hypocrisy. And for certain, authority and force in matters of a religious nature, will multiply hypocrites.

Thus I have shown, that in the time of this first christian emperor, there was a treatment given to many people, which was not agreeable to strict justice, nor honourable to the christian religion.

Besides it is likely, that a more equal treatment and protection of all sorts of people, who were quiet and peaceable, without regarding their several speculative religious sentiments or opinions, would have been more for the peace of the emperor's government; and he would also have set an example that might have been of great use to christian governments in time to come.

In a word, the conversion of Constantine to christianity

[x] Preface to the book Of the Deaths of Persecutors, p. 10.

[y] See ch. lxv.

[z] *Και γαρ αν αληθως, δυο χαλεπα ταυτα κατα τες ὑηλεμενες χρονες και αυτοι κατενοησαμεν,———ειρωνειαν τ' αλεκτον των την εκκλησιαν ὑποδυομενων, και το χριτιανων επιπλατως σχηματιζομενων ονομα.* De V. C. l. iv. c. 54.

was a favour of Divine Providence, and of great advantage to the christians: and his reign may be reckoned a blessing to the Roman empire upon the whole. But there is nothing perfect in this world: oftentimes advantages are not duly improved; and changes for the better do not fully answer expectations, nor turn out to all the account that might have been wished.

From what has been seen and observed by us, it appears, that the happiness of this reign was not equal to all. The heathens had not liberty of worship; for they were forbidden to sacrifice, and all their temples were shut up, which must have been exceeding grievous to them. From the beginning of the liberty to the christians, some of them too felt the disagreeable effects of partiality. And the severity toward heretics increased: at length these measures incommoded by turns the Homoüsians and the Arians.

There was still one thing more, which somewhat damped the universal joy of the christians upon the conversion of Constantine, and lessened the benefit they expected from it. For the particular affection which the christians in general had for Constantine, was one ground of the persecution raised against them by Licinius. Some of the christian churches were pulled down or shut up by his order, that men might not meet there for their usual worship. 'For,' says[a] Eusebius, 'he who gave this order, did not think the 'prayers there offered were for him, being conscious of his 'own wickedness. But he thought we did all for Constan-'tine, and prayed for his prosperity only.'

Nay, the uncommon affection of the christians for Constantine, or the suspicion of it, was prejudicial to them without the bounds of the Roman empire. It is disputed, when the persecution in Persia began: some place the rise of it in[b] the year 343, or 344, under Constantius. But Asseman thinks it[c] began in the year 330, and argues very plausibly[d] from Syrian, and other authors. Petavius[e] was of the same opinion, as Asseman also observes. Eusebius has inserted in the Life of Constantine[f] a letter, which that emperor sent to Sapor upon that occasion, as it seems.

[a] *Συντελεισθαι γαρ εχ ηγειτο υπερ αυτε ταυτα ὁ τοιαδε προσταττων· συνειδοτι φαυλῳ τεττο λογιζομενος· υπερ δε Χωνσταντινε πραττειν παντα ἡμας, και τον Θεον ἱλεεσθαι πεπειτο.* Eus. V. C. l. ii. c. 2. p. 443. D.

[b] Vid. Pagi 343. n. 3, 4. et Basnag. 344. n. 2, 3.

[c] Hæc autem persecutio cœpit sub Sapore anno Christi 330, ut in S. Simeone Barseboë statuimus, duravitque annis 40, ut in Actis Martyrum habetur, nimirum usque ad annum 370. Asseman, Bib. Or. T. i. p. 183.

[d] Vid. eund. ib. p. 4—9.

[e] Petav. Rat. Temp. Part. i. l. vi. c. 2.

[f] L. iv. c. 9—13.

Theodoret[g] too, has a copy of it from him. And Sozomen likewise,[h] gives a particular account of it. Whatever was the time of this persecution, a notion, that the[i] christians in Persia favoured the Roman empire, (either under Constantine or Constantius,) was one pretence for it. Whether the christians gave any just ground for such a suspicion or charge, we cannot certainly say. But if they did, they were to blame: for the christian religion teaches men to be faithful subjects of the government under which they live, and by which they are protected. Possibly, that charge against the Persian christians had no other foundation, but the suspicions, or pretences and insinuations of ambitious and artful, or bigoted and prejudiced men; who had some private ends to serve, or mean passion to gratify thereby. But if Constantine, or his successor, had protected the heathens, as well as the christians, in his empire, I think he might have sent the king of Persia more forcible and effectual remonstrances against that dreadful persecution, than he did.

VIII. I proceed to observe Constantine's testimony to the scriptures.

1. Eusebius, giving an account of Constantine's conversion, says, 'From[k] that time he resolved to give himself to 'the reading of the divine scriptures.'

2. We saw before in a passage already cited, 'that[l] Con- 'stantine had a kind of church in his own palace, and with 'cheerfulness led the way to those that assembled there 'with him. Taking the sacred books in his own hands, he 'attentively read and meditated upon the divine oracles.'

3. Our historian drawing a comparison between former emperors and Constantine, says, 'They[m] ordered the divine 'oracles to be burned: he gave directions for multiplying 'copies of them, and for magnificently adorning them at 'the expense of the imperial treasury.'

Whether this be something different from what is to be presently taken notice of, or the same with it, I cannot certainly say.

4. Constantine having enlarged the city of Byzantium, and consecrated it in the year 330, by the name of Constantinople, wrote a letter to our bishop of Cæsarea, to send him fifty copies of the sacred scriptures, for the use of the

[g] Thdrt. l. i. c. 25.

[h] Soz. l. ii. c. 15.

[i] *Και διαβαλλεσι προς Σαβωρην τον τοτε βασιλεα Συμεωνην* ———, *ως φιλον οντα τῳ Καισαρι Ῥωμαιων, και τα Περσων πραγματα τετῳ καταμηνυοντα.* Soz. l. ii. c. 9. in. Vid. et Assem. ubi supr. p. 183. a.

[k] *Και αυτος δ' ηδη τοις ενθειοις αναγνωμασι προσεχειν ηξιε.* De V. C. l. i. c. 32.

[l] See p. 37.

[m] De V. C. l. iii. c. 1. p. 483. A.

churches there. The letter probably was written about the year 332, and is to this purpose:

'The[n] city that bears our name, through the goodness of 'Providence, increases daily, and there[o] will be occasion 'for erecting in it many churches. Wherefore[p] we hope 'you will approve of our design, and take care to procure 'fifty copies of the divine scriptures, which you know to be 'necessary in churches, of fine parchment, legible, and 'easily portable, that they may be the fitter for use, tran- 'scribed by such as are most skilful in the art of fair-writ- 'ing. Directions are given to the receiver general of the 'province to furnish you with all things needful. By vir- 'tue of this letter you may demand the use of two public 'carriages, for the more commodious and speedy convey- 'ance of the fairly written books to us. And if you send 'them by a deacon of your church, he will be made sensi- 'ble of our bounty. Which orders,' as Eusebius adds, 'were immediately obeyed by us. And[q] we sent him ter- 'nions and quaternions magnificently adorned, as appears 'by the emperor's answer contained in a letter sent to us 'upon another occasion.'

Valesius in his notes upon this place says, that books written on parchments were generally bound up in ternions and quaternions. The former consisted of three, the latter of four sheets. So that a ternion had twelve, a quaternion sixteen pages. And upon the last page of these several divisions was written its number, 1, 2, 3, and the rest.

It is commonly supposed, that hereby is to be understood so many copies of the sacred scriptures both of the Old and the New Testament. But I have sometimes suspected, that two carriages were scarce sufficient for fifty copies of the Bible, fairly written upon parchment, and handsomely done up. If that were the case, it might lead us to think, that Constantine wrote only for copies of the New Testament.

The tenor of Constantine's letter leads us to suppose, that these copies of scripture were not for private use, but for the use of churches; and probably for the public readings there. However, I may add, that before the end of the

[n] De V. C. l. iv. c. 46.

[o] ——— *και εκκλησιας εν αυτη κατασκευασθηναι πλειους.* ibid.

[p] ——— *οπως αν πεντηκοντα σωματα εν διφθεραις εγκατασκευοις ευαναγνωστι τε και προς την χρησιν ευμετακομιστα, ὑπο τεχνιτων καλλιγραφων, και ακριβως την τεχνην επισταμενων, γραφηναι κελευσειας· των θειων δηλαδη γραφων, ων μαλιστα την τ' επισκευην και την χρησιν τῳ της εκκλησιας λογῳ αναγκαια ειναι γινωσκεις.* ib. p. 544. A.

[q] ——— *εν πολυτελως ησκημενοις τευχεσι· τρισσα και τετρασσα διαπεμψαντων ἡμων.* ib. c. 37.

fourth century it seems to have been customary, in some places at least, to have a bible, or some part of the sacred scripture, lodged[r] in some part of the church, for people to read in at their leisure.

5. Eusebius mentions it to the honour of Constantine, that[s] he persuaded many, both men and women, to seek the true nourishment of their souls in reading the holy scriptures.

6. Theodoret says, 'that Constantine recommended to the 'bishops assembled in the council of Nice to decide all 'things by the scriptures. It is pity, he said, that now 'when their enemies were subdued, they should differ, and 'be divided among themselves; especially when[t] they had 'the doctrine of the Holy Ghost in writing. For, as he 'added, the writings of the evangelists and apostles, and 'the oracles of the ancient prophets, clearly teach us how 'we ought to think of God.'

So Theodoret. But as this is no where distinctly related by Eusebius, perhaps it may be best not to rely entirely upon this account.

7. I add no more. This is sufficient to satisfy us of Constantine's sincere respect for the sacred scriptures. Nor can there be any question made, but he received all those books of scripture, both of the Old and New Testament, which were generally received by the christians of his time.

[r] Si quem sancta tenet meditandi in lege voluntas,
Hic poterit residens sacris intendere libris.
Paulin. Nolan. ep. 12. ad Severum.

[s] Τις γυναια και μυρια πληθη ανδρων ανεπεπεικε, δι' ενθεων αναγνωσματων αντικαταλαξεσθαι των τε σωματος τροφων. De Laud. Constant. c. 17. p. 661. C.

[t] ——— και τε παναγιε πνευματος την διδασκαλιαν αναγραπτον εχοντας. Ευαγγελικαι γαρ, φησιν, βιβλοι, και αποστολικαι, και των παλαιων προφητων τα θεσπισματα, σαφως ἡμας, α χρη περι τε θειε φρονειν εκπαιδευσι. Thdrt. H. E. l. i. c. 7. p. 25. C. D.

CHAP. LXXI.

THE COUNCIL OF NICE.

I. *The occasion of the Council.* II. *Convened by Constantine.* III. *The number of the bishops present.* IV. *Were chiefly of the eastern part of the Roman Empire.* V. *Who presided in the Council, and the place of meeting.* VI. *Its time and duration.* VII. *Whether the Bible was placed before them?* VIII. *The points debated by them, with their Creed, Epistle, and Canons.* IX. *All the bishops signed the Creed, except a very few.* X. *The sentence passed upon Arius.* XI. *The judgments of ancients and moderns upon this Council.* XII. *The determination of the Council concerning Meletius.* XIII. *Concerning the time of keeping Easter, with remarks.* XIV. *Concerning the Arian controversy, with remarks.*

I. WHEN Constantine became master of the East, in 323, or 324, after the final defeat of Licinius, a warm controversy was on foot in Egypt and the neighbouring countries, which gave the emperor a great deal of uneasiness. In order to put[a] an end to it, and to restore peace to the churches, he sent, as [b] Eusebius says, a bishop of great note, (Hosius bishop of Corduba, as Socrates[c] informs us,) with a letter addressed to the bishop Alexander, and the presbyter Arius, the two principal contending parties. But notwithstanding the arguments and entreaties of the emperor's letter, and the utmost endeavours of the good man who carried it, the contention, as[d] Eusebius assures us, grew still warmer, and spread wider: or, as Socrates says, neither[e] Alexander nor Arius were softened thereby, and among the people disturbances increased.

II. Whereupon some time in the year 324, Constantine sent letters unto the several provinces of the empire, inviting the bishops to come and assemble themselves at Nice

[a] They who are desirous to inform themselves farther about the council of Nice, may consult Tho. Ittigi Hist. Conc. Nic. Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. vi. Pagi Crit. in Baron. Ann. 325, 327, 340. and Basnag. Ann. &c. &c.

[b] De V. C. l. ii. c. 61, &c. [c] Socr. l. i. c. 7. in.

[d] Ib. c. 73. [e] Ουτε γαρ Αλεξανδρος, οτε Αρειος ὑπο των γραφεντων εμαλασσοντο. Socr. ib. c. 8. in.

in Bithynia: at the same time giving orders also for furnishing them with beasts, or carriages, and for bearing the expenses of their journey. And according to what Eusebius writes, 'there came thither[f] bishops from Syria, Cilicia, 'Phœnicia, Arabia, Palestine, Egypt, Thebais, Libya, Me-'sopotamia. There was also at the synod a bishop from 'Persia. Nor were there wanting some from Scythia. 'And the most eminent of their bishops came also from 'Pontus, Galatia, Pamphylia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Phry-'gia. Likewise from Thrace, Macedonia, Achaia, Epirus. 'From Spain a bishop of great note. The bishop of Rome 'did not come, because of his great age: but there were 'presbyters deputed by him.' Their names, in[g] Sozomen, are Vito and Vincentius.

III. The bishops who met in this council, as Eusebius says, were[h] more than 250, beside presbyters, and deacons, acolythists, and others, whose number could not be easily counted. Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, as cited by[i] Theodoret, says, there were about 270 bishops. Athanasius reckons the numbers differently. In one place, he says, they were[k] 318, in another[l] about 300, in other places[m] 300. Sozomen computes the number at[n] about 320. Socrates, transcribing the passage of Eusebius, before referred to, puts down[o] above 300. And afterwards he says they were[p] 318. Constantine, in his letter to the people of Alexandria, as exhibited by Socrates, speaks of the synod's consisting of[q] more than 300. Afterwards[r] of 300. Theodoret, who cites the passage of Eustathius above referred to, does himself count[s] them 318. This is the number which has been generally followed. And divers ancient writers have observed a mystery in it, that[t] the synod should consist exactly of the same number of men, with which Abraham[u] overcame his enemies. Epiphanius says, the number was 318, as[v] appeared from the subscriptions then in being. And yet Eustathius, in Theodoret, does most expressly say,

[f] De V. C. l. iii. c. 6, 7, 8. Conf. Socr. l. i. c. 8. Sozom. l. i. c. 16.
[g] L. i. c. 17. [h] De V. C. l. iii. c. 8. [i] L. i. c. 8. in.
[k] Ad. Afr. Episc. c. 2. p. 892. A.
[l] Τριακοσιοι πλειον η ελαττον. Hist. Arian. ad Monach. c. 66. p. 383. D.
[m] Οἱ των τριακοσιων, κ. λ. Apol. contr. Arian. n. 23. p. 143. D. Των τριακοσιων την ψηφον. Ib. n. 25. p. 144. F. Vid. et de Synodis, num. 43. p. 757. [n] Soz. l. i. c. 17. p. 430. B.
[o] Socr. l. i. c. 8. p. 19. D. [p] Ib. p. 23. A.
[q] Socr. l. i. c. 9. p. 30. D. [r] Ib. p. 31. A.
[s] L. i. c. 7. p. 24. B. [t] Vid. Hilar. de Synod. n. 86. et 118. Ambr. de Fid. n. 5. et passim. Liber. ap. Socr. l. iv. c. 12. p. 223. A. B.
[u] Gen. xiv. 14. [v] ———ων και τα ονοματα εις ετι δευρο σωζεται τριακοσιων δεκα και οκτω επισκοπων. H. 69. n. 11.

that[w] he did not exactly know the number: which is somewhat strange, if there be any truth in what Epiphanius says.

The late Mr. Beausobre, who did not implicitly embrace the prevailing opinions of the times in which he lived, and allowed himself to consider impartially what he met with in antiquity, has some thoughts upon this point, which may be placed here. 'Eusebius,[x] who made a great figure in 'the council of Nice, makes it not to consist of more than 'two hundred and fifty bishops. Eustathius of Antioch, 'who complimented Constantine in an oration, counts them 'about two hundred and seventy.—Athanasius, who in two 'places says they were three hundred more or less, and 'elsewhere three hundred, in his letter to the African bishops 'says at length, they were three hundred and eighteen. I 'suspect, or rather I make no doubt, but this last place has 'been altered. It is not likely that Athanasius, who several 'times expresseth himself loosely, should in one place be 'so precise.' So that acute author. He afterwards observes several other alterations of numbers in ancient authors, concerning this very matter; and then concludes: 'If the[y] fact 'were capable of proof, I could venture to be positive, that 'the number of bishops present in the council of Nice was 'not fixed at three hundred and eighteen, till after the mys-'tery of it had been found out.'

IV. I hope I may be excused for not giving a particular account of the names and characters of the bishops, known to have been present at the council: whether Homoüsians, or favourers of Arius. For this I would refer to the ancient [z] ecclesiastical historians and their commentators. I would nevertheless observe, that the council consisted chiefly of bishops from the several parts of the East. It does not appear that there were many out of Europe: or that there were any from Africa, exclusive of Egypt and parts adjacent, except Cæcilian, bishop of Carthage.

V. I forbear to enquire who presided in the council; whether the legates of the bishop of Rome, or Eustathius of Antioch, or some other: and who[a] complimented the emperor in a short oration upon his coming into the assembly; whether Eustathius before named, or Eusebius of Cæsarea: as also where the council was held; whether in a church, or

[w] Το γαρ σαφες δια τον της πολυανδριας οχλον ουχ' οιος τε ειμι γραφειν. Ap. Thdrt. l. i. c. 8. in.

[x] Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 529.

[y] Ib. p. 531.

[z] Vid. Socr. l. i. c. 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15. Soz. l. i. c. 10, 11. Thdrt. l. i. c. 11.

[a] Vid. Euseb. de V. C. l. iii. c. 11. et Thdrt. l. i. c. 7. Soz. l. i. c. 19.

in the emperor's palace. They who have a curiosity to be satisfied upon those heads, may consult the authors referred to in a note at the beginning of this chapter.

VI. The council was assembled at Nice in Bithynia in the year of Christ 325. How long it sat is not absolutely certain. Some have made it last two or three years; but learned moderns generally contract it within a small space. Basnage thinks it[b] did not continue longer than six weeks, beginning the 19th of June, and ending the 25th of July. But for the most part learned men are of opinion, that it sat somewhat above two months, beginning the 19th of June, and rising the 25th of August. So [c] Cave, and [d] others, following [e] Pagi; with whom Beveridge[f] likewise agrees.

VII. Some have supposed, that [g] the Bible, or the New Testament at least, was placed upon a table in the midst of the council, to intimate what was the rule by which they ought to decide. James Basnage, in his History of the Church, expressly says[h] so: which I wonder he should do, without referring to some authority. The passage of Theodoret, alleged by me[i] elsewhere, is no direct or full proof. The gospels were so placed in the council of [k] Chalcedon; which may have been the case likewise in this council; but I do not know of any clear evidence of it.

VIII. The three points debated and determined there, as appears from all the ecclesiastical historians, and from the synodical epistle of the council itself, were the Arian controversy before mentioned, the time of keeping Easter, and the affair of Meletius in Egypt.

There is nothing remaining of this council, but[l] the creed, the [m] synodical epistle, and [n] twenty canons: in [o] which last

[b] Nos sesqui fere mensis spatio circumscriptum esse putamus—cum a Junii xix. quo synodus incepit, ad usque Julii xxv. spatii satis foret absolvendis negotiis omnibus, quorum patres una convenerant. Basn. An. 325. n. 13.

[c] Et ita quidem post menses duos, et sex dies, die nempe Augusti xxv. celeberrimæ huic synodo finis imponitur. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 352.

[d] Vit. Ittig. Hist. Conc. Nic. n. 10. [e] Vid. A. 325. n. 6, 7.

[f] Bever. Annot. in Can. Conc. Nic. p. 42. f.

[g] 'Did not Constantine the emperor, at the opening of the first general 'council, lay the Bible before them, as the only rule, according to which they 'were to proceed, and this with the approbation of all those holy fathers that 'were assembled in that council?' Tillotson's Serm. viii. Vol. 2. p. 64. folio.

[h] Enfin la décision—étoit claire, et conforme à l' Evangile qu' on avoit placé au milieu du concile, afin d' être la régle de la foi. Hist. de l'Eglise, T. i. p. 494. n. 2. [i] See p. 54.

[k] —*προκειμενε εν τω μεσω τε ἁγιωτατε και αχραντε ευαγγελιε.* Labb. Conc. T. 4. p 93. C. [l] Vid. Socrat. l. i. c. 8. p. 22, et 25.

[m] Ap. Socr. l. i. c. 9. Thdrt. l. i. c. 9. [n] Thdrt. l. i. c. 8. f. Soz. l. i. c. 23. in. Epiph. H. 69. n. 11. p. 735. A.

[o] That it made no catalogue of sacred books, see Du Pin. Diss. Prelim. sect.

there is no catalogue of the books of scripture. But if the story of Paphnutius, related by [p] Socrates, and [q] Sozomen, be true, it may be thence argued, that this council received the epistle to the Hebrews.

IX. All the bishops present at the council did at last sign the creed, except Secundus bishop of Ptolemais, and Theonas of Marmarica, both in Egypt. Sozomen's account is, 'that[r] at length they all in general decreed, that the Son 'was consubstantial to the Father. It was said, that there 'were seventeen who at the first favoured the doctrines of 'Arius: but at length most of these came over to the com-'mon opinion.' Socrates seems to say, that[s] there were five who stood out to the last, and would not receive the consubstantial doctrine; namely, the two Egyptian bishops above named, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nice, and Maris of Chalcedon. But the truth is, that though these three last hesitated for a time, all subscribed in the end, except Secundus and Theonas. So Philostorgius says [t] expressly; and to the like purpose [u] Theodoret: and it is manifest from the words of the council itself, in [v] their synodical epistle, to be quoted presently.

X. The synod excommunicated Arius, and those who agreed with him, and forbade his going to Alexandria, as [w] Sozomen writes. He adds, 'The[x] emperor banished Arius, 'and also published an edict, that Arius and his followers 'should be esteemed impious: that wherever any of his 'writings were found, they should be burned; and that if 'after this any were detected concealing his books, they 'should be liable to death.' Socrates speaking of the same edict says, one part of it was, that [y] Arius and his followers should be called Porphyrians, as having deserved the same brand of infamy, that had been affixed on Porphyry for writing against the christian religion.

This whole sentence therefore all the adherents of Arius were involved in, equally with himself, except what relates to his writings. And every part of this sentence, I think, had been decreed before the council broke up, and is included in these modest, or artful expressions of the synodical epistle. 'And[z] the things that have been decreed con-

v. p. 12. Tillem. Concil. de Nicee, art. xvi. fin. Basnage Hist. de l'Eglise, l. viii. ch. 8. n. 1.

[p] Socr. l. i. c. 11. [q] Soz. l. i. c. 23.

[r] ——— *συνεβησαν αλληλοις παντες οι ιερεις, και ὁμοεσιον ειναι τῳ πατρι τον υἱον εψηφισαντο. κ. λ.* Soz. l. i. c. 20. in.

[s] Socr. l. i. c. 8. p. 23. A. B. [t] Vid. Philost. l. i. n. 8, 9.

[u] Thdrt. l. i. c. 8. fin. [v] Ap. Socrat. l. i. c. 9.

[w] Soz. l. i. c. 21. p. 435. C. D. et 436. A. B. [x] Soz. ibid.

[y] Socr. l. i. c. 9. p. 32. A. B. [z] Ap. Socr. ib. p 28. A. B.

'cerning him either you have already heard, or will hear; 'that we may not seem to insult a man, who has received 'the just reward of his iniquity. And[a] so far as his impiety 'prevailed, as to draw into the like perdition Theonas of 'Marmarica, and Secundus of Ptolemais. For the same 'sentence has been passed upon them and him.'

XI. This council has received great commendations from many, both ancients and moderns. Athanasius, agreeably to the sense of many others in his own time, says, that one council was sufficient without any other.[b] These Epiphanius[c] reckoned to be the two great benefits which the church received from Divine Providence by means of Constantine: that by calling the council of Nice, he procured a determination of faith against Arians, and a certain rule for keeping Easter.

By moderns this[d] is said to be not only the first œcumenical council, but also the most celebrated council, since the time of the apostles. It[e] is the most famous, and the most venerable of all councils: than[f] which the church has nothing more illustrious.

It has also been censured by some of former, as well as later ages. Sabinus, bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, one of those Arians, which were called Macedonians, who wrote a history of councils, and is often cited by Socrates, called[g] the bishops of the council of Nice weak and illiterate men. Among moderns some have not scrupled to say, that in this, as well as in most other councils, party, passion, and intrigue, bore a great sway. I put down[h] at large in the margin one censure of this kind.

[a] Τοσουτον δε ισχυσεν αυτω ἡ ασεβεια,—των γαρ αυτων κακεινοι τετυχηκασιν. Ap. Socr. p. 28. B.

[b] Τις ἡ χρεια των συνοδων, αρκουσης της εν Νικαιᾳ γενομενης προς τε την Αρειανην και τας αλλας αἱρεσεις; de Synod. n. 6. p. 720. A.—Αλλα μονον κρατειτο εν υμιν ἡ εν Νικαιᾳ παρα πατερων ομολογηθεισα πιστις—Αυτη γαρ ἡ εν Νικαιᾳ συνοδος αληθως ευαγγελικη κατα πασης αἱρεσεως εστιν. Ad African. n. 10, et 11. p. 899. D.

[c] H. 70. n. ix. p. 821. B. C.

[d] Œcumenicarum prima, omnium post apostolicas celebratissima synodus. Beverig. Annot. p. 42.

[e] Basnag. Hist. de l'Eglise, liv. x. ch. 2. n. ii.

[f] ——hunc Nicænum patrum concessum, quo nihil deinde unquam illustrius habuit ecclesia. Balduin. De Leg. Const. M. l. i. p. 55.

[g] Τους μεν εν Νικαιᾳ, ὡς αφελεις και ἰδιωτας διεσυρε. Socr. l. i. c. 8. p. 22. A. Αλλ' ἰδιωτας, και μη εχειν γνωσιν, τους εκει συνελθοντας φησιν. c. 9. p. 31. D.

[h] Quod ad cætera post [apostolicum] consecuta symbola, quæ in conciliis œcumenicis, ut vocantur, cusa fuerunt, ea, quia recentiora sunt, cum his comparari non merentur. Et, si quod res est dicendum est, ea ab episcopis inter se magnâ cum æmulatione jurgantibus et contendentibus, ex fervore, si non furore, partiumque studio insano ac male feriato, præcipitata potius videri debent, quam a compositis animis profecta. Vide P. Martyrem, in Comm. in 1

XII. Let us in the next place observe the several points brought before this council.

One was the Meletian controversy, or schism. Of which I intend not to give any farther account than was done [i] formerly. I only add, it seems to me that there could be no occasion to call a general council for the sake of it. It might have been determined by the Egyptian bishops, and their neighbours.

XIII. Another point brought before them, and one [k] occasion of their meeting, was the disagreement of the churches in several parts of the world about the time of keeping Easter: which the council now determined should be observed by all on the Sunday, which followed immediately after the 14th of the moon, that happened next after the vernal equinox: which (equinox) happened that year on the 21st day of March.

Upon this we may make several remarks.

1. There was no great harm in appointing Easter to be kept by christians in general at one and the same time, provided this rule was not too rigorously enforced. But generally, when once determinations are made concerning the most indifferent matters by a respected authority, the consequence is, that in a short time they are imposed with great rigour and severity. Proofs of it in this very case may be seen in [l] Bingham.

2. There was no necessity of a determination for fixing the time of keeping Easter. Christians might have been every where left at liberty to take the time they liked best,

lib. Reg. cap. xii. Unde et eadem veluti poma Eridos fuerunt in ecclesiâ, et non litium tantum et rixarum, sed tristissimarum divisionum, seditionum, factionum, et persecutionum seminaria fuerunt. Exinde quis sine lacrymis legere potest, quot contentiones inter Orientales et Occidentales ecclesias, post conditum symbolum Nicænum de voce ὁμοουσιος viguerint.—Videatur Sozom. l. ii. cap. 8. Socr. l. ii. cap. 37. Thdrt. l. ii. c. 18, 19, 21. Episc. Inst. Theol. l. iv. c. 34. p. 340.

[i] See Vol. iii. ch. lxi.

[k] Vid. Euseb. V. C. l. iii. cap. v.

[l] Having spoken of this controversy, as it had been managed in the time of Pope Victor, he adds: 'But when the great council of Nice had once undertaken to determine this matter, such a deference was thought proper to be paid to her decree,—that from this time, the opposers of the decree are commonly censured either as heretics or schismatics. The Audians railed at the council of Nice for introducing a new custom—and made a separation in the church—upon which Constantine banished Audius their leader into Scythia. —And for this reason the imperial laws were often very severe upon the Quartodecimans. Theodosius the Great, in one of his laws, ranks them with the Manichees, forbidding their conventicles, confiscating their goods, rendering them intestate, and liable also to capital punishment.' Bingham's Antiq. B. xx. Ch. v. vol. x. p. 102, 103.

or not to keep it at all. For, as Socrates says, it[m] was not the design of the apostles to deliver laws about festivals, but to teach men virtue and piety. And some learned and acute men of late times have been of opinion, that[n] so trifling a thing did not deserve all the pains that was taken about it: and that the ancients were more solicitous to procure an agreement than they should have been.

3. Notwithstanding all the care taken to bring men to uniformity in this practice, it was not obtained. Even they who were willing to keep Easter according to the order of the council, differed in their computations. Bingham says, it sometimes happened, that[o] the churches of one country still kept it a week, or a month, sooner than others: of which he gives several instances.

4. Once more, the council's determination concerning this point has not been approved by all moderns, any more than by all of that time. I place some proofs of this at the bottom of the[p] page.

XIV. But the principal determination of the council of Nice relates to the Arian controversy.

1. And the first remark to be made here is, that[q] their

[m] Σκοπος μεν εν γεγονε τοις αποστολοις ε περι ἡμερων εορταστικων νομοθετειν, αλλα βιον ορθον και την θεοσεβειαν εισηγησασθαι. Socr. l. v. c. 22. p. 283. D.

[n] De die Paschæ quæstio res levior videri poterat. Superstitiosior fortassis fuit posteritas in hoc genere, quam opus erat. Atque ut eam puniret Deus, passus est, sensim vitiatâ anni mensiumque supputandorum verâ ratione, et æquinoctiorum diligenti consideratione neglectâ, eo rem recidere, ut integro prope mense imprudentes plerumque dissideamus ab eo, quem Nicæni Patres præfixerant, die Paschæ. Balduin. de Leg. Const. M. l. i. p. 62, 63.

[o] Bing. Antiq. B. xx. Ch. v. Vol. 9. p. 107, &c. Conf. Ittig. Hist. Conc. Nic. p. 60, 61, 104.

[p] Rectius facturos fuisse theologos Nicænos, si Pascha, æque ac Christi festum natale, jussissent eo die celebrari, quo resurrexisse credimus Christum, in quemcunque diem hebdomadis hoc festum incideret, censet Lutherus noster in libro de Conciliis in T. vii. Witteb. Germ. f. 478. Nunc tamen morem tot seculis usitatum migrandum esse, negat. Recte etiam summus ille mathematicus, Jo. Bernullius, in suo ad senatum Basileensem responso, de die, quo celebrandum Pascha, censet, negligi debuisse tam canones Nicænos, quam operosam supputationem astronomicam plenilunii Paschalis. Ejusdem hæc sunt: Melius fuisset, si protestantes non essent secuti statuta concilii Nicæni, sed quem dam solis diem in principium veris incidentem: e. g. primum post æquinoctium vernum, determinâssent, ac decrevissent, ut eo die annuatim festum Paschatis celebretur. Hoc methodo omnes lites tolli possent, quæ superfluis subtilitatibus ortum suum debent. Heumann. Diss. de Vero Paschate, p. 13. not. [m].

[q] ———quo Arianorum contentio damnata est, cusumque symbolum, quo Filius Dei 'genitus,' non 'factus' Patrique 'consubstantialis,' affirmabatur. Verum, neque hac definitione, neque illorum exiliis, qui subscribere renuerunt, finis malo allatus est. Quippe Ariani, tum ultimis Constantini annis, tum in

decisions had not the intended effect; peace and unity were not thereby restored to the churches. Of this we have full assurance from the two ecclesiastical historians, Socrates and Sozomen. The first of which writes to this purpose: 'Eusebius[r] Pamphilus says, that[s] soon after the synod, the 'Egyptians quarrelled among themselves; though he does 'not say why.—But as we have perceived by several let-'ters, which the bishops wrote to one another after the 'council, the word consubstantial was disagreeable to some. 'And whilst they indulged too curious inquiries about that 'expression, they raised an intestine war among themselves, 'which way be said to have been not unlike fighting in the 'dark: for neither side seemed to know why they re-'proached each other. But they who disliked the word 'consubstantial, supposed that they who approved of it, 'intended to advance the sentiment of Sabellius, or Monta-'nus: and therefore charged them with blasphemy, as[t] de-'nying the existence of the Son of God. On the other 'hand, they who were for maintaining the term consubstan-'tial, supposing their adversaries to introduce polytheism, 'charged them with a design to revive heathenism. Eusta-'thius bishop of Antioch reproached Eusebius with cor-'rupting the Nicene faith. Eusebius answers, that he does 'not at all depart from that faith, and accuseth Eustathius 'with introducing Sabellianism. By this means they were 'induced to write against one another, as enemies. And 'though both sides maintained, that[u] the Son of God was 'a distinct person, and had a proper existence, and owned 'one God in three persons, they made a shift, one knows 'not well how, to differ with each other; nor could they 'live in peace and quietness.' And to the like purpose[v] Sozomen.

The history of the church in the fourth century, fully justifies the observations of those writers. In short, notwithstanding the professions made by many, of a high veneration for councils, men do not value them any farther, than they countenance their own particular opinions; and if they are under no restraints of external force, they contradict their decisions without scruple.

2. No man, or number of men, separate, or united in

primis sub Constantino, Ariano ipso, vires resumsere, nec uno in concilio prævaluêre. Turret. Compend. H. E. p. 33, 34.

[r] Socr. l. i. c. 23. p. 58. A. B. C. D. [s] Vid. de Vit. Constantin. l. iii. c. 23. [t] Ὡς αναιρουντας την ὑπαρξιν τυ Υιυ τυ Θευ. ib. C.

[u] Αμφοτεροι τε λεγοντες ενυποστατον τε και ενυπαρχοντα τον Υιον ειναι τυ Θευ, ἑνα τε Θεον εν τρισιν υποστασεσιν ειναι ὁμολογουντες. κ. λ. p. 58. D.

[v] L. ii. c. 18. p. 468. C. D

council, since the times of Christ and his apostles, have any right to decide in matters of faith. It is inconsistent with the respect due to Jesus Christ, to attempt it; unless they can show themselves to be inspired, and work miracles, to manifest evidently a divine commission. And if any such case as that should happen, (which is very unlikely,) I think that what even such persons should propose, must be tried and examined by the doctrine of the gospel, delivered in the New Testament. This is agreeable to many things said by our Lord, particularly Matt. xxiii. 9, 10; "And call no man your father upon the earth; for one is your Father, which is in heaven. Neither be ye called masters; for one is your Master, even Christ." Compare 1 Cor. iii. 11—23.

3. The introducing force and authority in matters of a speculative nature, is subversive of true religion and virtue; for what avail human decisions, when they are not satisfying? If you can bring reason or scripture for any doctrine, men will assent; but[w] to say, that the bishops of such a council have so declared and determined, is not convincing: therefore it ought not to be expected, that men should confess and act, as if they were convinced. If you make use of any methods, beside those of rational arguments, to induce men to profess and act as you desire, you do what lies in your power to make them lie and prevaricate. So did this council of Nice.

It has been sometimes said, that they show their moderation in their manner of speaking, concerning the sentence passed upon Arius. But I own I can discern no such thing. There may be art and dissimulation, but there is no real moderation, or sincere kindness in what they write. Whatever the sentence was, they approved of it: if it had not been agreeable to their mind, Constantine would not have banished Arius, or his adherents. Moreover, before the meeting of this council, Alexander and his synod had excommunicated Arius, and banished him from the city of Alexandria.

Thus this council of Nice introduced authority and force in the church, and the affairs of religion. Or, if authority had been introduced before, they now openly countenanced it, and gave it a farther sanction.

This way of acting, may be supposed to have been the chief cause of the ruin of the christian interest in the east.

[w] Conciliis non majorem, quam Aristoteli, tribuit auctoritatem Danhauerus in Hodosophiâ, p. 129. Utrisque enim ideo fidem habendam, quod, quæ statuerunt, recte statuerunt, et vel scripturæ sacræ vel rationi convenienter. Heumann. Diss. de vero Pasch. p. 13. not. [m].

This and the like determinations of speculative doctrines, and the violent methods, by which they were enforced, may be reckoned to have paved the way for Mahometanism, more than any thing else. By these means ignorance, and hypocrisy, and tedious rituals, came to take place of honesty, true piety, and undissembled, spiritual, and reasonable worship and devotion.

In about three hundred years after the ascension of Jesus, without the aids of secular power, or church authority, the christian religion spread over a large part of Asia, Europe, and Africa: and at the accession of Constantine, and convening the council of Nice, it was almost every where, throughout those countries, in a flourishing condition. In the space of another three hundred years, or a little more, the beauty of the christian religion was greatly corrupted in a large part of that extent, its glory defaced, and its light almost extinguished. What can this be so much owing to, as to the determinations and transactions of the council of Nice, and the measures then set on foot, and followed in succeeding times?

These impositions poison the waters of the sanctuary at the very fountain. They require the ministers of Christ, the officers of his church, to subscribe certain articles upon pain of heavy forfeitures: and a subscription to these articles, whether believed or not, gives a right to preferment. If any subscribe what they are not satisfied about, and so enter into the service of the church, (which is very likely to happen,) they gain and hold their offices by the tenure of hypocrisy. How can religion flourish in this way? Will the persons who have so subscribed, (without conviction, or against it,) be sincere and upright ever afterwards? Will they, upon all other occasions, speak the truth without fear or favour, who have once solemnly and deliberately prevaricated? and can others entirely confide in them? or can they heartily reverence them, as upright and disinterested men?

The temptation upon some occasions must be exceeding strong, and many specious things may be offered, to put a fair colour upon unrighteousness. Even an appearance of religion may concur with secular interest, to impose upon the mind, and lead to what is not to be justified. Has a person at great expense of study and labour qualified himself for the service of the church, with a sincere view of usefulness in an important station? how grievous must it be, to be after all disappointed and excluded! If any obstacles lie in the way, there is great danger of compliance,

not quite consistent with duty and conscience, provided those bars cannot be removed.

The temptation may be still stronger to some, who are already settled in agreeable stations. How trying is this case! This was the case of Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea; he was in a station of great honour and usefulness, beloved by his people, and they by him: moreover he might imagine, and reasonably, that his usefulness as an author, depended much upon his continuance in that station. Without the advantages which he there enjoyed, he could not carry on his various designs for composing useful books, which he hoped might be of extensive service to the christian religion, in that and future times. Was not this a temptation to sign what he did not approve of?

I beg leave, however, to add here, that I would be cautious of condemning particular persons, whose circumstances I am not exactly acquainted with. Nor do I absolutely condemn Eusebius: the reason is, that he was present at the drawing up of the Nicene Creed, and declared in what sense he understood the word consubstantial. This is an advantage which may not be allowed to all: when they have not a liberty to explain themselves, it will cause a diversity of case.

Tillemont has these words: 'It[x] was then, fear of banishment, and of the shame of having so illustrious an assembly the witness of their ignominy, that induced the Arians to make haste to renounce the doctrines that had been condemned, to anathematize them, and subscribe the consubstantial faith, after all the other bishops; being led by Eusebius of Nicomedia, to confess with the mouth the faith of the church, without having it in the heart, as the event showed.'

How can any man speak in this manner! how can any man triumph in the falls of his fellow-creatures, who has any respect for the Lord Jesus, any love of truth and sincerity, any tenderness of conscience, any sense of equity and goodness! Those Arians confessed with the mouth, and signed with the hand, what they did not believe. For that they are to be blamed. But how came they to do so? It was owing to a fear of ignominy and banishment. But why were they put in fear? Why was a law made to banish such as did not believe the consubstantial doctrine? They offended, who signed, it is allowed: and are they innocent, who laid before them a temptation to sign? Was there a necessity, that they should be required to sign, whether they be-

[x] Le Concile de Nicée, Art. x. near the end, Mem. Tom. vi.

lieved or not? Can you show any ground or authority from reason, or from Jesus Christ, whereby you are allowed or enjoined to require your brethren to sign certain speculative articles, whether they believe them or not? Nay, is not this quite contrary to the design and example of the Lord Jesus, who never proposed to men any arguments, but such as were suited to gain the judgment? and who, when many forsook him, who had followed him for a time, took that opportunity, to refer it to the choice of those who still stayed with him, whether [y] "they also would go away?"

If any pretend it to be of importance, that others should sign or profess certain doctrines, supposed by them to be true; I would answer, that sincerity is of yet greater importance. And you ought never to endeavour to secure the interest of speculative points, with the prejudice of what is of greater moment, honesty and integrity.

4. It remains, that when this council met, instead of deciding by their authority, and enforcing by worldly menaces or recompences, any speculative doctrines, they should rather have recommended forbearance and moderation to all parties.

They ought to have advised men to practise love and forbearance one to another, and should have entreated them, if there be any "bowels [z] and mercies," and for the love of Jesus, "to receive [a] one another in love," as the apostle says, "but not to doubtful disputations:" that is, to own each other for brethren, and communicate together as christians, notwithstanding some differences of opinion. Or, if any could not persuade themselves to do this, that yet they should allow each other full liberty to profess their principles, and carry on their worship, according to their own sentiments, in their religious assemblies, in their own way. This at least they should have recommended, and with the utmost earnestness, as altogether reasonable, agreeable to the gospel, and absolutely necessary for the honour of the christian name. And they should have humbly recommended it to the emperor, to take care accordingly, and in his great wisdom to provide, that all who acted peaceably should be protected, in the several cities where they dwelt: and that all who caused tumults and disturbances, or by any outward act infringed the liberty of their neighbours, on account of diversity of opinion, should be restrained and punished, as the nature of their offence required.

Possibly some may say, that such thoughts as these are founded upon the experience and observation of later ages;

[y] John vi. 67. [z] Philip. ii. 2. [a] Rom. xiv. 1.

and that all this is more than could be reasonably expected of any men, however wise, at that time.

To which I answer, that it is no more than might have been expected: for it is not more than what men are taught by the common principles of equity. The gospel too, teaches and enacts moderation and forbearance, and condemns all imposition on the consciences of men, and all force and violence in things of religion.

Farther, what has been here suggested, is no more than what the christians had before demanded and expected of heathens in power, as just and reasonable; they were therefore self-condemned in acting otherwise. If it was reasonable, that they should be tolerated and protected by heathen emperors; much more was it reasonable and evident, that all other sects of christians should be tolerated and protected by that sect which happened to be the most numerous and powerful.

Finally, for the main part, this is no other than the advice sent[b] by Constantine, in his letter to Alexander and Arius, which the bishops assembled in council should have stood to. Nothing could have been more for their honour, and the interest of religion, than for them to have enforced with all their credit, the sage, and pious, and moderate counsels of the emperor.

I have taken all this freedom, thus to propose these thoughts. But I do not mention them so much by way of blame and censure, as with a view of amendment; that christians in general may at length be so wise, as to consult the true interest of their religion: and hoping, that they who are in high stations in the church, and have a powerful influence, will improve all opportunities, and use their best endeavours, that "the[c] moderation of christians may be known unto all men."

[b] Vid. Euseb. de Vit. Const. l. ii. c. 64, &c. et Socr. l. i. c. 7.
[c] Philip. iv. 5.

CHAP. LXXII.

EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF CÆSAREA.

I. *A brief account of his life.* II. *His works.* III. *General remarks upon his works.* IV. *Whether he was an Arian?* V. *His character.* VI. *Select passages.* VII. *Four passages concerning the books of the New Testament.* VIII. *Remarks upon those passages.* IX. *Books of the New Testament received by Eusebius himself.* X. *Of the controverted and spurious writings mentioned by him.* XI. *The time of writing St. Matthew's gospel, according to Eusebius.* XII. *The language of St. Matthew's gospel, and of the epistle to the Hebrews.* XIII. *Various readings.* XIV. *Of the canon of the Old Testament, received by this writer.* XV. *General divisions of scripture.* XVI. *Respect for the scriptures.* XVII. *The sum of his testimony.*

I. 'EUSEBIUS, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine,' says[a] Jerom, 'a man most studious in the divine scriptures, and 'together with the martyr Pamphilus, very diligent[b] in mak-'ing a large collection of ecclesiastical writers, published 'innumerable volumes, some of which are these: The 'Evangelical Demonstration in twenty books: The Evan-'gelical preparation in fifteen books: Five books of the

[a] Eusebius, Cæsareæ Palæstinæ episcopus, in scripturis divinis studiosissimus, et bibliothecæ divinæ cum Pamphilo martyre diligentissimus pervestigator, edidit infinita volumina, de quibus hæc sunt: Ευαγγελικης Αποδειξεως libri viginti: Ευαγγελικης Προπαρασκευης libri quindecem: Θεοφανιας libri quinque: Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ libri decem: Chronicorum Canonum omnimoda historia, et eorum Επιτομη: Et de Evangeliorum Diaphoniâ: In Isaiam libri decem: Et contra Porphyrium, qui eodem tempore scribebat in Siciliâ, ut quidam putant, libri triginta, de quibus ad me viginti tantum pervenerunt: Τοπικων liber unus: Απολογιας pro Origene libri sex: De Vitâ Pamphili libri tres: De Martyribus alia opuscula: Et in centum quinquaginta Psalmos eruditissimi commentarii, et multa alia. Floruit maxime sub Constantino imperatore et Constantio. Et ob amicitiam Pamphili martyris ab eo cognomentum sortitus est. Hieron. de V. I. c. 81.

[b] That interpretation was justified formerly. See Vol. iii. p. 216, 217. And it is the sense in which the words were always understood, till very lately. Says Valesius, speaking of Pamphilus: Qui cum literarum sacrarum singulari amore flagraret, omnesque ecclesiasticorum scriptorum libros summo studio conquireret, celeberrimam scholam ac bibliothecam instituit Cæsareæ. De Vit. et Scriptis Euseb. Cæs. sub init.

'Theophanie: Ten books of Ecclesiastical History: Chronical Canons of Universal History, and an Epitome of them: and Of the Difference between the Gospels: Ten books upon Isaiah: Against Porphyry, who at the same time wrote in Sicily, thirty books as some think, though I have never met with more than twenty: Topics in one book: An Apology for Origen in six books: The Life of Pamphilus, in three books: Several small pieces concerning the Martyrs: most learned Commentaries upon the 150 Psalms, and many other works. He flourished chiefly under the emperors Constantine and Constantius. On account of his friendship with the martyr Pamphilus he received his surname from him.'

Eusebius, as is generally thought, and with some good degree of probability, was born at Cæsarea in Palestine, about[c] the year 270, or, as some[d] think, sooner. We have no account of his parents, or who were his instructors in early life. Nor is there any thing certainly known of his family and relations: for Pamphilus, as is evident, was only a friend. Arius, in a letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia, calls our Eusebius his[e] brother. But I do not think that the word ought to be understood literally. It is not common for two brothers to have one and the same name. Eusebius of Nicomedia, speaking of him of Cæsarea, calls him[f] his lord. And the bishop of Cæsarea calls him of Nicomedia the great[g] Eusebius: but neither says he was related to the other. Arius therefore, it is likely, gives our Eusebius the title of brother of the other Eusebius, as he also was bishop, and they were good friends, and so intimate, that they were both of the same opinion upon the doctrine controverted at that time.

It is somewhat probable, though not certain, that our Eusebius was ordained presbyter by Agapius, bishop of Cæsarea, of whom he has made a very honourable[h] mention. He had a long and happy intimacy with Pamphilus, presbyter in that church, who was imprisoned in the year 307, and obtained the crown of martyrdom in 309. During the time of that imprisonment Eusebius was much with his friend. After the martyrdom of Pamphilus he went to Tyre,

[c] Natus—circa annum, si divinare liceat, 270. Cav. H. L. in Euseb. Cæs.

[d] Tillemont argues, that he was born about the year 264. Euseb. Art. i. Vid. et Vales. de Vit. et Script. Euseb. Cæs. sub init.

[e] Ευσεβιος, ο αδελφος σε εν Καισαρειᾳ. Ap. Thdrt. l. i. c. 5. p. 21. A.

[f] ——— τε δεσποτε με Ευσεβιε. Ap. Thdrt. l. i. c. 6. in.

[g] προς Ευσεβιον τον μεγαν. Cont. Marcell. l. i. p. 18. D.——αλλα και τον μεγαν Ευσεβιον. κ. λ. ib. p. 20. A.

[h] H. E. l. vii. c. 32. b. 288. C.

where he saw[i] many finish their testimony to Jesus in a glorious manner. From thence, as it seems, he[k] went into Egypt; where too he was a spectator of the sufferings and patience of many of his fellow-christians: where likewise he seems to have been imprisoned. And because he did not suffer, as some others did, it has been insinuated, that[l] he procured his liberty by sacrificing or some other mean compliance, unbecoming a christian. But that is a general accusation without ground. No one was ever able to specify any mean act of compliance in particular, as appears from Potamon's charge in Epiphanius. If[m] Eusebius had sacrificed, or done any thing like it, he would not have been made bishop of Cæsarea, nor invited to the see of Antioch. Eusebius either made Pamphilus many visits, or was shut up with him in prison: and yet he has never been reproached, that I know of, because he did not suffer with him. In like manner he may have been for some time in prison in Egypt, and released without any thing dishonourable in the[n] affair.

Agapius succeeded Theotecnus in the see of Cæsarea. And it is the more general opinion, that[o] Eusebius succeeded Agapius in 315. But some place[p] Agricolaus between Agapius and him. Nevertheless that will not much[q] protract the time of our author's episcopate. This is certain,

[i] Vid. ib. l. viii. c. 7. p 299. A.

[k] Ib. c. 8, 9.

[l] Vid. Epiph. H. 67. n. 7. et Athan. Apol. contra Arian. p. 130. F.

[m] Vid. Euseb. in Cav. H. L. Basnag. Ann. 326. n. 18. Vales. de Vit. et Script. Euseb. p. 3. m. Du Pin, Eusébius de Césarée init. Martin. Hank. de Byzant. Hist. Scriptorib. in Vit. Euseb. cap. 120.

[n] I cannot tell whether it will not be thought too trifling to observe the conduct of the Benedictine editors of St. Athanasius upon this head. Athanasius having said in his Apology, that Eusebius of Cæsarea was accused by some confessors of having sacrificed, they put this note at the bottom of p. 130. Epiphanius ait, Eusebium C. a Polemone Ægyptio objurgatum fuisse———Quæ fusius in Athanasii vitâ agemus. But in their Vit. Ath. p. 21. having cited at length the passage of Epiphanius, they add: Non desunt tamen, qui Eusebium purgare curent a crimine vel suspicione oblati diis sacrificii. Verum nobis ad ulteriora properantibus hæc non licet subtilius explorare. But if Eusebius had been a favourite of theirs, I am apt to think, they would have stayed a while, to offer a word or two in defence of him. And were they not obliged by the fore-mentioned note to be a little more particular?

[o] Eusebii, Cæsariensis episcopi—obitus recte hoc anno a Baronio consignatur. Mortuo Agapio———cum persecutio jam sedata, et pax ecclesiæ reddita esset, Eusebius communi omnium consensu in ejus locum substitutus erat. Alii successorem Agapii ponunt.—Verum, ut observat Valesius,———Pagi 340. n. 23.

[p] Defuncto, qui Agapio successerat, Agricolao, quem vel invitâ Valesii chronologiâ retinendum esse putamus, ecclesiæ Cæsariensis episcopatum iniit anno circiter 315. Basn. Ann. 326. n. 18.

[q] See the preceding note.

that [r] he was bishop of Cæsarea in 320 at the latest. After which we can perceive, that he was present at most of the synods held in that part of the world. He died in the year 339 or 340.

I omit many particulars, desiring to be as concise as possible. If we had Eusebius's life, written by his successor [s] Acacius, we should have the pleasure to be informed of many things which we are now ignorant of.

II. I must give some account of Eusebius's works: though, for the sake of brevity, I should have been very glad to be excused.

When an author's works are somewhat numerous, learned moderns generally speak in the first place of such as are still in being, then of those which are lost. The order of time pleaseth me best, in this instance at least. I therefore shall speak of Eusebius's writings, extant and not extant, all together in the continued order of time, so far as I can attain it. And as I do not reckon myself obliged to give a particular account of all his pieces, mentioned in ancient authors, I refer to [t] several learned moderns, some of which have treated largely of them.

1. An exact edition of Origen's Hexapla. This, so far as I recollect, is very seldom [u] taken notice of by learned moderns in their accounts of Eusebius's works: but I think it should not have been omitted. It is likely that it was one of our author's first undertakings. He had the assistance of Pamphilus in this work; which therefore we may suppose was finished about the year 306, before that excellent man and martyr came into trouble. I need say nothing of it here, having given an account of it [v] formerly.

2. An Apology for Origen in six books: in five of which he had likewise the assistance of Pamphilus in prison. The sixth was written by Eusebius alone, after the martyrdom of Pamphilus. It was composed therefore in 308 and 309. The first book remains in a Latin translation of Rufinus; I spoke of this work [w] formerly.

3. The Life of Pamphilus in three books, probably written in 309 or 310, but not extant. I have spoken sufficiently of it [x] already.

4. A book of the Martyrs of Palestine, who suffered in

[r] See Tillemont, in Eusebius de Césarée, sect. ii. Mem. Ecc. Tom. vii.
[s] Vid. Socr. l. ii. c. 4. [t] H. Vales. de Vit. et Scriptis Euseb. Cæsar. Tillem. Mem. E. T. vii. Eusebius, art. v.--viii. Cav. H. L. Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. v. c. 4. T. vi. p. 30, &c. Du Pin, Bib. des Aut. Ec.
[u] It is mentioned by Du Pin, T. ii. p. 3. [v] See Vol. iii. p. 206.
[w] Ibid. p. 217, 227, 228. [x] Ibid. p. 111, 112.

the persecution of Dioclesian and Maximin, written about the year 311 or 312. This has been reckoned by some a part of the eighth book of the Ecclesiastical History: but Valesius has more properly placed it by itself, after that book, as a supplement to it.

5. Among Eusebius's works Jerom mentioned several small pieces concerning the Martyrs. And, as Tillemont[y] observes, 'beside that just mentioned, there was another 'book, which Eusebius quotes[z] several times in his Eccle- 'siastical History. It was a collection of the Acts of the 'ancient martyrs, wherein he had placed at length the his- 'tory of the martyrs of Lyons in the time of Marcus Anto- 'ninus: Apollonius the Roman senator in the time of 'Commodus, with his Apology: The Acts of Pionius, mar- 'tyred at Smyrna, and others.' But of this work, as[a] just hinted, Eusebius inserted several things, by way of extract at least, in his Ecclesiastical History. This collection may have been made in 312 or 313, or soon after.

6. One book against Hierocles, who had made a comparison of Apollonius Tyanæus with our Saviour Jesus Christ: a small piece, not mentioned by Jerom, but undoubtedly genuine, and still extant[b] in the original Greek. It may have been composed in 312 or 313, or sooner; for we do not know the exact time.

7. A Confutation of Porphyry in thirty books. Valesius was of opinion, that this work was not composed until after the Ecclesiastical History: because in[c] the sixth book of that work, Eusebius quotes a passage of Porphyry's third book against the christians, without taking notice of his own answer to him. But that argument does not appear to me decisive. Eusebius had many fair occasions in several of his writings to refer to his Confutation of Porphyry, but has never done so that I remember. Nevertheless we cannot hence conclude, that it was written after all his other works, which is very improbable. Jerom supposes, that Porphyry was living at the same time in Sicily; which is an argument, that he thought this one of our author's most early performances. If it was so, that may have been one reason why it was not much esteemed, as being written before Eusebius had attained to all that maturity of knowledge and understanding, by which he was afterwards distinguished. For that reason too he might not be disposed to

[y] Euseb. de Cæs. art. vii.

[z] ——— *τῃ των μαρτυρων ἡμιν κατατετακται συναγωγῃ.* H. E. l. 5. Procem.——— *τῃ των μαρτυρων συναγωγῃ προς ἡμων.* ib. c. 4. fin.

[a] See note [z].

[b] Ad Calcem libr. de Dem. Ev. p. 511—545.

[c] H. E. l. vi. c. 19.

quote it himself. It is observable, that Apollinarius wrote against Porphyry after him: which may be reckoned an argument, that in this work Eusebius had not fully answered the expectation of the public. Nay, Philostorgius made no scruple to say, that[d] in his books against Porphyry, Apollinarius greatly excelled our author. St. Jerom, as it seems, did not[e] esteem this one of Eusebius's best books. I might farther add; If this voluminous confutation of Porphyry had been written after Eusebius became acquainted with Constantine, it is likely he would have dedicated it to the emperor, and we should have had it distinctly mentioned in the life of Constantine. Le Clerc[f] thought the loss of this work to be the greatest loss we have sustained, as to any writings of this author. And indeed it is very probable, that we of these times should have been pleased to see Porphyry's objections in his own words, as alleged by Eusebius. In other respects, I imagine, it would not have equalled the remaining work of the Evangelical Preparation, or the still extant books of the Demonstration. After all, I do not know the exact time when this work was published; but I am inclined to think, it must have appeared before the council of Nice.

8. Photius speaks of two books of our author, entitled,[g] 'A Confutation and Apology, in which he proposes several 'heathen objections, and answers them very well.' This work is not extant; nor do we know the time of writing it. It deserved, however, to be mentioned, as one of the many writings of this bishop, in defence of the christian religion.

9. Five books of the Theophany, or the coming of the Messiah: mentioned by Jerom; not extant, nor do we clearly know the design of it.

10. Of the difference between the Gospels: mentioned by Jerom; not extant, but undoubtedly designed to reconcile the seeming contrarieties in the accounts of the several evangelists.

11. Ten Evangelical Canons, with a letter to Carpianus, showing what things are related by four, what by three, what by two, what by one. These canons, with the letter to Carpianus, are usually prefixed to the best editions of

[d] Ὁτι φησι, Απολλιναριος κατα Πορφυριε γραψας επι πολυ κρατει των ηγωνισμενων Ευσεβιῳ κατ' αυτε. Phil. l. viii. c. 15.

[e] Fortissimos libros contra Porphyrium scribit Apollinarius. Ecclesiasticam pulchre Eusebius historiam texuit. Ad Pammach. et Ocean. Ep. 44. [al. 65.] p. 342. supr. m. Vide ejusdem. Præf. ad Dan.

[f] Bib. Univ. T. x. p. 495.

[g] Ευσεβιε ελεγχε και απολογιας λογοι δυο. κ. λ. Cod. 13. p. 11.

the New Testament, and the letter may be also seen [h] elsewhere. We do not know the exact time of this work.

12. A letter to Euphration, mentioned by [i] Athanasius, and certainly written before the council of Nice.

13. St. Jerom says, that [k] Eusebius and others had largely explained the first epistle to the Corinthians. But whether he intends a distinct work I cannot tell. However, Tillemont's expressions are, that [l] he made a large Commentary upon that epistle.

14. Of the Fruitfulness of the Ancients: expressly mentioned by our author in [m] his Evangelical Preparation, and probably referred to, and intended by him, in a passage of the [n] Demonstration.

15. The Evangelical Preparation, in fifteen books, as mentioned by Jerom, still extant. This work, as well as the Chronicle, and the History, are with great justice highly commended by [o] Joseph Scaliger.

16. The Evangelical Demonstration in twenty books. Which work Eusebius promiseth at the end of the former. The last ten books are lost. And until lately the beginning of the first, and the conclusion of the tenth, were missing: but were published by Fabricius [p] with great applause in 1725. This work Eusebius evidently mentions at the beginning [q] of his Ecclesiastical History, and therefore it was first written.

17. An Epistle [r] to the church at Cæsarea, concerning his subscribing the Nicene Creed.

18. An Oration in the twentieth year of Constantine's [s] reign, 325, pronounced in the presence of Constantine and the fathers of the Nicene council. Not extant.

19. The Chronicle, in two books: or as Jerom said, Chronical Canons of Universal History, and their Epitome. It is likely, that by their Epitome he means the second book, which was shorter than the first, and represented in a summary way the substance of it. In another place this

[h] Vid. Fab. Bib. Gr. T. vi. p. 97, &c.

[i] De Synodis, c. 17. p. 730. E.

[k] Origenes—Pierius, Eusebius Cæsariensis—latissime hanc epistolam interpretati sunt. Hieron. Ep. 31. [al. 52.] p. 243. f.

[l] As before, sect. 10.

[m] ——εν οἰς επραγματευσαμεθα περι της των παλαιων πολυπαιδιας. Præp. E. l. vii. c. 8. p. 310. f.

[n] Dem. l. i. c. 9. p. 33. C.

[o] Taceo auctoris multiplicem eruditionem—summam vetustatis peritiam, qui, in omnibus priscorum auctorum monimentis peregrinatus, illum divinum προπαρασκευης thesaurum collegit. Prolegom. in Chr. p. 18.

[p] Vid. Syllab. auctor. de Veritate Relig. Christian.

[q] Vid. H. E. l. i. c. 2. fin.

[r] Ap. Socr. l. i. c. 8. p. 23, 24. Thdrt. l. i. c. 12.

[s] Vid. de Vit. C. l. i. in Procem. et Vales. Annot.

work is called by Jerom,[t] Chronological Canons. The original is lost, except some fragments preserved in Greek authors. We have only a Latin version of Jerom, who in this, as well as other things, is both an author and interpreter. His additions relate chiefly to the affairs of the western part of the Roman empire, with which Eusebius was little acquainted. The Chronicle was published in 325, as Pagi[u] says. And Jerom assures us, that[v] it came down to the twentieth year of Constantine. Nevertheless Eusebius refers to it in[w] his Preparation. Tillemont therefore thinks there must have been two editions. But perhaps in the Preparation he only speaks of the work as then in hand, though not published: which may well be the case sometimes with an author who writes much. The Chronicle was a work of prodigious labour and learning.

20. The Evangelical History, in ten books, published, as it[x] seems, in 326. Du Pin having shown the importance of this work adds: 'It must be owned however, that[y] Eusebius's History has not all the perfection which one could 'wish; that it is not written in an agreeable manner; that 'it is not exact; that the author often enlarges on things 'that might be lightly passed over, and mentions other 'things succinctly, which should have been related at 'large.' Tillemont says: 'Notwithstanding[z] some defects 'which may be observed, it will be always a most valuable 'and most important work, and most useful to the church. 'Without Eusebius we should scarce have had any knowledge of the history of the first ages of christianity, or the 'authors who wrote in that time. All the Greek authors of 'the fourth century, who undertook to write the history of 'the church, have begun where Eusebius ended, as having 'nothing considerable to add to his labour.'

21. The Topics, so called in Jerom's catalogue: consisting of two books, the second of which is still extant in Greek, somewhat altered, with Jerom's version, who says, 'that[a] after the Ecclesiastical History, and Chronological 'Canons, Eusebius published a Geographical Description 'of Judea, according to the divisions of the several tribes, 'with a map of Jerusalem, and the temple, and proper descriptions: and at last this small book, containing the

[t] Post temporum canones. Præf. ad lib. de Loc. Hebr.
[u] An. 325. n. 51.
[v] Vid. Euseb. Chr. p. 4, et 18!.
[w] ——— *εν τοις πονηθεισιν ἡμιν χρονικοις κανοσιν.* Pr. E. l. x. p. 484. D.
[x] Pagi Ann. 326. n. 8.
[y] Bibl. T. ii. p. 5, 6.
[z] Euseb. vi. Mem. T. vii.
[a] Hier. Pr. in libr. de situ et nominib. locor. Hebr. T. 2. p. 382, 383.

'names of the cities, mountains, and rivers of the country, 'according to the order of the letters of the alphabet.' It was a kind of dictionary of places mentioned in the scriptures.

22. A Treatise concerning Easter, mentioned [b] by Eusebius in the Life of Constantine, and by Jerom in his Catalogue, in the article [c] of Hippolytus. This work is not extant. It might be written about the year 334.

23. An [d] Oration in praise of Constantine, still extant, spoken at Constantinople in the emperor's presence, before [e] the end of the year 335. It is as much an argument for the truth of the christian religion, as a panegyric upon the emperor. It is, in my opinion, a fine performance: and has been already commended by Du Pin [f] for its eloquence and politeness, as well as on other accounts.

24. A Description of the [g] Church of the Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and its ornaments, and the presents sent thither by the emperor: composed in 335.

25. Five books against Marcellus: or, as they are generally divided and entitled, Two books against Marcellus, and three books of Ecclesiastical Theology, written in 336: and Eusebius handles his antagonist very roughly. Marcellus, he says, teaches Sabellianism, and [h] thereby apostatizes from Christ and the grace of the gospel. Marcellus revives [i] the impious and atheistical heresy of Sabellius. His heresy exceeds [k] all the impious heresies that ever were, and the like.

26. The Life of Constantine, in four books, written in the latter part of the year 337, or the beginning of 338. Some few have denied this [l] to be a work of Eusebius: but certainly without all reason. It has many internal characters of genuineness: for it is entirely in Eusebius's manner, and here are letters of the emperor to the author. Not only [m] Socrates, but [n] Photius also, and other ancient writers, speak of it as his. Jerom's silence is of no importance. He owns that Eusebius wrote many books beside those ex-

[b] De V. C. l. iv. c. 34, 35.
[c] De V. I. c. 61.
[d] De V. C. l. iv. c. 33, et 46.
[e] Vid. Pagi Ann. 335. iii. et 336. iii.
[f] Ubi supr. p. 4. a.
[g] Vid. de V. C. l. iv. c. 33, et 46.
[h] ——της δε εν Χριστῳ γνωσεως τε και χαριτος ηλλοτριωμενος. Contra Marcell. l. i. p. 5. A.
[i] ——ὡς αθεα και δυσσεβη τολμωντα. De Ec. Th. l. i. c. 5. p. 63. C. D.
[k] ——καινοτερον η κατα πασαν αθεον αἱρεσιν. l. ii. p. 33. C.
[l] Vid. Pagi Ann. 340. n. 25.
[m] Socr. l. i. c. 1. et l. v. c. 22. p. 285.
[n] Cod. 127. p. 305.

pressly mentioned by him. This work has been generally reckoned [o] rather a panegyric than history.

27. A Commentary upon the 150 Psalms, mentioned and commended by Jerom in his Catalogue, but wanting in late ages, till Montfauçon in the year 1705 published it as far as the 119th Psalm. That learned writer says, there is [p] not any the least reason to doubt the genuineness of what is published by him. Eusebius has no where in his remaining works quoted this Commentary: for which reason it may be argued, that [q] it is one of his last works. It is probable, that it was written [r] some good while after the respect shown to our Saviour's sepulchre at Jerusalem, in 326 or 327.

28. A Commentary upon the prophecies of Isaiah, mentioned by Jerom in his Catalogue, and elsewhere: published likewise by Montfauçon. It seems to me, that some things not Eusebius's have been inserted in these Commentaries, especially in that upon Isaiah, as we now have it, taken from the Greek Chains. Beside some things inserted, probably, afterwards, there seem likewise to be observations, or interpretations, taken by the author from Origen, or other commentators, more ancient than himself.

29. Fourteen small pieces in [s] Latin, published by James Sirmond, who makes no doubt of their being genuine. Cave [t] was rather inclined to think, they were written by Eusebius Emisenus. Fabricius [u] dislikes that opinion, and is willing that our Eusebius should be reckoned author of them.

(1.) The first two are against Sabellius. 'These, says [v] 'Tillemont, manifestly oppose Marcellus, and may have 'been written by Eusebius in the latter part of his life.' On the other hand it may be said: What occasion had our author to write any thing against Marcellus, beside the five books before mentioned? I have sometimes suspected, that Eusebius's known aversion for Sabellianism induced some transcriber of these pieces, to put his name at the head of them.

It is generally allowed that they are translated from the Greek. But here are abundance of studied antitheses, and some [w] jingles of Latin words, as if they were written in

[o] Vid. Socrat. l. i. c. 1. p. 5. A. B. et Thdrt. l. i. c. 13. in.
[p] Vid. ejusd. Prælim. cap. 3. sect. i. ii.
[q] Vid. Montf. Prælim cap. 2. sect. i.
[r] Ib. c. 3. sect. vi.
[s] Ap. Bib. PP. Max. T. iv. init.
[t] H. L. in Euseb.
[u] Bib. Gr. T. vi. p. 103.
[v] As before, sect. 9.
[w] Mortuus est, ut

that language. The empire was become [x] christian, when these pieces were written.

(2.) The third piece is a homily concerning the Resurrection, by Tillemont reckoned not worthy of Eusebius. However, here [y] is a good argument for a future state from reason.

(3.) The fourth, upon the Resurrection and Ascension, is, in the main, a fine performance. The author [z] argues exceeding well for the truth of Christ's resurrection, and of the christian religion from the former character of Christ's apostles, from the gifts of the Spirit poured down upon them, and from their conduct and success after the crucifixion of Jesus.

(4.) I shall give no distinct account of the rest of these pieces. I shall, however, refer to some remarkable things in them.

(5.) Here are some observations [a] upon the third chapter of Zechariah, and the beginning of the book of Job, that deserve the notice of the curious.

(6.) Moses, the [b] author says, was as a lamp or candle in a house: but Christ as the sun enlightens the world.

(7.) Here are references to [c] the first chapter of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John. The [d] Acts of the Apostles are much and often quoted. And [e] the gospels are called sacred and divine.

(8.) He speaks [f] of the gospels, the Acts, and Paul's epistles, as open to be read by all who please.

(9.) He expresses a great respect for the scriptures, and

occideret mortem. Condemnatus est, ut condemnaret corruptelam, p. 5. E. Misit filium obedientem, ut salvaret hominem inobedientem. ib. C.

[x] Adorant nobiscum et reges et judices, p. 21. C. Si autem reges, exercitus, et leges pro religione sunt. p. 22. C.

[y] P. 10. D. E. F.

[z] ———Unde et majora servata sunt mirabilia post mortem, quam ea quæ ante mortem sunt facta.—Si enim stant eorum templa, non resurrexit. p. 17. C. Putas, in quinquaginta diebus piscator rusticanus ex vico studuit omnem linguam? p. 21. E. Vid. et F. G. H. Cogitaverunt autem piscatores ad mundum exire—sine literis, ad eruditos imperiti, ignobiles ad ingenuos? p. 22. A. B. C. Præconum autem abjectio, ignobilitas, nulla doctrina, egestas, numerus parvus. ib. D. E.

[a] P. 24. E. &c. p. 25. B. E.

[b] Quid valuit lucerna Moyses?—Si autem unum populum per signa non suasit, Jesus autem per crucem, per scandalum, et non per signa aut prodigia, mundum transtulit ad Dei cultum. Moyses lucerna ne quidem uni domui sufficit; Jesus autem sol justitiæ. p. 20. D.

[c] P. 44. A. B.

[d] In Actibus enim scriptum est Apostolorum. p. 21. A. 22. A. et passim.

[e] ———a sanctis Evangeliis et vere divinis. p. 42. G.

[f] Hi sunt gustus prædicationum Domini. Plena autem Evangelia sunt volentibus bene legere: pleni Actus Apostolorum sunt, et epistolæ Pauli. p. 23. D.

is for[g] having all controversies in things of religion decided by them.

III. Of all Eusebius's works the Ecclesiastical History is the most valuable, but, as it seems to me, the least accurate, of all his large works, that are come down to us in any good measure entire. Some faults may be owing to haste, others to defect of critical skill, others to want of candour and impartiality. For our great author, as well as most other men, had his affections. He was favourable to some things and persons, and prejudiced against others.

1. He was a great admirer of Origen: in which he was in the right. Nevertheless, he should not have therefore omitted all notice of Methodius, because[h] he was Origen's adversary.

2. He had a great zeal for the christian religion: and so far, undoubtedly, he was in the right. Nevertheless he should not have attempted to support it by weak and false arguments: which a good cause never needs.

3. Agbarus's letter to our Saviour, and our Saviour's letter to Agbarus, copied at length in our author's Ecclesiastical[i] History, are much suspected by many learned men not to be genuine.

4. It is wonderful, that Eusebius should think[k] Philo's Therapeutæ were christians, and that[l] their ancient writings should be our gospels and epistles.

5. Eusebius[m] supposes Josephus to speak of the enrolment at the time of our Lord's nativity, before the death of Herod the Great, related, Luke ii. 1—4; whereas, indeed, the Jewish historian speaks of that made after the removal of Archelaus, which is also referred to in Acts v. 37.

6. Our author[n] does justly allege Josephus, as confirming the account which St. Luke gives, Acts xii. of the death of Herod Agrippa. But whereas Josephus says, that 'Agrippa '[o] casting his eyes upwards saw an owl sitting upon a cord 'over his head:' our ecclesiastical historian says, he 'saw an angel over his head.' I know not what good apology can be made for this.

[g] Utinam solis scripturis contenti essemus, et lis nulla foret. p. 4. F. Quæ ergo debent quæri? Quæ invenimus in scripturis posita. Quæ autem in scripturis non invenimus posita, ea non quæramus. Si enim oporteret nobis esse cognita, utique Spiritus sanctus posuisset ea in scripturis. Non enim sumus sapientiores a Spiritu sancto. P. 6. D. Vid. et G.

[h] See Vol. iii. p. 181, 183, 187.

[i] L. i. c. 13. p. 31—35.

[k] L. ii. c. 17. p. 53, et seq.

[l] P. 55. D.

[m] H. E. l. c. 5.

[n] L. ii. c. 10.

[o] Josephus's account, with remarks, may be seen in Part. i. of this work. B. i. ch. i. sect. vi.

7. He transcribes[p] Josephus's account of Theudas, as confirming what is said, Acts v. 36; whereas what Josephus says is[q] reckoned to be a considerable objection against the Evangelical History.

8. In the Demonstration he transcribes a passage of Josephus relating to the wonderful signs preceding the destruction of Jerusalem, and then adds, 'These[r] things he writes, as happening after our Saviour's passion:' though they did not happen till above thirty years afterwards. To the like purpose in the[s] Chronicle. And in[t] the Ecclesiastical History, Eusebius transcribes largely that passage of Josephus, as giving an account of the signs before the Jewish war. Concerning this matter may be seen[u] Joseph Scaliger.

9. If the testimony to Jesus, as the Christ, had been from the beginning, in Josephus's works, it is strange, it should never have been quoted by any ancient apologist for christianity; and now in the beginning of the fourth century be thought so important, as to be quoted by our author[v] in two of his works, still remaining.

10. There is a[w] work, ascribed to Porphyry, quoted by Eusebius, in the Preparation, and Demonstration. If that work is not[x] genuine, (as I think it is not,) it was a forgery of his own time. And the quoting it, as he does, will be reckoned an instance of want of care, or skill, or candour and impartiality.

11. I formerly complained[y] of Eusebius, for not giving us at length the passage of Caius, concerning the scriptures of the New Testament, or however of St. Paul's epistles. But he abridged that, and afterwards transcribed at length several passages[z] of an anonymous writer of little worth, concerning the followers[a] of Artemon. It may be reckoned somewhat probable, that Eusebius's aversion for Sabellianism, and every thing akin to it, led him to pay so much respect to that author.

12. I add no more at present. Many observations upon this author's works may be seen in Joseph Scaliger's Prolegomena to the Chronicle. Dr. Heumann intended[b] to

[p] L. ii. c. 11. [q] See Part i. of this work, B. ii. ch. vii.
[r] Dem. Ev. l. viii. 402. D. [s] Chr. p. 158. infr. m.
[t] H. E. l. iii. c. 8. [u] Prolegom. p. 12. m. Et Animadv. in Euseb. p. 186. Vid. et Van Dale de Orac. Diss. p. 39, 40.
[v] Hist. Ec. l. i. c. xi. Dem. Ev. l. iii. p. 124. [w] Περι της εκ λογιων φιλοσοφιας. [x] Conf. Van Dale de Orac. Diss. i. p. 14, 15.
[y] See Vol. ii. ch. xxxii. [z] H. E. l. v. c. 28.
[a] See those passages with remarks upon them. Vol. ii. ch. xxxii.
[b] ——alio tempore, si vita suppeditat, copiosum exhibiturus tibi judicium

write remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History; but I do not know that he has published them: if he had, I should have read them with pleasure.

IV. It has often been disputed whether Eusebius was an Arian. It may be proper therefore for me to refer to some authors upon this question. The ancients were not all of one mind here. Socrates, in the fifth century, inserted an Apology [c] for him in his Ecclesiastical History.

Among moderns it is needless to mention Baronius, whose antipathy to this writer is well known, Petavius [d] readily places Eusebius amongst Arians. Bull [e] vindicates him. Cave [f] and Le Clerc [g] had a warm controversy upon this head. Cave allows, 'That [h] there are many unwary and 'dangerous expressions to be found in his writings.' 'That [i] 'he has at best doubtful and ambiguous expressions in this 'controverted doctrine:' 'and that [k] he was reckoned to be 'an Arian by Athanasius, and divers others his contempo-'raries, as well as others in the latter part of the fourth 'century, and afterwards.' Still he says, he [l] did not hold the peculiar doctrines of Arianism. Fabricius [m] and Du Pin [n] do not much differ from Cave. Valesius [o] too was favourable to our author. G. J. Vossius says, his [p] works would sufficiently manifest him to have been an Arian, if the ancients had been silent about it. Of the same opinion was [q] James Gothofred. Tillemont is clear, that [r] Eusebius showed himself an Arian by his actions and his writings. Montfauçon says the same thing [s] exactly; and earnestly, and at large, argues on this side of the question; and that he showed himself to be an Arian as much in his writings

de Eusebii Historiâ Ecclesiasticâ, non perfunctorie a me perlecta. Heumann. Epist. Miscell. T. ii. p. 25.

[c] L. ii. c. 21. [d] Dogm. Theol. T. 2. l. i. cap. xi. xii.

[e] Def. Fid. Nic. [f] Lives of the Fathers, in English. T. ii. et H. L. et Diss. tertia. De Eusebii Cæsariensis Arianismo et Epist. Apolog. ad calcem. H. L. [g] See Bib. Univ. T. x. p. 379, &c. and Epistolæ Criticæ in the 3rd vol. of his Ars Critica.

[h] See Life of Eusebius, in English, sect. xxii. To the like purpose in the Diss. before referred to, p. 43. a. m. Oxon.———multa scriptis ejus inesse incautius, durius, periculosius dicta—sed hic pedem figo, hoc in me probandum recipio, Eusebium non fuisse Arianum.

[i] Life of Eusebius, as before, sect. xxii.

[k] In veteribus primas tenent Athanasius, Eustathius Antiochenus, Marcellus Ancyranus, Epiphanius, Hilarius, Hieronymus, &c. Diss. iii. p. 43. a. f.

[l] See note [h]. [m] Bib. Gr. T. vi. p. 32. [n] Bib. Ec. T. ii. p. 7.

[o] Vid. de Vit. et Scrip. Euseb. Cæs. [p] De Hist. Gr. l. ii. c. 17.

[q] Vid. Not. seu Dissert. in Philostorg. lib. i. c. 8. p. 28, &c.

[r] See Eusebius de Cæs. Art. xii. M. E. T. vii.

[s] Arianum probant tam gesta quam scripta. Prælim. in Euseb. Comm. in Ps. cap. vi. sect. 17.

after the council of Nice, as before it. As for his subscribing the Nicene Creed, he supposes, that[t] Eusebius was moved by worldly considerations, and that he did not subscribe sincerely. Which is grievous to think: better had it been, that the bishops of that council had never met together, than that they should have tempted, and prevailed upon a christian bishop, or any one else, to prevaricate and act against conscience. Our blessed Lord has pronounced a woe upon those, by whom offences come, Matt. xviii. init. And I am apt to think, that in the end his authority will be found superior to that of the most respected of his followers.

Pagi[u] thought this to be a very difficult question.

I presume it is not requisite that I should deliver my own opinion; especially as I have not room to say what would be sufficient to the purpose: and in the writers already referred to, may be found very good observations.

I once suspected, that in examining this question, many learned men were under a bias. As Eusebius was so eminent a man, and well acquainted with the writings of primitive christians, they might be unwilling to have it thought, that he held a different sentiment upon the doctrine of the Trinity from what they judged to be right. But now I am desirous to drop that surmise, and to allow, that there is some real difficulty in deciding this question: for surely there must be, on both sides, men wise enough to guard against prejudice. However, in this I am clear, that the principles of religion may be learned from reason and scripture: and that we ought not to pay too much regard to any man's authority, how great soever he may be. For what Arnobius says gloriously of the christian religion, may be said of every important truth: it[v] trusts to its own evi-

[t] Objicere solent qui Eusebii partes tutantur, ipsum in Synodo Nicænâ τῳ ὁμοουσιῳ subscripsisse.———Quare id non puto esse tanti ad ejus defensionem. Quid enim exoneratus metu fecisset, experiundi potestas non fuit. Id. in Præl. cap. vi. sect. 12. Ab exordio enim Arianismi ad obitum usque cum Arianis concordissime vixit, nascenti hæresi nomen dedit; in Nicænâ Synodo, quantum licuit, catholicis obstitit. Sed qui adprime calleret concedere tempori, demum cessit et subscripsit. Sic enim suadebat timor, non diuturni magister officii. Quâ enim mente id egerit, sibi subditis populis sic enarravit, ut sibi pristina repetendi, sicubi liceret, aditum reliquerit. ib. sect. xvii.

[u] Sed prorsus incertum, an Arianis vel orthodoxis annumerandus sit—Hankius refert—tandemque concludit, viâ tutissimâ videri illos incedere, qui post Synodum Nicænam Eusebium Arianum fuisse, neque negantibus, neque affirmantibus, accedentes, judicium suum suspendunt. Tot ambagibus hæc quæstio intricata est! Pagi Ann. 325. n. xxxii.

[v] Suis illis contenta est viribus, et veritatis propriæ fundaminibus nititur: nec spoliatur vi suâ, etiamsi nullum habeat vindicem. Arnob. l. iii. in.

dence, and stands firm upon its own bottom: whether any man embrace it or not.

V. This author was a witness of the sufferings of the christians in the early part of his life; and afterwards saw the splendour of the church under the first christian emperors. Like most other great men, he has met with good report and ill report. His [w] learning, however, and knowledge of the scriptures, have been universally allowed. 'It 'appears from his works,' says [x] Tillemont, 'that he had read 'all sorts of Greek authors, whether philosophers, historians, 'or divines, of Egypt, Phœnicia, Asia, Europe, and Africa.' With a very extensive knowledge of literature he seems to have had the agreeable accomplishments of a courtier. He was both a bishop, and a man of the world: a great author, and a fine speaker. He must have had a good education, though we have no particular account of it. We plainly perceive from his writings, that through the whole course of his life he was studious and diligent; insomuch, that it is wonderful how he should have leisure to write so many large and elaborate works, of different kinds; beside the discharge of the duties of his function, and beside his attendance at court, at synods, and the solemnities of dedicating churches. He was acquainted with all the great and learned men of his time: and had access to the libraries at [y] Jerusalem, and [z] Cæsarea: which advantages he improved to the utmost. Some may wish he had not joined with the Arian leaders in the hard treatment that was given to Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, Athanasius of Alexandria, and Marcellus of Ancyra. But it should be considered, that the christian bishops in general, after the conversion of Constantine, seem to have thought, that they had a right to depose and banish all ecclesiastics, who did not agree with them upon the points of divinity controverted at that time. Finally, though there may be some things exceptionable in his writings and conduct, I am persuaded, notwithstanding [a] what some may say, that he was a good as well as a great man. His zeal for the christian religion, his affection for the martyrs, his grateful respect for his friend Pamphilus, his diligence in collecting excellent materials, and in composing useful works for the benefit of mankind, his [b] caution

[w] ———ανηρ των θειων γραφων και των παρ' Ἑλληνι ποιητων και συγγραφεων πολυμαθεστατος ἱστωρ. Sozom. l. i. c. 1. p. 401. A

[x] Euseb. de Cés. Art. i. [y] Vid. H. Ecc. l. vi. c. 20.

[z] L. vi. c. 32. [a] ———qui si quantum eruditionis, tantum sinceræ fidei laudem tulisset, vix parem admitteret. Montfauçon, Prælim. in Euseb. Comm. in PS. init. [b] See before, p. 20.

and scrupulousness in not vouching for the truth of Constantine's story of the apparition of the cross, as well as other things, fully satisfy me of this.

Du Pin[c] says, 'Eusebius seems to have been very dis-'interested, very sincere, a great lover of peace, of truth, 'and religion. Though he had close alliances with the 'enemies of Athanasius, he appears not to have been his 'enemy, nor to have had any great share in the quarrels of 'the bishops of that time. He was present at the councils, 'where unjust things were transacted against Eustathius 'and Athanasius; but we do not discern, that he showed 'signs of passion himself, or that he was the tool of other 'men's passions. He was not author of new creeds,——he 'only aimed to reconcile and re-unite parties. He did not 'abuse the interest he had with the emperor to raise him-'self, nor to ruin his enemies, as did Eusebius of Nicome-'dia; but he improved it for the benefit of the church.'

VI. I have omitted many descriptions of the nature and design of the christian religion, to be found in the primitive writers, proofs of their good sense, and just sentiments of religion. But I think it not proper to pass by every thing of that kind in this celebrated bishop of Cæsarea.

1. The title of the fourth chapter of the first book of the Ecclesiastical History is to this purpose: 'That the religion published by Jesus Christ to all nations, is neither new nor strange.'

'For though,' says[d] he, 'without controversy, we are but of late, and the name of christians is indeed new, and has not long obtained over the world; yet our manner of life, and the principles of our religion, have not been lately devised by us, but were instituted and observed, if I may so say, from the beginning of the world, by good men, accepted of God, from those natural notions which are implanted in men's minds. This I shall show in the following manner: It is well known, that the nation of the Hebrews is not new, but distinguished by its antiquity. They have writings containing accounts of ancient men; few indeed in number, but very eminent for piety, justice, and every other virtue. Of whom some lived before the flood, others since, sons and grandsons of Noah; particularly Abraham, whom the Hebrews glory in as the father and founder of their nation. And if any one, ascending from Abraham to the first man, should affirm, that all of them who were celebrated for virtue, were christians in reality, though not in name, he would not speak much beside the truth. For what

[c] As before, Vol. iii. p. 13. [d] H. E. l. i. c. 4. p. 15. B. C. et 16.

else does the name of christian denote, but a man, who by the knowledge and doctrine of Jesus Christ is brought to the practice of sobriety, righteousness, patience, fortitude, and the religious worship of the one and only God over all. About these things they were no less solicitous than we are; but they practised not circumcision, nor observed sabbaths, any more than we: nor had they distinctions of meats nor other ordinances, which were first appointed by Moses.—Whence it is apparent, that ought to be esteemed the first and most ancient institution of religion, which was observed by the pious about the time of Abraham, and has been of late published to all nations, by the direction and authority of Jesus Christ.'

2. After the same manner, our author expresseth himself[e] in the second chapter of the Evangelical Demonstration, published by Fabricius. 'I have already shown in the Evangelical Preparation, that christianity is neither heathenism nor judaism; but is a peculiar form of religion, neither new, nor absurd and unreasonable, but most ancient, observed by and well known to those who lived before Moses, who were dear to God, and renowned for piety and virtue. Nevertheless it will be proper here to show briefly, what is heathenism, what judaism. Judaism may be defined to be a republic established according to the law of Moses, subject to the one supreme God. As for heathenism, it may be said to be a superstition, consisting of the worship of many gods, according to the rites of several nations. What then shall we say of those men before Moses, and before judaism, who were dear to God, of whom also Moses makes mention, as Enoch, to whom he bears testimony, that "he pleased God," Gen. v. 22, 24. And Noah, of whom he says, "he was a just man in his generation," Gen. vi. 9. And Seth and Japheth—And beside these, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and Job, and others, who followed the same course of life. Were they Jews or heathens? They cannot be said to have been Jews, since the law of Moses was not yet delivered.—Nor can they be reckoned heathens, since they were not involved in the superstition of polytheism.—Wherefore there must be a third religion, neither judaism nor heathenism, the most[f] ancient institution, and the most ancient philosophy, which has been lately declared to all men throughout the world. He therefore who forsakes judaism or heathenism, and becomes a christian, embraces

[e] Vid. Fabric. de Verit. Relig. Christian. p. 11, 12, 13.

[f] ——— *παλαιοτατον ενσεβειας πολιτευμα, και αρχαιοτατη μεν τις φιλοσοφια. κ. λ* ib. p. 14.

that law and course of life, which had been followed by the ancient patriarchs, friends of God: which [g] indeed had long lain dormant, but has been now revived by our Lord and Saviour, agreeably to the predictions of Moses, and the rest of the prophets.'

3. He expresseth himself again to the like purpose, in the fifth chapter of the same book of the Demonstration; where he observes, that the law of Moses was suited to the one nation of the Jews only, and them living in their own land. For it could not be obeyed by the Jews themselves in foreign and distant countries, much less by all nations of the earth. I say, having observed these things, he adds: 'The law and [h] course of life instituted by our Saviour Jesus Christ, is a revival of the ancient religion before Moses, according to which Abraham the friend of God, and others before him, lived.'

4. Again, in the Preparation he largely shows, 'That [i] Abraham, and good men before him, had a freer and more rational religion than that of Moses, which contained ordinances about the sabbath, and annual festivals, and a multitude of rules about meats and drinks, and bodily purifications, troublesome to observe. The [k] ancestors of the Jews followed right reason, and were truly pious:' that is, I think, the patriarchal religion consisted of those principles and duties, which are reasonable in themselves, without a multitude of positive appointments; which too, undoubtedly, is the character of the christian religion.

5. He elsewhere speaks of true religion, as the [l] divine philosophy: 'Jesus Christ,' he says, 'was [m] no impostor, but a philosopher, and truly religious.' Again, 'The [n] Christ of God is the Saviour and Enlightener of all nations, a teacher of piety, an example of sobriety, the captain of

[g] ——— *μακρον εφησυχασαντα χρονον, ανθις ανενεωσατο.* ibid.

[h] *Τοιουτος δε πεφηνεν ο προς τω σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου νενομοθετημενος νομος τε και βιος την παλαιοτατην και πρεσβυτεραν Μωσεως ευσεβειαν ανανεωμενος.* κ. λ. Dem. Ev. p. 9. C.

[i] *Ἑβραιοι δε πρεσβυτεροι Μωσεως*—*ελευθερον και ανειμενον ευσεβειας κατωρθων τροπον, βιῳ μεν τῳ κατα την φυσιν κεκοσμημενοι.* Pr. Ev. l. vii. c. 6. p. 304 D.

[k] ——— *και προ των εγγραφων αυτοις νομων, πλειους ηδη των προπατορων ορθοις λογισμοις, ευσεβειας αρετῃ κατεκομηθησαν.* ib. c. 7. p. 305. C.

[l] ——— *ητοι σωφρονειν ταξαμενος, και τον ἑαυτου βιον αναθεινα τῃ κατα Θεον φιλοσοφιᾳ.* In. Ps. p. 314. A.

[m] *Φιλοσοφος αρα, και αληθως ευσεβης, πολλου δει πλανος και γοης, ομολογοιτ' αν ο σωτηρ και Κυριος ἡμων.* Dem. Ev. l. iii. p. 127. A.

[n] ——— *σωτηρ και φωστηρ των εθνων απαντων, διδασκαλος ευσεβειας, σωφροσυνης καθηγεμων, δικαιοσυνης αρχηγος, αρετης απασης και θεογνωσιας αληθους αιτιος.* In Ps. p. 12. A. B.

righteousness, the author of all virtue and right knowledge of God.'

6. Christ's apostles, when they went abroad to convert the world, did not conceal his inglorious death: but related that, as well as his miracles and [o] philosophical discourses. And through the doctrine [p] of Christ, the church of God all over the world has been taught to offer thanksgivings and reasonable services, without the smoke of burnt-offerings.

7. He asserts free-will very strongly. He says, that [q] right reason is given to men with a power to choose and act, according to the light and instruction afforded them, and thereby to entitle themselves to great recompences.

8. He says, 'that [r] Christ gave like gifts to Judas with the other apostles; that once our Saviour had good hopes of him, on account of the power of free-will. For Judas was not of such a nature, as rendered his salvation impossible. Like the other apostles, he might have been instructed by the Son of God, and might have been a sincere and good disciple.'

9. He thinks, that [s] by the law of the Lord, so much commended and extolled in the book of Psalms, may be meant the law of nature, binding all men.

10. His explication [t] of Isa. lxiii. 1—6, deserves to be considered by the curious.

11. He seems to say, that Christ is our propitiation, as he has taught us to propitiate for ourselves, and expiate our sins by repentance and new obedience, only offering reasonable sacrifices. Commenting upon Psal. lxix. 31. 'In [u] like manner our Saviour says in the words before us, I offer not a sensible bullock, but a pure and unbloody sacrifice, which I have appointed in my church, to be offered by a ministry that has neither fire nor blood: which will be more

[o] ———τας τε φιλοσοφους διδασκαλιας αυτου. Dem. E. l. iii. p. 137. D.

[p] ———εν οις—ἡ εκκλησια του Θεου τας ευχαριστιας και τας λογικας και ακαπνους λατρειας αναφερειν τῳ Θεῳ παρειληφεν. In. Ps. p. 385. A.

[q] Τουτον γαρ απασῃ ψυχῃ φυσικον νομον βοηθον αυτῃ και συμμαχον επι των πρακτεων ὁ των ολων δημιουργος ὑπεστησατο. Δια μεν του νομου την ευθειαν αυτῃ παραδειξας οδον· δια δε της αυτῃ δεδωρημενης αυτεξουσιου ελευθεριας την των κρειττονων αἱρεσιν επαινῳ και αποδοχῃ αξιον αποφηνας, γερων τε και μειζονων επαθλων, κ. λ. Pr. Ev. p. 250. A. B. C. D.

[r] Επειδηπερ και αυτῳ ὁμοιως τοις λοιποις αποστολοις των ισων μετεδιδου χαρισματων. Επεποιθει δ' επ' αυτῳ ο σωτηρ, και αγαθας ειχεν ελπιδας επ' αυτῳ, δια το και επ' αυτῳ αυτεξουσιον. Ου γαρ ην φυσεως αδυνατου σωζεσθαι Ιουδας· αλλ' οἱος τε, ην θελησας, ομοιως τοις λοιποις αποστολοις μαθητευθηναι τῳ Υἱῳ του Θεου, και καλος και αγαθος μαθητης αποτελεισθαι. In Ps. p. 171. B. C.

[s] ———ειη δ' αν νομος Κυριου και ο κατα φυσιν πασιν ανθρωποις ενεσπαρμενος. κ. λ. In Ps. i. p. 9. E.

[t] In Isa. p. 581, 582.

[u] In Ps. lxviii. p. 386. B. C. Vid. et p. 385. E.

acceptable to God, than the bullock appointed by Moses. Therefore it is said, "I will magnify him with thanksgiving. This shall please the Lord more than a young bullock that has horns and hoofs." And [w] indeed the high-priests, and the whole nation of the Jews, would have obtained forgiveness, and the expiation of their sins, if, embracing the new and salutary covenant, they had offered such a sacrifice.'

12. He does sometimes handsomely enumerate our Saviour's miracles,[x] related in the gospels.

13. Eusebius has frequent occasion in his works, to observe the vast progress of the gospel in the world, which he does in a very agreeable manner, showing how great a reformation it had made in the world, in respect to polytheism, idolatry, human sacrifices, polygamy, incestuous marriages, and every kind of dissoluteness. He speaks of the gospel's having been carried by the [y] apostles or their successors not only to Rome, but into Persia, Armenia, Parthia, Scythia, India, Britain. So in one place. In another [z] he mentions Persians, Scythians, Indians, Ethiopians, Moors, Spaniards, Britons. In another place he says, 'There is no [a] nation or kingdom, which does not in whole, or in part, acknowledge the glory of Christ.' In the third book of the Evangelical Demonstration, where he enlarges upon this subject, he says: 'When [b] I consider the power of this doctrine, and that great multitudes of men were persuaded, and numerous societies formed, by the mean and illiterate disciples of Jesus, and that not in obscure and ignorant places, but in the most celebrated cities, in Rome itself the queen of all other cities, in Alexandria and Antioch, throughout Egypt and Lybia, Europe and Asia, and also in villages and country places, and in all nations; I am obliged, and even compelled to inquire after the cause of this, and to acknowledge, that they succeeded not in their great undertaking any otherwise, than by divine power surpassing all human ability, and the co-operation of him, who said unto them, "Go teach all nations in my name."'

[w] *Ετυχον δ' αν αφεσεως και καθαρσεως των ἡμαρτημενων αυτοις οἱ αρχιερεις, και οἱ τȣ παντος εθνȣς, ει κεχρηντο ταυτῃ τῃ θυσιᾳ την καινην και σωτηριον διαθηκην παραδεξαμενοι.* ib. C.

[x] Vid. Dem. Ev. l. iii. p. 107—109.

[y] Dem. Ev. l. iii. p. 112. D.

[z] In Ps. p. 570. A. B. Vid. ib. D.

[a] *Ου γαρ εςιν ȣκ εθνος, ȣ βασιλεια, ἡ μη προσκυνȣσα την δοξαν τȣ Χριςȣ, η απο μερȣς.* In Ps. p 657. A.

[b] *Αλλα παλιν αφορων εις την τȣ λογȣ δυναμιν, ὡς μυρια πληθη πεπεικεν, και ὡς συνεςησαν μυριανδροι εκκλησιαι προς εκεινων των ευτελεςατων και αγροικων τȣ Ιησȣ μαθητων. κ. λ.* Dem. Ev. l. iii. p. 138. B. C. D.

14. He seems to say, that [c] still in his time some miracles were done, but not many, nor of great notice. Yet afterwards he speaks of [d] christians casting out dæmons in Christ's name. In another place, having spoken of the miracles related in the gospels, he adds: 'And [e] still through the doctrine of our Saviour Jesus Christ, men are delivered from the worship of dæmons, and from a blind and stupid respect for senseless idols, and obtain greater benefits than any bodily cures.' Which, I think, seems to imply, that miracles were not then common, if they had not quite ceased.

15. He supposes, that [f] Peter and John, as well as Paul and other apostles, preached to several nations.

16. He says, all [g] the apostles suffered martyrdom; which, as [h] Montfauçon observes, cannot be shown now.

17. In several places [i] he interprets Matt. v. 3. of worldly poverty.

18. I do not enter into the controversy, whether Eusebius was an Arian. Nevertheless, I shall transcribe the following passages, though they may seem to have some relation to it.

He speaks of the Spirit, as [k] made by the Son. Again, 'The [l] Spirit is not of the Father, as the Son, but is one of the things made by the Son.'

He has some ways of speaking of the Son, that are remarkable: as, that [m] he was honoured with the Father's deity. He says, 'All [n] the Father's grace was poured out upon the Beloved: for it was the Father that spake in him.'

[c] ———δι' ὡν αυτος ὁ Κυριος ἡμων εισετι και νυν οἱς αν κρινειεν μικρα τινα της αυτȣ δυναμεως παραφαινειν ειωθε. Dem. Ev. l. iii. p. 109. A.

[d] ——ὁ ποτε εισετι δευρο πας δαιμων και παν ακαθαρτον πνευμα—τȣ Ιησȣ το ονομα φριττει. ib. p. 133. Vid. et p. 132. D.

[e] Τȣτων απαντων, και των αλλων παθων τε και ἀῤῥωστηματων δια της τȣ σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησȣ Χριστȣ διδασκαλιας εισετι και νυν απαλλαττονται, πολυ κρειττονος η κατα σωμα ιασεως και ωφελειας αξιωμενοι. Dem. l. i. p. 301. D.

[f] Παυλος μεν ȣν απο Ἱερȣσαλημ και κυκλῳ—Πετρος δε παλιν ἑτερων εθνων, και Ιωαννης ὡσαυτως ἑτερων, και των λοιπων αποστολων ἑκαστος παραπλησιως. In Ps. p. 352. D. E.

[g] In Ps. p. 413. B. C.

[h] Prælim. cap. ix. n. iii.

[i] Vid. in Ps. p. 386. C. D. 387. D. 404. D. E. et 412. B.

[k] Ὁ δε Ὑιος μονος πατρικῃ θεοτητι τετιμημενος ποιητικος αν ειη και δημιȣργικος της των γενετων απαντων—και δε και της παρακλητȣ πνευματος ὑπαρξεως. De Ec. Th. l. iii. c. 6. p. 174. C.

[l] Επει μη εκ τȣ Πατρος ὁμοιως τῳ Ὑιῳ, και αυτο την γενεσιν ειληφεν· ἐν δε τι των δια τȣ Ὑιȣ γενομενων τυγχανει. Ibid. p. 175. A.

[m] Vid. not. [k].

[n] Επει δε τȣ αγαπητȣ πασα ἡ πατρικη εις αυτον εκενωθη χαρις· ην γαρ ὁ Πατηρ λαλων εν Ὑιῳ. In Ps. p. 188. D.

Again, upon Psal. lxxii. 1. 'This[o] righteousness of the Father is given to the king's son, of the seed of David according to the flesh; in whom, as in a temple, dwelled the word, and wisdom, and righteousness of God.'

Once more, referring to Isa. lxi. 1, and Luke iv. 18. 'Showing,' says[p] he, 'that his was not a bodily anointing, like that of others; but that he was anointed with the spirit of the Father's deity, and therefore called Christ.'

The sense of these three last passages, taken from the Commentary upon the Psalms, falls in with the Nazarene, or Sabellian scheme. One might suspect, that they are not our author's own: but that he borrowed them from some other writer, and inserted them in his work: which was a frequent method with christian commentators.

19. We must by all means take a fine passage of Eusebius in his Evangelical Demonstration; where, among many other just observations, proving the credibility of the gospel history, against[q] those who refused to believe the accounts of the wonderful works done by our Saviour, he says: 'The[r] apostle Matthew does not pretend to any honourable station in the former part of his life; but placeth himself among publicans, employed in heaping up money. This none of the other evangelists have mentioned; not his fellow-disciple John, nor Luke, nor Mark. But Matthew is his own accuser, and dissembles not his former course of life. Observe then, how he expressly mentions his name in the gospel written by himself: "And as Jesus passed forth from thence, he saw a man named Matthew, sitting at the receipt of custom: and he saith unto him, Follow me. And he arose and followed him. And it came to pass, as Jesus sat at meat in the house, behold, many publicans came, and sat down with him and his disciples," Matt. ix. 10. And afterwards in the course of the narration, inserting a catalogue of Christ's disciples, he calls himself the publican. For thus he says: "Now the names of the twelve apostles are these; the first Simon, who is called Peter, and Andrew his brother; James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother; Philip and Bartholomew; Thomas, and Matthew the publican," Ch. x. 2, 3. Thus Matthew out[s] of abundance of

[o] Αυτη τοινυν ἡ τȣ Πατρος δικαιοσυνη τῳ Ὑῳ τȣ βασιλεως δεδοται, τῳ εκ σπερματος Δαυιδ κατα σαρκα· εν ῳ κατῳκησεν, ὡσπερ εν ναῳ, ὁ τȣ Θεȣ λογος, και ἡ σοφια και δικαιοσυνη. In Ps. lxxi. p. 404. B.

[p] Διδασκων —το δε πνευματι της πατρικης Θεοτητος κεχρισμενον, και δια τȣτο Χριστον ανηγορευμενον. In Ps. p. 634. E.

[q] Προς τȣς απειθȣντας τῃ των τȣ σωτηρος ἡμων περι των παραδοξων πραξεων διηγησει. Dem. Ev. l. iii. c. 5. p. 109. C.

[r] Ibid. p. 119. D.—122. A. [s] Δι' ὑπερβολην επιεικειας. p. 120. B

modesty, hides not his former course of life: but ingenuously owns himself to have been a publican, and likewise placeth himself after his colleague. For whereas they were joined two and two, he with Thomas, Peter with Andrew, and Philip with Bartholomew; he puts Thomas before himself, giving the preference to his fellow-apostle, as his superior; whilst the other evangelists have used a different order. Observe therefore Luke, how he mentions Matthew; he does not call him a publican, nor subjoin him to Thomas; but knowing him to be his superior, first mentions him, and then Thomas, as does [t] Mark likewise. The words of the former are these: "And when it was day, he called unto him his disciples, and of them he chose twelve, whom also he named apostles; Simon, whom he named Peter, and Andrew his brother; James, and John; Philip, and Bartholomew: Matthew, and Thomas," Luke vi. 13—15. Thus did Luke prefer Matthew, "even as they had delivered things unto him, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word," Ch. i. 2. You may observe John to be of the same mind with Matthew; for in his epistles, he either nameth not himself at all, or calls himself only elder, no where apostle, or evangelist. In his gospel when he speaks of him "whom Jesus loved," he does not mention himself by name. As for Peter, out [u] of abundance of modesty, he thought not himself worthy to write a gospel; but [v] Mark, who was his friend and disciple, is said to have recorded Peter's relations of the acts of Jesus; who, when he comes to that part of the history, where Jesus asked, "who men said he was," and then, what opinion they themselves, his disciples, had of him? and Peter had replied, that they believed him to be the Christ; he does not relate any thing that Jesus said by way of answer to this, except that "he charged them, that they should tell no man of him," Mark viii. 27—30. For Mark was not present to hear what Jesus said, and Peter did not think fit to bear testimony to himself, by relating what Jesus said to him, or of him. Nevertheless, what was said to him is related by Matthew in this manner: "But whom say ye that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered, and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona, for flesh and blood has not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and

[t] See Mark iii. 17, 18.

[u] ——δι' ευλαβειας υπερβολην. p. 120. D.

[v] Τουτ Μαρκος γνωριμος και φοιτητης γεγονως απομνημονευσαι λεγεται τας τ Πετρ περι των πραξεων τ Ιησ διαλεξεις. Ibid.

upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven," Matt. xvi. 13, 16—19. Though such things were said to Peter by Jesus, Mark has taken no notice of them, because, as is probable, Peter [w] did not relate them in his sermons. He only said, "When Jesus put the question to them, Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ. And he charged them, that they should tell no man of him," Mark viii. 29, 30. About those things Peter thought fit to be silent; therefore Mark also has omitted them. But what concerned his denial [of Jesus] he [x] preached to all men, because upon that account he "wept bitterly." You will therefore find Mark relating concerning that matter all these several particulars. "And as Peter was in the palace, there cometh to him one of the maids of the high-priest. And when she saw Peter, she looked upon him, and said, And thou wast with Jesus of Nazareth. But he denied, saying, I know not, neither understand I what thou sayest: and he went out into the porch, and the cock crew. And a maid saw him again, and began to say to them that stood by, This is one of them. And he denied it again. And a little after they that stood by said again to Peter, Surely, thou art one of them, for thou art a Galilean. But he began to curse and to swear, I know not this man of whom ye speak. And the second time the cock crew," Mark xiv. 66—72. These things writes Mark: and [y] Peter testifies these things of himself, for all things in Mark are said to be memoirs of Peter's discourses.'

St. Matthew's modesty, in calling himself a publican, when the other evangelists did not, is taken notice of by [z] Jerom, upon several occasions, in his works.

20. This learned christian apologist then proceeds to other

[w] Ὁτι μηδ' ὁ Πετρος ταυθ', ὡς εικος, εν ταις αυτε διδασκαλιαις εξηγορευσεν. p. 121. B. C.

[x] ——εις παντας εκηρυξεν ανθρωπες. p. 121. C.

[y] Πετρος δε ταυτα περι ἑαυτε μαρτυρει. Παντα γαρ τα παρα Μαρκῳ τε Πετρε διαλεξεων ειναι λεγεται απομνημονευματα. p. 122. A.

[z] Cæteri Evangelistæ in conjunctione nominum primum ponunt Matthæum, et postea Thomam. Nec publicani nomen ascribunt, ne antiquæ conversationis recordantes suggillare Evangelistam viderentur. Ille vero, ut supra diximus, et post Thomam se ponit, et publicanum appellat. Hieron. ad Matt. cap. x. Tom. iv. P. i. p. 34. f.

Quod quidem et de Matthæo Evangelistâ legimus, quod ipse Matthæus se dixerit publicanum; alii vero Evangelistæ nomen publicani tacuerint, et apostolicam tantum posuerint dignitatem; et quod in conjunctionibus apostolorum, apud se, secundus, apud alios primus sit. Id. in Is. cap. xxxvii. T. iii. p. 338.

like excellent observations, concerning the credibility of the evangelical history. But this may suffice to show the good sense of the ancient christians: and that, as they diligently studied the scriptures, they were also able to make judicious remarks upon them. In short, we may hence perceive that the defence of the christian religion was in fit hands. They had a good cause; and they showed it to be so. They had truth on their side: and they demonstrated it by arguments, suited to convince reasonable and serious men.

VII. I must transcribe several passages of this author concerning the canon of scripture; and I shall begin with such as appear to be the most material.

1. The twenty-fourth chapter of the third book of the Ecclesiastical History is entitled, Of [a] the Order of the Gospels. It must be alleged here almost entire, only first observing, that in the preceding chapter Eusebius had inserted a particular relation concerning St. John, from Clement of Alexandria. 'Let us,' says he, 'observe the writings of this apostle, which [b] are not contradicted by any. And first of all must be mentioned, as acknowledged of all, the gospel according to him, well known to all the churches under heaven. And that it has been justly placed by the ancients the fourth in order, and after the other three, may be made evident in this manner. Those admirable and truly divine men, the apostles of Christ, eminently holy in their lives, and as to their minds, adorned with every virtue, but "rude [c] in language," confiding in the divine and miraculous power bestowed upon them by our Saviour, neither knew, nor attempted, to deliver the doctrine of their master with the artifice and eloquence of words. But using only the demonstration of the Divine Spirit working with them, and the power of Christ performing by them, many miracles, they spread the knowledge of the kingdom of heaven all over the world. Nor were they greatly concerned about the writing of books, being engaged in a more excellent ministry, which was above all human power. Insomuch that Paul, the most able of all in the furniture both of words and thoughts, has left nothing in writing, beside [d] some very [e] short [or a very few] epistles: although he was acquainted with innumerable mysteries, having been admitted to the sight [f] and contemplation of things in the third hea-

[a] Περι της ταξεως των ευαγγελιων. p. 94. A. [b] —αναντιῤῥητως.
[c] Την δε γλωτταν ιδιωτευοντες. p. 94. C. confer. 2 Cor. xi. 6.
[d] ———πλεον των βραχυτατων επιστολων. p. 94. D.
[e] See to the like purpose Origen, in a passage formerly cited, Vol. ii. ch. xxxviii. num. iv. [f] See 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3, 4.

ven, and been caught up into the divine paradise, and there allowed to hear unspeakable words. Nor were the rest of our Saviour's followers unacquainted with these things, as the seventy disciples, and many others, beside the twelve apostles. Nevertheless, of all the disciples of our Lord, Matthew and John only have left us any memoirs: who too, as we have been informed, were compelled to write by a kind of necessity. For Matthew having first preached to the Hebrews, when he was about to go to other people, delivered to them in their own language the gospel according to him, by that writing supplying the want of his presence with those whom he was then leaving. And when Mark and Luke had published the gospels according to them, it is said, that John, who all this while had preached by word of mouth, was at length induced to write for this reason. The three first written gospels being now delivered to all men, and to John himself, it is said, that he approved them, and confirmed the truth of their narration by his own testimony:' saying, 'there was only wanting a written account of the things done by Christ in the former part, and the beginning of his preaching. And certainly that observation is very true. For it is easy to perceive, that the other three evangelists have recorded only the actions of our Saviour for one year after the imprisonment of John, as they themselves declare at the beginning of their history. For after mentioning the forty days' fast, and the succeeding temptation, Matthew shows the time of the commencement of his account in these words: "When [g] he had heard, that John was cast into prison, he departed out of Judea into Galilee." In like manner Mark, "Now [h] after that John," says he, "was cast into prison, Jesus came into Galilee." And Luke, before he begins the account of the acts of Jesus, gives a like hint in this manner: that [i] "Herod added yet this above all, that he shut up John in prison." For these reasons, as is said, the apostle John was [k] entreated to relate in the gospel according to him, the time omitted by the former evangelists, and the things done by our Saviour in that space, before the imprisonment of the Baptist. And they add further, that he himself hints as much, saying, "this [l] beginning of miracles did Jesus:" as also, when in the history of the acts of Jesus, he makes mention of the Baptist, as still [m] "baptizing in Ænon, nigh unto Salem." And it is thought, that he expressly declares as much, when

[g] Matt. iv. 12. [h] Mark i. 14. [i] Luke iii. 19, 20.
[k] Παρακληθεντα δη αν τουτων ἑνεκα φησι τον αποστολον Ιωαννην. p. 95. D.
John ii. 11. [m] Ib. iii. 23.

he says,[n] " For John was not yet cast into prison." John therefore in the gospel according to him, relates the things done by Christ, while the Baptist was not yet cast into prison. But the other three evangelists relate the things that followed the Baptist's confinement. Whoever attends to these things, will not any longer think the evangelists disagree with each other: forasmuch as the gospel according to John contains the first actions of Christ, whilst the others give the history of the following time. And for the same reason, John has omitted the genealogy of our Saviour according to the flesh, it having been recorded before by Matthew and Luke: but he begins with his [o] divinity, which had been reserved by the Holy Ghost for him, as [p] the more excellent person. This is as much as needs to be said of the gospel according to John. What was the occasion of writing the gospel according to Mark, has been already [q] shown. Luke at the beginning assigns the reason of his writing; declaring, that whereas many others had rashly undertaken to give a relation of the matters which he most surely believed; he thought himself obliged, in order the better to divert us from the uncertain relations of others, to deliver in his gospel a certain account of those things, which he was well assured of from his intimate acquaintance and familiarity with Paul, and his conversation with the other apostles. And thus much now concerning these things: at a more proper season, we shall endeavour to show by quotations of ancients, what has been said of the same by others. But farther, as to the writings of John, beside the gospel, the first epistle is universally acknowledged, both by those of the present time, and by the ancients. But the other two are contradicted. Concerning the apocalypse there are to this very day different opinions: this controversy likewise will be decided in a proper time, by the testimony of the ancients.'

2. The title of the next chapter is, Of the Scriptures universally acknowledged, and those that are not such.

' But,' says [r] Eusebius, ' it will be proper to enumerate here in a summary way,[s] the books of the New Testament which have been already mentioned. And in the first place are to be ranked the sacred four gospels: then the book of the Acts of the Apostles: after that are to be reckoned the epistles of Paul. In the next place, that called the first

[n] Ib. ver. 24.
[o] ——— θεολογιας. p. 96. B.
[p] Οἱα κρειττονι. ib.
[q] Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. ii. c. 15. And see before in this work, Vol. ii. p. 222.
[r] L. iii. c. 25. p. 97.
[s] ——— της καινης διαθηκης γραφας. p. 97. A.

epistle of John, and the [first] epistle of Peter, are to be esteemed [t] authentic. After these, is to be placed, if it be thought fit, the Revelation of John, about which we shall observe the different opinions at a proper season. Of the controverted, but [u] yet well known or approved by the most, [or many,] are that called the epistle of James, and that of Jude, and the second of Peter, and the second and third of John: whether they are written by the evangelist, or another of the same name. Among the spurious are to be placed, the Acts of Paul, and the book entitled the Shepherd, and the Revelation of Peter: and beside these, that called the Epistle of Barnabas, and the book [v] named the Doctrines of the Apostles. And moreover, as I said, the Revelation of John, if it seem meet; which some, as I have said, reject, others reckon among the books universally received. Among these [w] also some have reckoned the gospel according to the Hebrews, which the Hebrews who have embraced Christ [x] make use of. All these may be reckoned controverted. It was however needful, that I should put down a catalogue of these also; distinguishing [y] the scriptures, which according to the ecclesiastical tradition are true, genuine, and universally acknowledged, from those others, which are not placed in the [New] Testament, but are controverted, and yet appear to have been known to many: that by this means we may know these from such as have been published by heretics under the names of apostles: as [z] containing the gospels of Peter, and Thomas, and Matthias, and of some others; and the acts of Andrew and John, and other apostles. Which books none of the ecclesiastical writers in the succession [of the apostles] have vouchsafed to make any mention of in their writings. The style also of these books is entirely different from that of the apostles: moreover the sentiments and doctrine of those pieces are different from the true orthodox christianity. All which things plainly show, that those books are the forgeries of heretics. For all which reasons, they are not so much as to be reckoned among the spurious, but are to be rejected, as altogether absurd and impious.'

This is an obscure chapter: certainly, with a little more

[t] ——κυρωτεον. p. 97. B. γνωριμων δ' εν ομως τοις πολλοις. p. 97. B. αποστολων αι λεγομεναι διδαχαι. ib. C. και το καθ' Εβραιους ευαγγελιον κατελεξαν. C.

[u] Των δ' αντιλεγομενων, [v] ——και των [w] ——ηδη δ' εν τουτοις τινες [x] ——ω—χαιρουσι. C.

[y] ——διακρινοντες τας δε κατα την εκκλησιαστικην παραδοσιν αληθεις και απλαστους και ανωμολογημενας γραφας, και τας αλλας παρα ταυτας, ους ενδιαθηκους μεν, αλλα και αντιλεγομενας· ομως δε παρα πλειστοις των εκκλησιαστικων γιγνωσκομενας. C. D.

[z] ——περιεχουσας. Ib. D.

care, Eusebius might have expressed himself in a clearer manner. However, we defer our remarks, until we have seen some more passages.

3. The third chapter of the same third book of the Ecclesiastical History is entitled, Of the Epistles of the Apostles; and is to this purpose:

'One epistle then of Peter, called his first, is universally received. This[a] the presbyters [or elders] of ancient times have quoted in their writings, as undoubtedly genuine. But that called his second epistle, we have been informed, [that is, by the same tradition of the elders,] has not been received[b] into the [New] Testament. Nevertheless, appearing to many to be useful, it has been carefully studied with the other scriptures. But the book entitled his Acts, and that called the gospel according to him, and that styled his Preaching, and the Revelation under his name, we know they have not been delivered down to us in the number of catholic writings; forasmuch as no ecclesiastical writer of the ancients, or of our time, has made use of testimonies out of them. But in the progress of this history we shall make it our business to show, together with the successions, [from the apostles,] what ecclesiastical writers in every age[c] have used such writings as these which are contradicted: and what they have said with regard to the scriptures received into the New Testament, and acknowledged by all, and with regard to those which are not such. These then are the writings ascribed to Peter, of which I know of but one epistle only, that is genuine, and acknowledged by the presbyters of former times. Of Paul[d] there are fourteen [epistles] manifest and well known. But yet there are some who reject that to the Hebrews, urging for their opinion, that it is contradicted by the church of the Romans, as not being Paul's. What has been said of this epistle by those who were before us, I shall show in due time. Nor have I understood the book called his Acts, to be placed among unquestioned scriptures. But whereas the apostle himself, in his salutations at the end of the epistle to the Romans, makes mention among others also of Hermas, who, it is said, is the author of the small book called the Pastor: it ought to be observed, that it is contradicted by some: for

[a] *Ταυτῃ δε και οἱ παλαι πρεσβυτεροι. κ. λ.* p. 71. C.

[b] ——*ᾳκ ενδιαθηκον μεν ειναι παρειληφαμεν.* p. 72. A.

[c] ——*ὁποιαις κεχρηνται των αντιλεγομενων· τινα δε περι των ενδιαθηκων και ὁμολογεμενων γραφων, και ὁσα περι των μη τοιᾳτων αυτοις ειρηται.* p. 72. B.

[d] *Τᾳ δε Παυλᾳ προδηλοι και σαφεις αἱ δεκατεσσαρες· οτι γε μην τινες ηθετηκασι την προς Ἑβραιᾳς προς της Ῥωμαιων εκκλησιας ὡς μη Παυλᾳ ᾳσαν αυτην αντιλεγεσθαι φησαντες, ᾳ δικαιον αγνοειν.* Ib. B. C.

whose sake it cannot be placed among those books which are universally received. But by others it has been judged a most necessary book, especially for those who are to be instructed in the rudiments of religion. For which reason it is still, as we know, publicly[e] read in the churches: and I have observed it quoted by some very ancient writers. This[f] may suffice for an account of the divine scriptures, both those which are unquestioned, and those which are not received by all.'

This chapter too is inaccurate, nor does it answer[g] the title. Eusebius does not here speak of all the epistles of apostles, nor of all such as were universally received. But we proceed to the next chapter, which perhaps may supply the defects of this.

4. The fourth chapter of the same third book of the Ecclesiastical History is entitled, Of the first succession of the Apostles. I shall transcribe at large what has here also any relation to our present design, assuring us of the genuineness of St. Luke's two books, the gospel, and Acts of the Apostles, St. Peter's first epistle, and some other things.

'Moreover, that Paul in the course of his preaching to the Gentiles, laid the foundation of the churches "from[h] Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum," is manifest both from his own words, and what Luke has related in the[i] Acts. In like manner, in what provinces Peter, preaching the gospel of Christ to those of the circumcision, delivered the doctrine of the new covenant, is evident from his own words in that epistle of his, which, as we have said, is universally acknowledged, and is inscribed by him to the Hebrews "scattered throughout Pontus, and Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia." But how many, and who of these were genuine followers of the apostles, and approved of as fit for the pastoral office in the churches they had planted, is not easy to say; excepting such as may be collected from Paul's own words. For he had a vast number of fellow-labourers, and, as he calls them, fellow-soldiers: many of whom are secured of everlasting remembrance by the immortal testimony he has given to them in his epistles. And besides, Luke in the Acts has mentioned them by name

[e] Ὀθεν ηδη και εν εκκλησιαις ισμεν αυτο δεδημοσιευμενον. Ib. B.

[f] Ταυτα εις παραστασιν των τε αναντιῤῥητων και των μη παρα πασιν ὁμολογουμενων θειων γραμματων, ειρησθω. Ib. D.

[g] The titles were composed by Eusebius himself, and prefixed by him to the several chapters of this work, as we now have them. So Valesius in his Annotations, p. 1.

[h] Rom. xv. 19.

[i] See the Acts, from chap. xiii. to xxi.

among the disciples of the apostle. However it is said, that Timothy was the first bishop of the church in Ephesus, and Titus of the churches in Crete. And Luke, who was of Antioch, and by profession a physician, for the most part a companion of Paul, who had likewise more than a slight acquaintance with the rest of the apostles, has left us, in two books divinely inspired, evidence of the art of healing souls, which he had learned from them. One of these is the gospel, which he professeth to have written as [k] "they delivered" it to him, "who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word:" with all whom, he says likewise, he had been "perfectly acquainted from the very first." The other is the Acts of the Apostles, which he composed now, not from what he had received by the report of others, but from what he had seen with his own eyes. And it is said, that Paul was wont to refer to the gospel according to him, whenever in his epistles, speaking as it were of some gospel of his own, he says: "According [l] to my gospel." Of the rest of the followers of Paul, Crescens [m] is said by himself to have been sent "into Gaul" [or Galatia]. And Linus, whom he speaks of in [n] his second epistle to Timothy, as being with him in Rome, was appointed to the bishopric of the church of Rome, next after Peter, as was before mentioned. And moreover Clement, who was appointed the third bishop of Rome, is also mentioned by Paul himself, as [o] his fellow-labourer, and fellow-soldier. And beside all these is the Areopagite, named Dionysius: whom Luke in the [p] Acts relates to have become a believer immediately after Paul's speech to the Athenians at the Areopagus: who is also said by another Dionysius, pastor of the church of Corinth, one of the ancients, to have been the first bishop of the church at Athens.'

VIII. Thus I have put down four chapters of our ecclesiastical historian almost entire. I think I need not transcribe any more at length; but we may have occasion to observe hereafter divers other particular passages. At present we make a stand, to review what we have seen.

1. These passages are to be understood, chiefly, as representing the opinions of christians in the time of our author.

2. It seems evident from what Eusebius writes, that there was not then [q] any canon of scripture, or catalogue of the books of the New Testament established by any authority,

[k] Luke i. 2, 3. [l] 2 Tim. ii. 8. [m] 2 Tim. iv. 10.
[n] — ver. 21. [o] Philip. iv. 3. [p] Acts xvii. 34.
[q] To the like purpose Basnage, who deserves to be consulted. Hist. de l' Eglise, l. viii. c. 5. n. 9, 10, 11.

which was universally acknowledged by christians. Our historian does not mention any such thing. And besides, this is so apparent from different opinions here observed, that I think it needless to insist on a particular demonstration of the truth of this remark.

3. The method which Eusebius himself, and others of his time, made use of, in judging concerning the sacred authority of any books, was to inquire after, and consider the testimony of the ancients, those holy and venerable christians, whether bishops or others, of former times, who lived near the age of the apostles. This is a method, of which we have seen many instances in authors before cited, and we observe it also in these passages of Eusebius. However, as to books of doubtful authority, which had not been much quoted by the ancients, they did likewise examine their style and doctrine, and compare the things contained in them with the doctrine, design, and manner of the books universally owned to be of divine and apostolical authority.

4. In those passages of Eusebius are observable several sorts of books: but how many sorts may need some consideration. Valesius[r] has a learned note upon one of the forecited passages, the substance of which is: 'That there 'are three sorts of sacred books, such as are universally 'received, such as are doubted of by some, and lastly, such 'as are universally rejected, or plainly spurious. But,' says he, 'Eusebius, and some other ancients, use the word 'spurious improperly, for books that are only of doubtful 'authority, and controverted by some: whereas by spurious 'ought to be intended those which are really so, as having 'been forged by heretics, such as are mentioned at the end 'of that chapter. For, to speak properly, there are but two 'sorts of sacred books; those universally received, and 'those doubted of, or contradicted by some: and the spu-'rious ought not to be reckoned among sacred books.' So that learned writer.

In order to judge of this matter, and the better to understand Eusebius, it will be very convenient to observe another passage, not yet transcribed. 'Thus far,' says he, 'of what is come to our knowledge concerning the apostles, and the apostolical times, and[s] the sacred writings which they have left us, as also of those that are contradicted, but yet are publicly used [or read] in most churches, and of

[r] Annot. in libr. iii. c. 25. p. 52, 53.

[s] ——ὧν τε καταλελοιπασιν ἡμιν ἱερων γραμματων, και αντιλεγομενων μεν, ὁμως δ' εν πλειταις εκκλησιαις παρα πολλοις δεδημοσιευμενων, των τε παντελως νοθων, και της αποστολικης ορθοδοξιας αλλοτριων. L. iii. c. 31. p. 103. B.

such as are altogether spurious, and far different from the apostolical doctrine.'

Here are three sorts of books expressed, with a fourth implied. For if some are altogether spurious, others may be called spurious simply.

It seems to me, that when we speak of books, and rank them according to the several opinions which men have of them, there may be five sorts: 1. Such as are universally received. 2. Such as are very generally received, and are doubted of by a few only. 3. Such as Eusebius calls controverted, or contradicted: which are received by many, or the most, but yet are doubted of by a good number of people. 4. Such as are received by a few only, or however are rejected by more than they are received. These Eusebius may call spurious. 5. There are such as are universally rejected by catholic christians, as not having been used by any of the ancients, as books of any value, and containing things contrary to the true apostolical doctrine. These are altogether or throughout spurious. If I mistake not, four of these sorts appear plainly in the second passage cited from Eusebius: I mean all except the second sort; and perhaps we may find, that neither has that been quite neglected by him. We shall now go over these several sorts and divisions.

(1.) There were books of scripture universally received and acknowledged by all the churches of Christ, or all catholic christians, as sacred and divine. The books of this sort, mentioned by Eusebius, are the four gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen epistles of Paul, one epistle of Peter, one epistle of John.

(2.) There were books very generally received, and doubted of by a few only. This division is not distinctly made, or expressly named by Eusebius: but, as I observed, it is a very reasonable division, when there is a number of books, about which there are different opinions. It may then very well happen, that there shall be some of this sort. I think, we may not improperly place here the epistle to the Hebrews, and the book of the Revelation: or at least the former of these. For at the beginning of the second passage, Eusebius placeth the epistles of Paul among books universally received; without making there, or in any other part of that passage, any exception for the epistle to the Hebrews. In the third passage he says: 'Of Paul there are fourteen epistles manifest and well known. But yet there are some who reject that to the Hebrews, urging for their opinion, that it is contradicted by the church of the

Romans, as not being St. Paul's.' Or, as we may remember, upon another occasion our author said: 'To[t] this very time, by some of the Romans, this epistle is not reckoned to be the apostle's.' However, it must be allowed, that there were some beside the Romans, who did not receive this epistle as Paul's. So he said in the words before cited: 'But yet there are some who reject that to the Hebrews, urging for their opinion, that it is contradicted by the church of Rome.' These are not Romans. And doubtless we may observe some other passages of Eusebius, where the epistle to the Hebrews is reckoned among controverted, or contradicted books. Nevertheless, I think, he seems here inclined to give this epistle a place among those books which were very generally received. He may therefore suppose, that it was more generally received in the churches, with which Eusebius was best acquainted, than the disputed catholic epistles.

As for the Revelation, at the end of our first passage, Eusebius says: 'There are concerning that book to this very day different opinions.' At the beginning of our second passage he says: 'After these [universally received] is to be placed, if it be thought fit, the Revelation of John, concerning which we shall observe the different opinions at a proper time. These are books received with a general consent.' But yet afterwards, in the same passage, reckoning up the books called spurious, he adds: 'And moreover, as I said, the Revelation of John, if it seem meet: which some, as I have said, reject, others reckon among the books universally received.'

I am not positive: I only propose it to be considered, whether, dividing books according to the several opinions of people in Eusebius's time, these two, the epistle to the Hebrews and the Revelation, may not be placed in the rank next after those universally[u] received.

(3.) There are books which may be called controverted, or contradicted: which are received by many, or the most, but yet are doubted of by a good number of people. This is the second class, expressly mentioned in the second pas-

[t] L. vi. c. 20. p. 223. A.

[u] The argument above is confirmed by an observation of Mr. Robert Turner, in his Discourse of the pretended Apostolic Constitutions, p. 71. 'It is 'plain, Eusebius was at a loss, in what class to fix the Apocalypse: so that 'when he annexes it to the ὁμολογεμενα, it is with an ει φανειη. And he does 'the same, when he joins it to the νοθα, adding:—which some reject as spu-'rious, and others receive as confessedly sacred and canonical.' If Eusebius was at a loss, in which of the classes expressly mentioned by him he should place the Revelation; it is likely, that it may belong to what I call the second class, which he has not expressly mentioned.

sage from Eusebius. For after the mention of those universally received, he adds: 'Of the controverted, but yet well known and approved by the most, are that called the epistle of James, and that of Jude, and the second of Peter, and the second and third of John: whether they were written by the evangelist, or by another of that name.'

These are the books which in that passage Eusebius calls controverted, and says, they 'were approved of by the most or many.'

We may allow this to be in the general a just representation of the sentiments of christians at that time concerning those epistles. However, there are some other passages relating to them to be observed.

In the second book of our author's Ecclesiastical History is a long chapter about the death of James, called the Just, and the brother of our Lord. Eusebius, having exhibited two accounts of this person's death, one taken from the fifth book of the Memoirs of Hegesippus, the other from the Antiquities of Josephus, concludes the chapter with these words: 'Thus [v] far concerning this James, who is said to be author of the first of the seven epistles called catholic. But it ought to be observed, that it is spurious: forasmuch as there are not many of the ancients, who have made mention of it; as neither of that called Jude's, which likewise is one of the epistles called catholic. However, we know that these are also commonly used [or publicly read] in most churches, together with the rest.'

This passage shows us, that there were seven epistles called catholic: five of these, as we saw before, were controverted, two of which are here mentioned. Of these seven epistles, that of James was placed first in order: though there were doubts about some of them, yet in many churches all seven were joined together, and the five controverted epistles were publicly used and read with the rest.

The words concerning the epistle of James, which I have translated in this manner, 'but it ought to be observed that 'it is spurious;' are by Valesius rendered thus, 'which 'some esteem spurious and suppositious.' And in his notes he says, that Rufinus and Christopherson have translated those words in the same manner, as representing the opinions of men concerning that epistle: which sense he owns he had followed in his version. But he says, upon

[v] ——— ὃ ἡ πρωτη των ονομαζομενων καθολικων επιστολων ειναι λεγεται· ιστεον δε ὡς νοθευεται μεν· ὃ πολλοι γὰν των παλαιων αυτης εμνημονευσαν— ωμως δε ισμεν και ταυτας μετα των λοιπων εν πλεισταις δεδημοσιευμενας εκκλησιαις. l. ii. c. 23. p. 66. C.

farther consideration, he had altered his mind: and he thinks, that Eusebius there declares his own sentiment, and pronounceth this epistle absolutely spurious.

But I rather think, that Eusebius in those words declares the opinion of men about that epistle: and says, that it is contradicted, or rejected, by a good number of people, as was also the epistle of Jude. This appears to me the meaning of the expression: however, I have translated literally, and leave every one to judge of the words. We shall by and by distinctly consider Eusebius's own sentiments about this epistle: and then, perhaps, some things may offer for farther clearing up the meaning of this place.

As there are some other passages, in which Eusebius speaks of controverted books, they ought to be placed here.

In one place he says, 'That[w] Clement in his Stromata takes testimonies out of those scriptures[x] that are contradicted; as the Wisdom of Solomon, the book of Jesus the son of Sirach, and the epistle to the Hebrews, and the epistle of Barnabas, and Clement, and Jude.'

And soon after he observes of the same Clement of Alexandria, that[y] in his Institutions, to 'speak briefly, he gives short explications[z] of all the canonical scriptures, not[a] omitting those that are contradicted: I mean the epistle of Jude, and the other catholic epistles, and the epistle of Barnabas, and the book called the Revelation of Peter.'

I scarce need to say, that by contradicted, Eusebius means books doubted of, or controverted by some, or many. But the books ranked in this class, and of which he useth that phrase, are not equally contradicted: some might be rejected by more than others were. Certainly, the Revelation of Peter, here placed among contradicted scriptures, was not received by so many as the epistle to the Hebrews, or those catholic epistles that were controverted. So far of this sort of books. We proceed.

(4.) The next are those called spurious by our author: simply so, not altogether spurious. By those called spurious, I suppose to be meant such as were received by a few only; or, however, were rejected by more, many more, than they were received. Of these Eusebius speaks in our second passage from him after this manner: 'Among[b] the

[w] See before, Vol. ii. p. 225.

[x] —απο των αντιλεγομενων γραφων. H. E. l. 6. c. 13. p. 214. D.

[y] See before, Vol. ii. p. 225.

[z] ———πασης της ενδιαθηκε γραφης. l. vi. c. 14. p. 215. C.

[a] ———μηδε τας αντιλεγομενας παρελθων. ibid.

[b] Εν τοις νοθοις κατατεταχθω. κ. λ. p. 97. B.

spurious are to be placed the Acts of Paul, and the book entitled the Shepherd, and the Revelation of Peter; and beside these, that called the epistle of Barnabas, and the book named the Doctrines of the Apostles: and moreover, as I said, the Revelation of John, if it seem meet; which some, as I have said, reject, others reckon among the books universally received. Among these also some have reckoned the gospel according to the Hebrews, which the Hebrews who have embraced Christ make use of. All [c] these may be reckoned controverted.'

Hereby I think Eusebius intends to signify, that these books [called by him spurious] were not so generally received, as those before mentioned in that passage, and called distinctly contradicted, namely, the five disputed catholic epistles. They were received by some, but were rejected by many, by much the greater part of catholic christians in Eusebius's time, as not having been quoted by many of the ancients, as books of authority; or, as not thinking them so excellent for the matter, as those universally received; or, as not written by the authors to whom they were ascribed; or, if really written by the persons whose names they bore, yet thinking, that the writings of those persons ought not to be reckoned canonical, or placed in the New Testament. This I take to be the case of several of the books here mentioned: the book called the Shepherd, might be allowed to be written by Hermas; and the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas, might be really his; but these pieces might not be judged fit to be received into the New Testament, the authors not being apostles. This too, I take to be one reason of placing here the Revelation of John; because many thought it not written by John the apostle, but by some other of that name: though some of those who rejected this book, might likewise have exceptions to some of the contents of it; as also to some things contained in the two other writings just mentioned.

(5.) The fifth sort of books are such as were supposed to be published by heretics, under the names of apostles, which in the second passage are said to be these, 'The Gospels of Peter, and Thomas, and Matthias, and some others; and the Acts of Andrew, and John, and other apostles.' The reasons why these were rejected are assigned by Eusebius at large. He concludes, that 'they are the forgeries of heretics, and [d] that they are not so much as to

[c] *Ταυτα μεν παντα των αντιλεγομενων αν ειη.* ib. C.

[d] *Ὀθεν ϐδ' εν νοθοις κατατακτεον· αλλ' ὡς ατοπα παντη και δυσσεϐη πιραιτητεον.* p. 98. A.

be reckoned among the spurious; but are to be rejected, as altogether absurd and impious:' that is, in other words, according to what he says in another passage cited above, they are altogether spurious, and were universally rejected by catholic christians.

Thus we have settled all these several sorts of books; four of which are, I think, plainly[e] discernible in our second passage. Whether there is any ground for a fifth division, which I have mentioned, namely, the second in order, will be considered by the attentive reader.

5. The next remark I would make is a kind of corollary from the foregoing passages and observations; that the words contradicted, controverted, and spurious, are not to be understood only of the genuineness of a work, or of a doubt and controversy, whether it was really written by the person to whom it is ascribed, and whose name it bears; but whether it has a right to be a part of the New Testament. It might be unquestionably genuine, or generally allowed to be so; and yet be contradicted, that is, rejected by some, a good number; or be spurious, generally rejected from being a part of the New Testament. This is extremely evident with regard to the epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, which, in a passage cited just now, we saw placed among contradicted scriptures, though it was owned[f] by every body for a genuine work of Clement, bishop of Rome, and companion of the blessed apostle Paul. The controversy therefore about that epistle was only, whether it should be reckoned a book of the New Testament. And though it be called by Eusebius only a contradicted book, there seem to have been very few on the affirmative side of the question, for admitting it into the New Testament. Insomuch that in this respect, it might be placed among the spurious, that is, those which were generally rejected. This observation ought to be applied to the epistle of Barnabas, and the Shepherd of Her-

[e] I beg leave to observe, that Mr. Turner understood our author to speak of four sorts of books. He is the only person, whom I have met with, who thought of more than three. And we are independent witnesses to this point. For this article in the chapter of Eusebius (which has long lain by me) was composed before I had any knowledge of Mr. Turner's work, in which he considers this matter. His words are: 'Eusebius's account of the sacred 'books, in that chapter, is somewhat confused. But he seems to rank them 'in four classes.' R. Turner's Discourse upon the pretended Apostolical Constitutions, p. 168—171.

[f] ———τῳ Κλημεντος ὁμολογεμενη μια επιστολη. H. E. l. iii. c. 16.——— ανωμολογημενῃ παρα πασιν. ib. c. 38. p. 110. A.———τῳ Κλημεντος ὁμολογεμενη γραφη. ib. C.

mas: for whose sake it is, indeed, principally intended: but I think, I need not stay any longer to show the justness of it with regard to them. Those writings are the genuine works of the authors whose names they bear; but with regard to any claim to be parts of the sacred scriptures of the New Testament, properly so called, they are contradicted, or rather spurious, generally rejected.

6. The character of the authors or writers of the several books of sacred scripture is observable: they are all apostles, or apostolical men. Nor are there any writings of barely apostolical men authentic, and universally acknowledged, excepting those of Mark and Luke, which are only historical, not doctrinal or dogmatical. All the other books which are epistolary, or dogmatical, as the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Epistle of Clement, and the Shepherd of Hermas, as likewise the Epistle of James, and Jude, and the Revelation of John, (which some were not fully satisfied to have been written by apostles, but by an elder only, or other person of inferior rank to that of apostles,) were controverted; contradicted either by some, or by many, so as to deserve the appellation of spurious. This seems to show, that it was a common and prevailing opinion among christians in those times, that no book, doctrinal or preceptive, ought to be received as of authority, unless written by an apostle; and that the credit of men not apostles, though they were companions of apostles, was admitted no farther than as historians, or reporters of what they had seen, or of what they had heard from apostles, or eye-witnesses, and ministers of the word.

We actually see the traces of this prevailing opinion in the judgment formed of divers writings and persons. The epistle of Clement, a companion of the apostle Paul, expressly celebrated by him, which epistle too was universally allowed to be genuine, is a contradicted book, and received by a very few as a part of the New Testament. Nor does it appear, that any of the epistles of Ignatius or Polycarp, though they likewise were disciples of apostles, ever obtained so much credit, as to be admitted by any into the canon of scripture.

Here this sentiment appears very clearly: every body knew who were authors of those epistles: and for that very reason, few or none ever thought of placing them among sacred scriptures. If the authors of those epistles had been unknown, some might have thought them to have been written by apostles; and those epistles might have made a

considerable claim to be parts of the New Testament: but now they stand clearly in the rank only of excellent ecclesiastical writings.

An apostolical man, then, was not supposed to have a right or power to deliver admonitions, exhortations, counsels, precepts, or to write of doctrines, in an authoritative manner. They may make reports, or write histories of the preaching and miracles of Christ or his apostles, which shall be received as of authority: provided they are known to be apostolical men, intimate companions, and approved fellow-labourers of apostles, as Mark and Luke were. But that is the utmost credit and authority of men of this rank, high as it was.

7. We have a fine observation of our author, concerning the employment of the apostles, and their backwardness to write, and the occasions of the few books or epistles which were written by them at last.

And it may be well supposed, that Eusebius here speaks agreeably to the information he had received from more [g] ancient christian writers.

And I think, that according to his account, all the books of the New Testament, now commonly received among us, are occasional writings, except the book of the Revelation; the author of which, chap. i. 11, is expressly directed to "write in a book, and send it to the seven churches that are in Asia." And he says of the apostles in general, that they were not greatly concerned about writing. And of those two apostles that wrote gospels, he says particularly, that 'they were compelled to write by a kind of necessity.' For by tradition of more ancient writers he had been informed, that Matthew wrote his gospel for the benefit of the christians in Judea; that when he left them, it might supply the want of his presence. And there were traditions of several reasons of John's writing his gospel: one was, that having seen the three gospels first written, he observed, that there was still wanting a written relation of the beginning of Christ's ministry: moreover, two of the former evangelists had written the genealogy of Christ according to the flesh; but the account of Christ's divinity had been reserved for him. The occasion of Mark's writing his gospel has been also mentioned in this author's Ecclesiastical History. And he says, that Luke himself has at the beginning of his gospel assigned the reason why he wrote;

[g] Exactly to this purpose, Iren. l. iii. c. 1.—Per quos evangelium pervenit ad nos: quod quidem tum præconaverunt, postea vero per Dei voluntatem in scripturis nobis tradiderunt, &c.

which was, to put into our hands a full and certain account of Christ's ministry, in the room of those uncertain and defective relations which had been written by others, and were already got abroad in the world.

This may be supposed to be, for the main part, and in the general, a true account of the occasion of writing the several gospels. Nor let any therefore be in pain, and suspect, that then there would have been danger, lest we should have had no gospels, or authentic written records concerning Christ and his doctrine: for if the apostles performed the most difficult part of their ministry, and fulfilled the command of Christ, "to go and preach to all nations," and did discharge that work with zeal and resolution, accompanied with those miracles, which the divine power they had received from Christ, enabled them to perform, there certainly would be occasion for writing both gospels and epistles. The converts which the apostles made, would many of them be desirous of written memoirs of the great and excellent things, which they had heard; and would certainly entreat apostles themselves, or their ministers and companions, to deliver to them such accounts, to help their memory.

And upon the apostles, relating frequently in their sermons, in many parts of the world, and to great numbers of people, the discourses and miracles of Jesus, and performing many other like miracles themselves, it was very likely, that some should be so moved and affected by those extraordinary things, as to compose and publish relations of them, though they were not fully qualified for the work. These imperfect, and not sufficiently attested relations, would very naturally provoke and excite some one or more well acquainted with those things, to write a history of them, which might be depended upon as certain. And having seen some histories of the acts of Christ, which, though written with a good intention, and from a good principle, were not fitted for general use, nor suited to the importance of the design; it was very natural for the same person, for the same reason, and with the same view, to undertake a second work, containing a history of the acts of Christ's apostles, and of the planting and spreading the christian doctrine in several places, after the resurrection of Jesus, and his ascension to heaven: in order the better to prevent the setting out any such defective, not well attested relations of these things, as he had actually seen of the life of Christ. It was highly probable, that the design of this second work should enter into the mind of the same

person, who had undertaken the former, for the reason just mentioned: especially considering, that he was more peculiarly qualified for this latter performance, as he had been himself an eye-witness of a large part of these things, which were to be the materials of it; and he had the honour and happiness of being intimately acquainted with some of the principal persons, whose words and works, journeyings, dangers, and sufferings, he was now to relate.

It was also very likely, that if some one apostle was by Divine Providence preserved to a great age, he should come to the sight of the memoirs of Christ's life first written. And as the former evangelists had been much intent upon brevity in their narrations, and confined themselves, chiefly, to the more public parts of Christ's ministry, it was very natural for him to judge it proper to give the world a written relation of some things omitted by them. There might be also such a change in the circumstances of things, since the time of writing the more early gospels, as might contribute to determine his resolution of adding a new and fourth gospel to those already written.

Moreover, if the apostles of Jesus Christ, and his other disciples, and their immediate converts, preached the gospel with that zeal and diligence which might be reasonably expected, and formed and constituted in several parts distinct societies, or churches, of the converts they made by preaching and conference; it could not be, considering the weakness of human nature, and the condition and character of the persons of which those churches were constituted, (many of whom had been lately involved in vice, and the grossest darkness and ignorance,) but that some of those churches would need farther instructions, for their confirmation and establishment, or for correcting disorders they fell into, or for securing them from the seduction of selfish and artful leaders and teachers crept in among them, or endeavouring to do so. Such wants and necessities of those religious societies would excite the care and attention of the apostles by whom they had been formed. And as the apostles could not visit in person so often as they would, much less be always present with all the churches they had planted; their tender concern and affection for their welfare, and their zeal for the principles of which they were fully persuaded, and which they had preached and instilled into the minds of men with great labour and many hazards, would oblige and induce them to write epistles to them, containing sufficient instructions about every thing relating to their case, and which the support and flourishing interest of the

christian religion required. And some apostles, in the great and uncommon zeal with which they were animated, in all probability would be induced to write epistles also to some churches or christians formed and converted by others, and whom they had not seen; that nothing might be wanting to them, for completing their faith in the gospel, and securing their stedfastness therein, and a conversation and behaviour of life becoming it.

Finally, it was likewise probable, that some occasions should offer, which in a manner required the writing of some epistles to particular persons, for recommending some good office of kindness to a christian brother, and for giving directions about the officers settled, or to be appointed and settled in christian societies, for promoting good order, and the interest of religion among them.

Eusebius says, then, that 'the apostles, employing the demonstration of the Divine Spirit working with them, spread the gospel over the world. Nor were they' [at the first] 'much concerned to write, being engaged in a more excellent ministry, exceeding all human power:' that is, in preaching and spreading the gospel every where. This likewise I take to be a just, and true, and fine observation. That ministry was indeed 'above human power,' not only with regard to the miracles performed by them; but their preaching the doctrine of the gospel to all the world, as they did, was also a divine work. To discourse, dispute, and argue with men of all characters, and thus to recommend the truths of religion, requires more and greater talents of the mind, as well as more virtue, especially in the apostles' circumstances, than to write for them. For in preaching the heavenly doctrine of the gospel, contrary to rooted and general errors and prejudices and darling passions, before men of all ranks and characters, princes and people, philosophers and mechanics, Jews and Gentiles, which required a different sort of treatment; there was necessary not only a clear and distinct knowledge of the doctrine itself, and the several arguments by which it might be most fitly demonstrated and recommended, but also great zeal, and courage, and presence of mind, suited to sudden occasions and emergencies; as well as a fixed resolution to suffer all manner of evil, rather than deny it, rather than not openly profess and teach it. This is very different from composing an argument in private, and at our leisure. We write in the study free from noise and danger; we take the time when we find ourselves best disposed for the work. If we oppose an absurd opinion, and

a perverse and unreasonable adversary; though he be far out of sight, or a man we never saw, we find a difficulty in governing our temper, and restraining all harshness and indecency of expression. And when we have finished the work, if the truth we defend be unpopular and unacceptable, we send forth our performance with abundance of caution, perhaps without a name, and in the most reserved and secret manner we can devise. But the apostles, in preaching the gospel, were under a necessity of engaging at all seasons, with all sorts of characters and tempers: and were obliged to meekness under provocations, and courage in the midst of all sorts of dangers and threatenings. For such a service many great talents are needful, either acquired or infused. And since the apostles, generally speaking, had not the former in a great degree, they must have been favoured with the latter.

The work therefore of preaching the gospel, in which the apostles were engaged, was, as Eusebius says, 'a most excellent ministry, and above human power:' it was likewise the fittest to be first performed. To have written memoirs of Christ's life, or treatises of the truth of the christian religion, before those things had been preached, and before some considerable number of converts had been made, would have signified very little. In that way, the gospel would not, in the course of many ages, if ever, have been spread over the world, as it was by the preaching of the apostles in a few years.

Our Saviour's command to his first apostles was: "Go[h] ye, and teach all nations, baptizing them,—teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." Paul, in like manner, was chosen and appointed of Christ, to[i] "bear his name before the gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel." And he[k] was "made a minister and witness of the things which he had seen, and of those things in which Christ should appear unto him: and he showed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and then to the Gentiles, that they should repent, and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance. These were Christ's own directions, and it was fit they should be first performed: and it was indeed a glorious work, by public preaching to convert men from their errors and vices, to the faith of God and Jesus Christ; and engage them to make a profession of faith in Jesus by baptism, and then to continue the profession and avowal of

[h] Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. [i] Acts ix. 15 [k] Acts xxvi. 16, 20.

that faith, by worshipping God according to the rule of the gospel in religious societies of their own.

If therefore the apostles of Christ performed the work appointed them by him, (as they did with amazing success, but not with greater success than might be reasonably expected, considering all the helps, and all the arguments, he had furnished them with, both for animating them, and convincing others:) there certainly would be occasions and demands for writing such books, as the New Testament now consists of; gospels, Acts, and epistles.

And though these writings were of the utmost importance, and of absolute necessity, for preserving the christian religion in purity in following ages: and though these writings are now of much more immediate advantage to us, than the preaching of Christ and his apostles: yet it was best not only for men of that, but likewise of all future ages, and of us in particular, in these late ages, that the doctrine of the gospel should be first preached by Christ and his apostles, and that a large number of converts should be made, before those books were written, which were to be the rule of faith and manners to christians in all future times. By this means we now have in these books, demonstrations of the truth of the christian religion impossible to have been afforded in any other way. Beside the most glorious example of Jesus Christ, in the course of his personal ministry, we see such zeal, such resolution, fortitude, self-denial, disinterestedness, patience, meekness, and such extraordinary gifts in his apostles, as afford a rational and most convincing evidence of the truth of the doctrine preached by them, and which we have received from them. The several occasions of writing the historical books, such as the request of believers, and the publication of imperfect memoirs of Christ, are proofs that the gospel had been preached to the world, and had been received by many, notwithstanding the discouraging circumstances, which both the preaching and receiving it must have been attended with. The epistles of the apostles written to christian societies, or to particular christians, are also undeniable evidences of the success of the apostles' ministry; of the divine works by which that ministry was supported; of the extraordinary gifts conferred by them, and received by their converts; of the sincerity, courage, patience, of the first disciples and converts of the apostles in general; and of the eminent and stedfast virtue of many of them. Indeed, they are such evidences of these things, as could never have appeared in any trea-

tises, or set arguments whatever, composed to persuade men to embrace the religion of Jesus. In a word, the gospel has been most effectually spread, the most complete and most lasting evidence of the truth of the christian religion has been afforded, and the best arguments to an open and stedfast profession of the truth, and to a virtuous conversation suitable to it, have been given by the apostles' first preaching the gospel to all sorts of persons, in almost every part of the world, and then composing and delivering such writings, whether historical or epistolary, as were suited to the wants and desires, and fitted for the establishment and improvement of the converts they had made.

Finally, we have in this way greater security for the genuineness of the books of the New Testament, and the integrity of the copies of them, than otherwise we should have had. They were published at the earnest entreaties of some, or written and addressed to others, who would certainly set a great value on them. There were many persons in being, who would receive them with the greatest esteem when they came to their knowledge. And as there were many who must needs show a great regard for them, and be desirous to have them in their hands, and make use of them, as helps to their memories in things they had heard with attention; we have the greater reason to conclude, that these books were soon transcribed, and many copies taken of them, which would be a great security against corrupting and interpolating them; if any, to carry on particular interests, had formed such a design.

8. In these passages are also some good observations for harmonizing the gospels, and for determining the duration of our Saviour's personal ministry. The reader doubtless remembers what our author writes of St. John's saying 'that the three former evangelists had written the truth, but there was still wanting a history of the things done by Christ in the first part and beginning of his ministry.' I need not therefore enlarge here upon this matter. It may be, however, farther observed, that[1] in another place of the same Ecclesiastical History, Eusebius says, our Lord's ministry was above three years, and not quite four years complete. But his argument there alleged for that opinion, from the number of Jewish high-priests during the period of Christ's preaching, is absurd and groundless, as appears from Josephus: though Eusebius endeavours to support his opinion from that Jewish author. In the Demonstration, he

[1] Vid. H. E. l. i. c. 10. et Vales. notas.

speaks of our Saviour's ministry[m] being three years and an half.

9. We may likewise observe, that the account which Eusebius gives of the opinion of men in his time, is agreeable to what we have seen in the passages of authors before his time. In the writings of ancient authors, whom we have consulted, we have found more numerous quotations of the books universally received in Eusebius's time, than of the others, whose authority was disputed and controverted.

Indeed, some may be hence ready to argue, that we might at first have set down contented with these passages of the bishop of Cæsarea, representing the sense of christians in his time founded upon the testimony of antiquity, without looking any farther. But certainly, it is a satisfaction to see ourselves the testimonies of the ancients to the scriptures of the New Testament. If we had not consulted those authors, we could not have been so fully persuaded of the justness of Eusebius's account, as now we are. Nor did he expect that men should rely upon this account. He does not deliver his judgment magisterially: but having in these passages represented, partly his own opinion, partly the general sentiments of other men about the books of scripture, or some of them, he adds: 'but this point shall be decided hereafter by the authority of the ancients.' Nor would this great man, if he were witness to our proceedings, condemn our design, nor take it amiss, that after a long interval we thought it proper to imitate himself, and resumed the design of inquiring after and examining the testimonies of more ancient writers, collected and exhibited by him in the immortal work of his Ecclesiastical History, or any others, that are to be found elsewhere in the original authors that remain.

I hope that we have now in a good measure discovered the true sense and meaning of these passages of Eusebius; though it must be allowed they are somewhat obscure and confused: and we could have wished, that he had employed a little more time in penning them, and had expressed himself with more perspicuity and exactness. However, in matters of this vast importance, honesty is the main thing: and I think, we have no cause to complain of any defect of that kind in these passages of our author. If he writes without art, he writes also without reserve. He acknowledges that there were different opinions upon this head. And whilst he assures us there were some books received

[m] Ἱστορειται δε ὁ πας της διδασκαλιας και παραδοξοποιϊας ὁμε τȣ Σωτηρος χρονος τριων ἡμισυ γεγονως ετων. Dem. l. viii. p. 400. B.

by all the churches under heaven, he owns there were others, about which there were disputes: and likewise, that there had been forged and published gospels and Acts under the name of divers apostles. Eusebius also deserves commendation for the calmness with which he writes of these matters. He represents different opinions without hard names, or fierceness of temper. This is not only excellent in itself, and therefore agreeable; but it is still farther agreeable, in that it confirms the truth and fairness of the account. It is true he absolutely rejects this last sort of books, and with some indignation, as impious: but it was his duty to tell us what they were, and what catholic christians thought of them. They were books containing things mean and absurd, and were destitute of all ancient testimonies to the high original they pretended to, and consequently were manifest forgeries: and certainly it is impious to forge writings under the names of any men, much more of apostles. And we have a great deal of reason to be pleased, to find that the ancient christians were ever cautious what writings they received, as the works of apostles or apostolical men: and that having exercised a judicious critique, they stomached such compositions as these, and rejected them with abhorrence.

IX. As we have largely observed the representation given by Eusebius, of the general sense and opinion of christians in his time, concerning the scriptures of the New Testament; we ought now to consider, what was his own sentiment concerning the books of that collection.

1. And doubtless we ought to suppose, and take for granted, that he owned for sacred and divine scripture all those books, which he assures us were then universally received as such.

2. I need not therefore make many remarks here relating to the four gospels, his testimony to them in many passages that have passed before us being clear and express: however, it may not be amiss to recollect and put down here a few particulars.

3. The evangelist Matthew he supposed to be one of Christ's twelve apostles, who had been before a publican.

4. The evangelist Mark he supposed to be a companion and disciple of Peter. It does not appear that our great author thought the writer of the gospel to be John surnamed Mark, often mentioned in the Acts of the apostles, and likewise by St. Paul, in Coloss. iv. 10, and 2 Tim. iv. 11. But unquestionably he supposed him to be the same that is mentioned, 1 Pet. v. 13.

5. As for St. Luke's character, we have seen in a passage above cited, that he supposed him to have been originally a physician of Antioch: and doubtless, the same also who is mentioned by St. Paul, Coloss. iv. 14. Consequently, it is probable that he thought this evangelist to have been a gentile christian: whether rightly, or not, we do not now inquire.

6. The fourth evangelist, John, as we have seen, he thought to be one of Christ's twelve apostles, son of Zebedee, and brother of James; and how he speaks of him and his gospel, and the occasion of it, has been seen by us in several places. When he quotes him, he not seldom calls him the [n] great and admirable evangelist John. He [o] calls him a Hebrew divine. That he gives him that title, in regard to the beginning of his gospel, appears, I think, from several [p] places: and I put in the margin [q] two other passages, where this evangelist is spoken of by Eusebius in the same character. Eusebius is the first ancient author who has given him this title; and it may be observed, that he characterizes Moses in the like manner, calling him also [r] the great Hebrew divine.

7. Before I proceed, I would add, that we have also seen, that this very learned ancient christian bishop received the genealogy in St. Matthew, and that he makes no question about the genuineness of that, or any part of the first two chapters of St. Matthew's gospel, or of the first chapter of St. Luke's gospel, which chapters are often quoted in his works.

8. The book of the Acts is another of those books, which he assures us were universally received. It is expressly mentioned by Eusebius as such in these passages, and ascribed to Luke as the author, and called divinely inspired scripture. He elsewhere likewise often quotes this book as [s] divine scripture, and the [t] sacred scripture of the Acts: he often quotes it by the title of the Acts, Acts of the Apostles, and written by St. Luke; of [u] which I put some examples in the margin.

[n] Vid. not. [p].

[o] ——τον Ἑβραιων Θεολογον. Pr. Evang. l. ix. c. 18. p. 540. B.

[p] ——Λογον, ὁν Θεολογων ὁ μεγας εναγγελιστης Ιωαννης. Dem. Ev. l. iv. p. 179. C.—ὡσπερ ὁ Θαυμασιος εναγγελιστης Ιωαννης μειζονι η κατα ανθρωπον μεγαλοφωνιᾳ τον Σωτηρα και Κυριον ἡμων Θεολογων. κ. λ. Dem. l. vii. c. 1. p. 309. C.

[q] ——τον Θεολογον και εναγγελιστην. De Ec. Th. l. i. p. 92. D. Ὁ μεγας εναγγελιστης, ἁμα και Θεολογος. Ib. l. ii. c. 12. p. 119. C.

[r] ——μεγας Θεολογος Μωσης, Ἑβραιος ων εξ Ἑβραιων. Præp. Ev. l. vii. c. 7. p. 305. A.

[s] Ὡς φησιν ἡ Θεια γραφη. H. E. l. ii. c. 9. p. 47. A.

[t] Διδασκαλος και τουτων ἡ ἱερα των Πραξεων γραφη. l. ii. c. 18. p. 59. D.

[u] Ὁ Λουκις εν ταις Πραξεσι. H. E. l. i. c. 5. p. 17. D. Ὁ Λουκας εν ταις

9. By the epistles of the apostle Paul, spoken of in the long passages above cited, there can be no question but he means those we have, which are often expressly mentioned and quoted in the works of this writer, by the titles used among us, of the churches, or particular persons, to whom they were sent. Thirteen epistles, therefore, which were received by all as the apostle Paul's, were likewise undoubtedly received as such by Eusebius.

10. Whether he received the epistle to the Hebrews as St. Paul's, which, in passages cited by us, he has several times spoken of as one of the controverted books of scripture, will require some consideration.

11. And here it may not be amiss to recollect several expressions in those passages, concerning the general reception of this epistle. I have put them together under the second remark, in the second[v] division of the books of the New Testament.

12. We ought also to recollect what Eusebius said, speaking of the famous and universally acknowledged epistle of Clement of Rome, the companion of the apostle Paul: 'In[w] which,' says he, 'inserting many sentiments of the epistle to the Hebrews, and also using some of the very words of it, he[x] plainly manifests that epistle to be no modern writing. And hence it has not without reason been reckoned among the other writings of the apostle: for Paul having written to the Hebrews in their own language, some think that the evangelist Luke, others, that this very Clement, translated it [into Greek]; which last is the more probable of the two, there being a resemblance between the style of the epistle of Clement, and that to the Hebrews, nor are the sentiments of those two writings very different.'

13. Eusebius does also not seldom quote this epistle as Paul's. Thus, in the account of a christian martyr, who told his judge, that Jerusalem was his country: 'meaning,' says[y] the historian, 'that Jerusalem of which Paul speaks: "but[z] Jerusalem which is above, is free, which is the mother of us all." And, ye[a] "are come unto mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem."'

Πραξεσι των Αποστολων. l. iii. c. 31. p. 103. A. Vid. l. ii. c. 11. in. et c. 21. et passim. Οι δη πρωτοι τε Ιησε μαθηται εν τη βιβλῳ των ιδιων Πραξεων. Dem. Ev. l. iii. p. 128. B.

[v] See p. 101—104. [w] See before, Vol. ii. p. 32, 33.

[x] ———σαφεστατα παριστησιν οτι μη νεον ὑπαρχει το συγγραμμα. Οθεν εικοτως εδοξεν, αυτο τοις λοιποις εγκαταλεχθηναι γραμμασι τε αποστολε. H. E. l. iii. c. 38. p. 110. A.

[y] De Martyr. Pal. c. xi. p. 337.

[z] Gal. iv. 26. [a] Hebr. xii. 22.

In the Ecclesiastical History he speaks of 'the[b] epistle to the Hebrews, and divers other epistles of Paul.' He quotes this epistle as[c] 'sacred scripture' in the Evangelical Preparation: as[d] the apostle's in the Demonstration. And in a like manner often in his books against[e] Marcellus, and in his Commentaries upon[f] the Psalms and[g] Isaiah: from the former of which I shall by and by quote a remarkable passage.

14. Theodoret, without hesitation, positively says, that Eusebius[h] received the epistle to the Hebrews, as a writing of the divine Paul; and that he said, all the ancients were of the same opinion. Which must be reckoned but a loose quotation, if thereby he intends (as I apprehend he does) Eusebius's citation of Origen in his[i] Ecclesiastical History.

15. Once more, Eusebius is reckoned by Stephen Gobar, in Photius, among[k] those many ancient writers, who count this epistle among the other epistles of Paul, and say, that it was translated out of Hebrew by Clement of Rome.

16. All these particulars are sufficient to afford full satisfaction, that in the churches with which Eusebius was best acquainted, this epistle was generally received as the apostle Paul's, and that he was himself also much inclined to admit it as such. Nevertheless, perhaps it may be questioned whether he was fully persuaded of it. If he had, he would scarce have expressed himself as he does in the place before cited, relating to the parallel passages of this and Clement's epistle; 'that he thereby clearly shows it to be 'no modern composition.' As the evidence of this epistle being Paul's did not appear equally clear with that for his other epistles, the persuasion was not equally certain, and

[b] ———ὁποιας ἡ τε προς Ἑβραιȣς και αλλαι πλειȣς τȣ Παυλȣ περιεχȣσιν επιϛολαι. H. E. l. ii. c. 17. p. 55. D.

[c] ———τȣ τε ἱερȣ λογȣ σαφεϛερον ειποντος. Pr. Ev. l. xii. c. 19. p. 592. D.

[d] Ταυτα μεν ὁ αποϛολος. Dem. Ev. l. v. c. 3. p. 223. D. 224. A. B.

[e] Και αρχιερεα δε αυτον ὁ αυτος αποϛολος αποκαλει, λεγων. De Ecc. Th. l. i. p. 95. B. et passim.

[f] ———περι ἡς θαυμαϛης σκηνης και ὁ θειος .αποϛολος διδασκων ελεγεν· Τοιȣτον εχομεν αρχιερεα. [Heb. viii.] Comm. in Ps. p. 175. E. Ο ἱερος αποϛολος εν τῃ προς Ἑβραιȣς φησιν. ib. p. 555. et passim.

[g] Παριϛησι δε το ὁρος ὁ αποϛολος, ειπων. Comm. in Is. p. 454. C. et passim.

[h] Ευσεβιῳ γȣν εχρην πεισθηναι τῳ Παλαιϛινῳ—και ȣτος γαρ τȣ θειοτατȣ Παυλȣ την δε την επιϛολην ὡμολογησεν ειναι, και τȣς παλαιȣς ἁπαντας ταυτην περι αυτης εφησεν εσχηκεναι την δοξαν. Thdrt. Argum. in Ep. ad Hebr.

[i] Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. vi. c. 25. p. 227. D. And the passage is cited in this work, Vol. ii. ch. xxxviii. num. iv.

[k] Ὁτι—Κλημης μεντοι και Ευσεβιος, και πολυς αλλος των θεοφορων πατερων ὁμιλος, ταις αλλαις συναριθμȣσι ταυτην επιϛολαις, και φασιν αυτην εκ της Ἑβραϊδος μεταφρασαι τον ειρημενον Κλημεντα. Phot. Cod. 232. p. 904. in.

doubts, as it seems, were sometimes apt to arise in his mind about it.

17. In order to judge of this writer's sentiments concerning the epistle of James, which, as he before informed us, was the first of the seven epistles called catholic, but was disputed by many, we must observe several passages. But I choose not to insist on any general[l] citations, without the name of book, or author of those words, "God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble;" because, though they are found in James iv. 6, they are also in Prov. iii. 34, and 1 Pet. v. 5. And besides, there are divers passages of Eusebius, where this epistle is plainly quoted.

18. In his books of Ecclesiastical Theology, he observes, 'As[m] it is said in another place, "Confess[n] your sins one to another."' In the Commentary upon the Psalms, 'Since[o] the scripture[p] says, "Love[q] not detraction, lest thou be destroyed." And "speak[r] not evil, brethren, one of another, lest ye fall into condemnation."' Again, in the same Commentary upon the Psalms, 'The[s] sacred apostle therefore says, "Is[t] any among you afflicted? let him pray: Is any merry? let him sing psalms."'

19. These are quotations of the epistle: we must also observe some other passages, beside that before transcribed concerning James, called the Just, and the brother of our Lord, whom Eusebius supposes to be the author of this epistle.

20. In the Ecclesiastical History, having mentioned some traditions relating to Christ's seventy disciples, he proceeds, 'And[u] any attentive person may perceive that Christ had more than seventy disciples. This is evident from the testimony of Paul, without searching for other proof: who says, that after his resurrection from the dead[v] he was "seen of Cephas, then of the twelve, and after them of above five hundred brethren at once. Of whom some," he says, "were fallen asleep;" but the greater part remained at the time he wrote. "After that," says he, "he was seen

[l] Vid. Euseb. Comm. in Ps. p. 446. D. in Is. p. 450. A.

[m] ——καθο λελεκται εν ἑτεροις· Εξομολογεισθε αλληλοις τας ἁμαρτιας. De Ec. Th. l. iii. p. 152. A. [n] James v. 16.

[o] Της γραφης λεγουσης· Μη αγαπα καταλαλειν, ἱνα μη ἐξαρθης· και, Μη καταλαλειτε αλληλων, ἀδελφοι, ἱνα μη ὑπο κρισιν πεσητε. In Ps. p. 648. B.

[p] Prov. xx. 13. [q] Our translation, more agreeably to the Hebrew and Symmachus: "Love not sleep, lest thou come to poverty."

[r] See James iv. 11. and v. 12. [s] Λεγει γουν ὁ ἱερος αποστολος, Κακοπαθει τις εν ὑμιν; προσευχεσθω· ευθυμει τις; ψαλλετω. In Ps. p. 247. C.

[t] James v. 13. [u] Vid. H. E. l. i. c. 12. p. 31. A. B.

[v] 1 Cor. xv. 5—7.

of James." So [w] that he also was one of those called disciples of the Lord, as well as one of his brethren. Lastly, there being many other beside the twelve, who in resemblance of them were called apostles, as was also Paul himself, he adds, " Then he was seen of all the apostles."'

We need not stay to consider whether Eusebius rightly understands this text of St. Paul; it is plain, he did not think this James one of Christ's disciples, but a disciple in general, possibly one of the seventy, and also one of those called the brethren of the Lord, and an apostle in the larger and looser sense of the word.

21. In another chapter of the Ecclesiastical History, he says, that [x] ' this James, the first bishop of Jerusalem, brother of the Lord, son of Joseph, husband of Mary, was surnamed the Just, by the ancients, on account of the eminence of his virtue.'

22. In his Evangelical Demonstration, speaking again of this James, he calls him ' the brother of our Lord:' and says, that ' the [y] people of Jerusalem called him the Just, on account of his transcendent virtue.'

23. But the most remarkable passage of Eusebius relating to this matter, is in his Commentary upon the seventeenth chapter of Isaiah, where he computes fourteen apostles of our Saviour; that is, beside the twelve including Matthias, two other, in all fourteen. ' Of [z] which,' says he, ' the twelve may be reckoned the first [or chief] apostles; and after them Paul, who was not inferior to them in virtue, [or power,] who was also called to be an apostle; and James, the brother of our Lord, who is said to have been appointed by our Saviour himself the first bishop [a] of Jerusalem.'

Hence it appears, that Eusebius thought there were three

[w] Εἰς δε και ετος των φερομενων τε Σωτηρος μαθητων, αλλα μην και αδελφων ην. Ειθ' ὡς παρα τετε κατα μιμησιν των δωδεκα πλειοσων ὁσων ὑπαρξαντων αποστολων, οἱος και αυτος ὁ Παυλος ην, προστιθησι, λεγων· Επειτα ωφθη τοις αποστολοις πασι. Ib. B.

[x] Τοτε δηται και Ιακωβον τον τε Κυριε λεγομενον αδελφον, οτι δη και ετος τε Ιωσηφ ωνοματο παις.—Τετον δε εν αυτοι Ιακωβον, ὁν και δικαιον επικλην οἱ παλαι δι' αρετης εκαλεν προτερηματα. H. E. l. ii. c. 1. p. 38. B. C.

[y] ——ὁν οἱ παλαι τα Ιεροσολυμα οικεντες εκαλεν δικαιον δια τα της αρετης πλεονεκτηματα. Dem. Ev. l. iii. c. 5. p. 116. C.

[z] ——δεκα και τεσσαρας ποιησει τες παντας, ὡν δωδεκα μεν τες πρωτες αποστολες ειποις αν ειναι, εκ ελαττο δε αυτων την αρετην Παυλον, και αυτον οντα κλητον αποστολον, και τον Ιακωβον γεγονεναι, τον αδελφον τε Κυριε. κ. λ. In Is. c. 17. p. 422. C. D.

[a] St. Jerom in his Commentary upon the same chapter in Isaiah, does in a manner transcribe this passage of Eusebius: but instead of James he puts Barnabas: duas olivas Paulum et Barnabam. Tom. iii. p. 176. m. With which may be compared what he writes in his book against Helvidius. T. iv. p. 137, 138.

apostles, named James; the son of Zebedee, brother of John, the son of Alpheus, and the brother of our Lord: which last James, therefore, is not in his account the son of Alpheus, but a different person, not one of the first twelve apostles, but a fourteenth, with Paul.

24. Upon what we have seen in Eusebius relating to this epistle, and the author of it, we may now make the following remarks.

(1.) He had a considerable respect for this epistle. This may be inferred from his quotations of it, though they are not numerous, and from his calling the author apostle, and particularly from his reckoning him one of Christ's fourteen apostles.

(2.) Nevertheless, Eusebius does not make him equal to the twelve and Paul. This is evident from the last cited passage: he says, the twelve may be not unfitly styled Christ's chief apostles: and he adds, that Paul was not inferior to them; but he does not say so of James, whom he reckons the fourteenth.

(3.) It is very probable there were others about that time who had the same notion with Eusebius, about the author of this epistle. If there were, it is no wonder that the right of this epistle to be a part of the New Testament was disputed. For since the writer was not, or was not supposed to be, one of Christ's twelve apostles, nor equal to them, (as no other beside Paul was,) they would not allow this epistle to be one of the sacred books of the New Testament. This may then be very probably reckoned one reason why this was a contradicted book.

(4.) Possibly, we may now be able to judge of the meaning of those expressions concerning this epistle before quoted: 'It ought to be observed, that it is spurious.' It is likely, the meaning is, that it was generally rejected. I own indeed that it cannot be proved that Eusebius himself did esteem this epistle of equal authority with epistles written by any of the twelve apostles and Paul. Nevertheless, since the words spurious, and altogether spurious, are used by him in other places, where he sorts and divides books according to the opinions of men about them; I think the phrase ought to be taken in this sense in that passage also.

25. The first epistle of Peter undoubtedly was received by Eusebius. He has assured us, it was one of the unquestioned books of the New Testament, and acknowledged by all. We have likewise seen, that he supposed it to be written to Jewish christians in the countries mentioned at the beginning.

26. As for the second of Peter, in the second passage, he placeth it among the controverted books. In the third he says, 'we are informed by the tradition of the ancients, that it is not a part of the [New] Testament.' And afterwards, in the same passage, he says again, that 'he knows but of one epistle of Peter that is genuine, and acknowledged by the presbyters of former times.' These are strong expressions: and though in these chapters he represents very much the opinions of men about these books, yet he seems here to declare also his own opinion, so far as to say, that he does not esteem it certainly for an epistle of the apostle Peter. And that he did not receive it as such, may be argued from the little or no notice taken of it any where else in his works, except when he is giving an account of the opinions of ancient writers, or of those of his own time. For I do not remember, that he has quoted it himself in his Ecclesiastical History, or his Preparation, or Demonstration, or in his books against Marcellus, or in his Commentaries upon the Psalms and Isaias; in a word, in any work of his, undoubtedly genuine.

26. The first epistle of John is another unquestioned book, universally allowed to be written by the apostle of that name; and therefore also received by our author.

27. Of the second and third epistles he speaks doubtfully in the second passage, placing them among the controverted books: 'Whether,' says he, 'they are written by the evangelist, or another of the same name.' And that these two epistles were not received by Eusebius, appears to me very probable, forasmuch as I do not remember either of them to be quoted by him in any of the works above mentioned.

28. There is however a passage of the Evangelical Demonstration, which may not be overlooked. It is a passage which was largely cited [b] above, upon another account. Having alleged some proofs of the integrity and modesty of Matthew and his gospel, he adds, 'You may observe John to be of the same mind with Matthew: for [c] in his epistles, he either names not himself at all, or calls himself only elder—no where apostle or evangelist. In his gospel, when he speaks of him whom Jesus loved, he does not mention himself by name.' Here Eusebius evidently refers to the three epistles, well known, and ascribed by many to the apostle John; to the first, undoubtedly his, in which he names not himself at all; and to the other two, at the be-

[b] P. 91—94.

[c] ——— *εν μεν γαρ ταις επιστολαις αυτε ουδε μνημην της οικειας προσηγοριας ποιειται, η πρεσβυτερον εαυτον ονομαζει.* κ. λ. Dem. Ev. l. iii. c. 5. p. 120. D.

ginning of both which he calls himself elder: and Eusebius speaks of all three as written by John the evangelist. But this affords no certain proof, that he was persuaded they were all written by one and the same person. It is sufficient foundation for the observation there proposed, that they were generally, or by many, supposed to be written by the apostle. As for himself, he has plainly shown by what he says elsewhere, and by not quoting the two last epistles, that he was not fully satisfied they were written by the apostle and evangelist.

29. The epistle of Jude we have several times seen placed among controverted books; nor do I recollect any quotation of this epistle in any of Eusebius's works.

30. Concerning the book of the Revelation, we have seen people's notions and opinions represented in Eusebius: by some it was rejected, by others it was received. We may be apt to conclude from Eusebius's accounts, as before observed, that this book was very generally received, by many more, however, than it was rejected.

31. As for Eusebius's own opinion, it does not appear that he received it as a book of the New Testament. Indeed it is often mentioned by him in his Ecclesiastical History, as he cites the passages of ancient authors. 'In[d] this persecution, [under Domitian,] it is reported, that John the apostle and evangelist, being yet alive, was banished into the island Patmos, for the testimony of the word of God. And Irenæus, writing about the number of the name of Antichrist, mentioned[e] in the Revelation ascribed to John, speaks of John in these very words.' Afterwards, in the same book of the Ecclesiastical History, he quotes the Revelation in this manner: 'About[f] this time,' says he, 'was the heresy, called the heresy of the Nicolaitans, which continued for a short time; of[g] which also the Revelation of John makes mention.' But he does not here clearly declare his own opinion for the authority of that book.

32. That he was not positive of its being written by John, the apostle and evangelist, is apparent from a passage[h] quoted formerly about Papias, where he says: 'It[i] is likely, that the Revelation, which goes under the name of 'John, was seen by the second, if not by the first;' that is, by John the elder, if not by John the apostle.

[d] H. E. l. iii. c. 18.

[e] ——— *εν τῃ Ιωαννε λεγομενῃ Αποκαλυψει.* Ib. p. 88. D.

[f] L. iii. c. 29. in.

[g] *Ης δη και ἡ τε Ιωαννε Αποκαλυψις μνημονευει.* ib.

[h] See Vol. ii. p. 117, 118.

[i] *Εικος γαρ τον δευτερον, ει μη τις εθελοι τον πρωτον, την επ' ονοματος φερομενην Ιωαννε Αποκαλυψιν ἑωρακεναι.* l. iii. c. 39. p. 111. D.

33. Nor can I say, that Eusebius has in any of his works quoted the Revelation, in the way of proof of any doctrine. He does indeed refer to it[k] sometimes: and he quotes it in[l] his Demonstration. But it appears to me very remarkable, that in the long Commentary upon the Psalms, and in the Commentary upon Isaiah, there is not one quotation of this book, nor, I think, any notice taken of it. In the Commentary on the Psalms there are numerous quotations out of the gospels and Acts; all Paul's epistles are quoted, except the epistle to Titus, and most of them often; the epistle of James, the first of Peter, and the first of John, are also quoted there: but not one word from the book of the Revelation. It is farther to be observed, that in the Commentaries upon the Psalms and Isaiah, he had many fair occasions for quoting this book; his argument often led him to do so, and he could not but think of it; nevertheless, not one word about it, that I remember. He seems to me, therefore, studiously to have avoided all notice of the Revelation. I suppose that every one, who reads those Commentaries, may be sensible of the truth of what I say. It is not possible to transcribe passages at length, but for the easier satisfaction of the curious, I refer to some places in the Commentary[m] upon the Psalms, and[n] Isaiah, where it is likely, he would have taken some notice of this book, if he had not purposely declined it. In his comment upon Ps. xcv. he speaks much of a "new song" to be sung to God; but still makes no reference to any place of the Revelation, though it was hard to avoid it: see Rev. v. 9; xiv. 3; xv. 3, not to add any other places of that book, which he could have made use of, if he had seen fit.

34. It may be also reckoned a confirmation of this supposition, that in the place cited not long ago concerning St. John's modesty, he makes no mention of this book, though he instanceth in the epistles, as well as the gospel. I do not well see how Eusebius could excuse himself in omitting entirely the Revelation, if he thought it to be written by the apostle John.

35. It may be said, that it was not to his purpose to speak of the Revelation, in which the writer often mentions himself by name. To which I answer, that it was easy for Eusebius to have added: And as for the book of the Revelation, though he mentions himself by name, he does not call

[k] De Vit. Const. l. iii. c. 33 [l] Κατα την Αποκαλυψιν Ιωαννε. Dem. l. viii. p. 386. D.

[m] In Ps. p. 204, 205.

[n] In Is. p. 455. A. B. C. 459. C. D. 460. B. 577. A. B. 579. B. C. D. 587. A. 593. A.

himself apostle or evangelist. Or he should have proposed the objection, that might be reasonably made, if the apostle, whose modesty he celebrates, was the author of that book. It seems to me, that the only good reason assignable for Eusebius's silence about the Revelation in that place, is, that he was not satisfied it was written by John the apostle.

36. But whatever may be thought of this last observation, I insist upon the foregoing particulars, as probable arguments, that the Revelation was not esteemed by Eusebius a book of the highest authority.

37. It is not unlikely, that the learned and critical argument of Dionysius of Alexandria was of great weight with Eusebius, and many others about that time. And our author's aversion to all the schemes of the Millenarians, which this book was made use of to support, induced him to take as little notice of it as possible, though it was in great esteem with many.

38. I apprehend, that from the time of Dionysius, the credit of this book declined in the east, though it was still received by some: which gave occasion to Jerom to say, it[o] was not received by the Greek christians of his age.

39. Upon the whole, this learned christian bishop received, as sacred scripture, the four gospels, the Acts, and thirteen epistles of Paul; he has often quoted the epistle to the Hebrews as his: and it is generally supposed, that he received it as one of Paul's epistles. I think likewise, that he was well disposed to that sentiment; nevertheless, I suspect, that he had doubts, and was not clear and positive on that side the question. He received, besides, the first epistle of Peter, and first epistle of John, as undoubtedly genuine, and therefore also of the highest authority. Of all the five disputed catholic epistles, he seems to be the most favourable toward that of James: for he has quoted it several times, and reckons the writer to have been a disciple and brother of the Lord, and apostle in a secondary sense, and next to the twelve and Paul. The other four disputed catholic epistles are scarce ever quoted by him; and the book of the Revelation very rarely. However, he is not averse to allow, that the two latter epistles, called John's, were written by the elder of that name. In like manner he seems to allow the antiquity of the book of the Revelation; and that it was written by John the elder, if not by John the

[o] Quod si eam [ad Hebr. Epistolam] Latinorum consuetudo non recipit inter scripturas canonicas; nec Græcorum quidem Ecclesiæ Apocalypsin Johannis eâdem libertate suscipiunt. Et tamen nos utramque suscipimus. Hier. ad Dardan. T. ii. p. 608. f. Ed. Bened.

apostle. Nor does it appear, that he had any exceptions to make to the doctrine of this book, as containing any thing contrary to the catholic and ecclesiastical principles. But he was somewhat prejudiced against it, because many people, as he thought, made a wrong use of it. It is highly probable, that in the argument of Dionysius, which is largely transcribed into[p] the Ecclesiastical History, we have the sense of our author himself, as well as of that learned bishop of Alexandria.

X. I believe this may be a proper place for us to take notice of the contradicted books spoken of by Eusebius in the passages above cited from his Ecclesiastical History.

Several of them are now in our canon, and have been considered in the preceding section. The reader clearly discerns what books I mean: the epistle to the Hebrews, the epistle of James, the second epistle of Peter, the epistle of Jude, the second and third of John, and the Revelation. The rest mentioned by Eusebius, as 'contradicted,' or 'spurious,' or 'altogether spurious,' are these.

1. The epistle of Barnabas, placed among spurious by[q] Eusebius in our second passage from him; and in some other places[r] called by him a 'contradicted' book. Of this epistle I have spoken distinctly in the first volume of the second part of this work: I suppose it[s] to be a genuine work of the person to whom it is inscribed; nevertheless it is justly placed by Eusebius among contradicted books of scripture, or even among spurious: that is, among such books as were generally reckoned not to be a part of the New Testament. That he is in the right in so doing, appears from our observations upon the several ancient christian writers, who have made use of this epistle, but do not quote it as of the highest authority. How it is quoted by Clement of Alexandria, may be seen, Vol. ii. ch. i. and xxii. how by Origen, may be seen in Vol. ii. ch. i. and xxxviii. The reason of not placing this epistle in the number of books of the highest authority, I have supposed to be this: that the writer was not reckoned to be, properly speaking, an apostle, as has been hinted several[t] times.

2. Clement's epistle to the Corinthians, undoubtedly a genuine work of the author to whom it is ascribed: yet placed by[u] Eusebius among contradicted books, and justly,

[p] See H. E. lib. vii. c. 24, 25. And the second volume of this work, ch. xliii. num. xiv. [q] ——— εν τοις νοθοις — ἡ φερομενη Βαρναβα επιστολη. H. E. l. iii. c. 25. p. 97. C. [r] Ib. l. vi. c. 13. p. 214. D. c. 14. p. 215. C. [s] See Vol. ii. ch. i. [t] See Vol. ii. p. 250. note [a]. [u] L. vi. c. 13. p. 214. D.

because very few have thought it to be a part of the New Testament: forasmuch as the writer was not an apostle. How quoted by Irenæus, may be seen by the reader, if he pleases, Vol. ii. ch. xvii. how by Clement of Alexandria, Vol. ii. ch. xxii. how by Origen, Vol. ii. ch. xxxviii.

3. The Shepherd of Hermas, in our second passage from Eusebius, placed by him[v] among spurious books, in the third passage said[w] to be contradicted by some. It is, probably, a genuine writing of Hermas, but has no right to be a part of sacred scripture; as evidently appears from the ancient writers which have used it, and our observations upon them. How it is quoted by Irenæus, may be seen Vol. ii. ch. xvii. how by Clement of Alexandria, Vol. ii. ch. xxii. how by Origen, Vol. ii. ch. xxxviii.

4. The gospel according to the Hebrews, in our second passage from [x] Eusebius placed among spurious books: and said chiefly to be used by the Hebrew christians. In another place he says, it[y] was the only gospel received by the Ebionites. I defer till another time showing at large what it was: however, I have already declared my opinion about it in general; that[z] probably, the 'ground-work of 'it is St. Matthew's gospel, with additions of things taken 'out of St. Luke's, and perhaps the other gospels, and of 'other matters handed down by oral tradition.' And I have at times shown, how it is quoted by several ancient writers; as Clement of Alexandria, Vol. ii. ch. xxii. and by Origen, Vol. ii. ch. xxxviii.

5. Doctrines of the Apostles, mentioned by[a] Eusebius in our second passage from him, and placed among spurious books. For a farther knowledge of this book I refer to [b] Usher and Grabe.

However, I shall put down here a few observations which offer themselves.

(1.) This book is placed by Eusebius with spurious writings: therefore it is plain, that it was not of undoubted authority.

(2.) This is the first and only mention which we have of this book in Eusebius: nor has he informed us at any time, that it was made use of by ancient writers. It is not one of the books of scripture mentioned by Irenæus; it is

[v] L. iii. c. 25. p. 97. B.

[w] Ιςεον ὡς και τȣτο προς μεν τινων αντιλελεκται. l. iii. c. 3. p. 72. C.

[x] L. iii. c. 25. p. 97. C.

[y] H. E. l. iii. c. 27. p. 99. C.

[z] See Vol. ii. p. 93.

[a] ———εν τοις νοθοις—και των Αποςολων αἱ λεγομεναι Διδαχαι. l. iii. c. 25. p. 97. C.

[b] Usser. Prolegom. in Ignat. Epist. cap. 7. Grabe Spic. Tom. i. p. 40. &c.

not in any of Origen's catalogues of sacred books: and though our author takes particular notice of Clement of Alexandria having written brief[c] notes upon all books of scripture, not omitting the contradicted, that is not named by him; which may make us suspect, that it is not a very ancient book, but composed after the time of Irenæus, and Clement, and Origen, in our author's own time, or not long before. After this we find it mentioned in Athanasius's Festal Epistle,[d] among other books not canonical, and in the [e] Synopsis ascribed to him, and in some other authors; particularly in Epiphanius, if[f] Grabe be in the right. The Doctrine of Peter is quoted in Rufinus's Latin translation of Origen's Principia, in[g] the preface. That may have been a part of what is called the Doctrines of the Apostles: if that passage be really Origen's, he had little respect for the book there referred to.

It is observed by Usher and Grabe, that whereas in our Greek copies of Eusebius, this book is expressed in the plural number, Rufinus's[h] translation has it in the singular, as also the Festal Epistle, and the Synopsis just mentioned.

(3.) That this book is not the same as the Apostolical Constitutions, is argued by the forementioned learned writers from three considerations. (1.) In the Festal Epistle of Athanasius, the Doctrine of the Apostles is reckoned among those books which are proper for catechumens; whereas the Constitutions are rather reckoned to be for bishops. (2.) The Doctrine of the Apostles was a small book,[i] consisting of two hundred lines or verses, according

[c] L. vi. c. 14.

[d] ——— *α κανονιζομενα μεν, τετυπωμενα δε παρα των πατερων αναγινωσκεσθαι τοις αρτι προσερχομενοις κατηχεισθαι τον της ευσεβειας λογον—και Διδαχη καλεμενη των Αποστολων.* Ep. Fest. Ath. T. i. p. 963. A.

[e] *Διδαχη Αποστολων.* Athan. T. ii. p. 202. A.

[f] Equidem id lubens concedo, Doctrinam Apostolorum ab Eusebio et Athanasio memoratam fuisse eamdem cum *Διαταξει* sive Constitutione Apostolicâ, ab Epiphanio aliquoties laudatâ. Grabe, Spic. T. i. p. 41.

[g] Si vero quis velit nobis proferre ex illo libello, qui Petri Doctrina appellatur, ubi Salvator videtur ad discipulos dicere, 'non sum dæmonium incorporeum:' primo respondendum est ei, quoniam ille liber inter libros ecclesiasticos non habetur. Et ostendendum quia neque Petri est ipsa scriptura, neque alterius cujusquam, qui Spiritu Dei fuerit inspiratus. Orig. Opp. T. i. p. 49. B. C.

[h] ——— quamvis Rufinus in suâ versione posuerit in numero singulari: Doctrina quæ dicitur Apostolorum, &c. Grabe, ib. p. 40.

[i] Exiguus ille 200 versiculorum numerus, quibus illa *Διδαχη* tum in Græco Nicephori Constantinopolitani textu, tum in Latinâ Anastasii Bibliothecarii interpretatione, constare ostenditur: quod Salomonis Canticorum libello minorem eam fuisse evincit, quem 280 ejusdem *στιχες* habuisse ibidem legimus. Usser. ib.

to Nicephorus; which is less than the book of Canticles, containing two hundred and eighty lines: certainly this but little suits the huge volume of the Clementine Constitutions. (3.) In an ancient catalogue of canonical and apocryphal books of scripture, the[k] Doctrine of the Apostles is mentioned as distinct from the Doctrine or Institution of Clement.

(4.) If this book is not the same as the Apostolical Constitutions, these last are no where mentioned by our author in any of his writings: there is therefore no reason, why I should as yet take any particular notice of them.

6. The Gospel of Peter, placed by[l] Eusebius in our second passage from him among books altogether spurious, composed by heretics; and in the like manner in our[m] third passage from him. I have said enough concerning this in the chapters of[n] Serapion, and[o] Origen.

7. The Gospel of Thomas, in our second passage from[p] Eusebius, placed likewise among forgeries of heretics, altogether absurd and impious: nor do I remember, that this gospel is any where mentioned by Eusebius in accounts of the quotations of ancient authors, or upon any occasion whatever. I gave some account of this gospel formerly.

8. The Gospel of Matthias likewise placed by our[q] author in the second passage, among heretical forgeries, and no where else mentioned by him. The traditions of Matthias were before taken notice of by us in the chapter of[r] Clement of Alexandria.

9. The Preaching of Peter is placed by[s] Eusebius in the third passage among heretical scriptures. I have already given an account of this book in the chapters of[t] Clement of Alexandria,[u] Origen, and[v] Lactantius.

10. Acts of[w] Peter and[x] Paul, reckoned by our author in the second, and in the third passage, either as heretical or spurious, and not generally received. Of these likewise I have had occasion to speak before in the chapters of[y] Cle-

[k] Indiculus librorum canonicorum et apocryphorum, quem Anastasii Nicæni Quæstionibus subjectum in publicâ Oxoniensis Academiæ Bibliothecâ invenimus: ubi *Διδαχαι των Αποστολων* et *Διδασκαλια Κλημεντος*, ut distincta opera recensentur, et in scriptorum apocryphorum censu pariter reponuntur. Usser. ib.

[l] Euseb. l. iii. p. 97. D.

[m] Ib. p. 72. A.

[n] Vol. ii. ch. xxvi.

[o] Vol. ii. ch. xxxviii.

[p] L. iii. p. 97. D.

[q] L. iii. p. 97. D.

[r] Vol. ii. ch. xxii.

[s] L. iii. p. 72. A.

[t] Vol. ii. ch. xxii.

[u] Vol. ii. ch. xxxviii.

[v] Vol. iii. ch. lxv.

[w] L. iii. p. 97. B.

[x] P. 72. A. C.

[y] Vol. ii. ch. xxii.

ment of Alexandria, and[z] Origen. Beausobre supposeth the acts of Peter to be a work of[a] Leucius.

11. Acts of Andrew and John, and other apostles, in our second passage, ranked by[b] Eusebius among heretical forgeries. For these the reader is referred to several[c] places, where I have already had occasion to speak of them.

12. Revelation of Peter, in the second passage from[d] Eusebius placed among spurious, in the[e] third among heretical writings, in another place[f] among contradicted. Some account was given of this book[g] in the chapter of Clement of Alexandria. Sozomen assures us, that[h] though this book was entirely, or universally rejected by the ancients as spurious; yet in his time it was read once in the year in some churches of Palestine on a Friday, when they fasted in remembrance of our Saviour's passion. Sozomen in the[i] same place speaks of a book called Paul's Revelation, which was respected by some monks of his time: though it was altogether unknown to the ancients, and was absolutely spurious, as he shows.

13. This may suffice for an account of these books, mentioned by Eusebius: he takes little or no notice of them in any other part of his writings. What was their authority, or value, appears from the places which I have referred to, as well as from the character here given of them by our ecclesiastical historian.

XI. It has been of late a common opinion, that Eusebius thought St. Matthew wrote his gospel at about eight years after our Lord's ascension. Some found this supposition upon a passage in his Ecclesiastical History, as[k] Mill,

[z] Vol. ii. ch. xxxviii.
[a] See Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 394.
[b] P. 97. D.
[c] See Vol. ii. ch. xxxviii.
[d] P. 97. B.
[e] P. 72. A.
[f] L. vi. c. 14. in.
[g] Vol. ii. ch. xxii.

[h] Οὑτω γαν την καλεμενην Αποκαλυψιν Πετρε, ὡς νοθον παντελως προς των αρχαιων δοκιμασθεισαν, εν τισιν εκκλησιαις της Παλαιστινης εισετι νυν απαξ ἑκατε ετες αναγινωσκομενην ἐγνωμεν, εν τῃ ἡμερᾳ παρασκευης, ἡν ευλαβως αγαν ὁ λαος νηστευει επι αναμνησει τε σωτηριε παθες. Sozom. l. vii. c. 19. p. 735. C.

[i] Την δε νυν ως Αποκαλυψιν Παυλε τε αποστολε φερομενην, ἡν εδεις αρχαιων ειδε, πλειστοι μοναχων επαινεσιν. ibid.

[k] Licet enim Eusebius (quem secuti sunt Euthymius, Theophylactus, ac codices fere MSS. evangeliorum in ὑπογραφαις, evangelii hujus calci suffixis:) scriptionem ejus ad annum Domini xli. h. e. ex ipsius rationibus viii. a Christi passione fixam velit: [sumit nimirum pro concesso, apostolos post notitiam ostii gentibus patefacti, statim convenisse de evangelio per orbem terrarum prædicando: ideoque et Matthæum paulo ante discessum ab Hierosolymis, hortatu fidelium istius loci, evangelicam suam historiam concinnâsse. H. E. l. iii. c. 24.] Tamen Irenæus, &c. Mill. Proleg. num. 61.

whose words upon this occasion I place at the bottom of the page: others upon the Chronicle, as [l] Jones.

As for an argument from the Chronicle, it is of no manner of force: for there is no such thing in it. It is indeed said [m] in Pontac's edition of the Chronicle at the vulgar year of Christ xli. 'Matthew first writes his gospel in Ju-'dea:' but the editor had those words printed in Italic, to denote that he did not think them genuine, as being wanted in most,[n] and the best manuscripts and editions: accordingly Joseph Scaliger did not insert them in his edition of Eusebius's Chronicle.

As for the Ecclesiastical History, in our first passage [o] formerly taken from him, he says, that [p] 'when Matthew was about to go to other people, he delivered his Gospel to the Hebrews in their own language.' But he does not there, or any where else, say, when Matthew left Judea.

Theophylact [q] in the eleventh century, and [r] Euthymius in the twelfth, say, that Matthew wrote in the eighth year after our Saviour's ascension. Nicephorus Callisti [s] in the fourteenth century, says, Matthew wrote about fifteen years after Christ's ascension: and the Paschal Chronicle, in the seventh century, intimates the same [t] thing. None of these writers expressly refer to more ancient authors for their opinion: but it may be reckoned probable, that they collected it from the history in the Acts, and from the forementioned passage of Eusebius. They who thought that Matthew and the other apostles left Judea soon after the conversion of Cornelius at Cæsarea, supposed his gospel might be written in the eighth year of our Lord's ascension. They who thought that [u] the apostles did not leave Judea

[l] Eusebius in his Chronicon has placed the writing of St. Matthew's gospel in the third year of Caligula: that is, eight years after Christ's ascension, or the year of Christ 41. Jones of the Canon. Vol. iii. p. 60.

[m] Matthæus in Judæâ evangelium primus scribit. p. 57.

[n] As Pontac's edition is scarce, I shall here put down his note upon these words: Desunt in A. F. H. M. septem Vaticanis. Vi. O. Pi. Fux. P. Lo. et tribus MSS. Fab. Mar. Fre. Nec ex alio loco vel scriptore vetere constat, quo anno Matthæus scripserit: nisi quod ipse Eusebius, lib. v. H. E. c. 8. refert verba Irenæi scribentis, Matthæum historiam evangelii composuisse tunc, cum Petrus et Paulus Romæ evangelizarent, quod non contigit ante annum 44 Christi. Et juxta hanc sententiam facile crederem ista hic fuisse adjecta. Pontac. Annot. p. 559.

[o] H. E. l. iii. c. 24. p. 95. A.

[p] See before, p. 95.

[q] ——μετα οκτω ετη της Χριστ αναληψεως. Theoph. ap. Mill. N. T. p. 3.

[r] Euthym. ibid. p. 4.

[s] Μετα ιε ετη της Χριστ αναληψεως. Niceph. l. ii. c. 45. p. 213. B.

[t] Εκ τουτ δεικνυται, ὁτι και τας καθολικας αυτων οι αποστολοι τοτε γραφουσιν, προ της διασπορας αυτων—αλλα και Ματθαιος πρωτος εκει εις Ἱεροσολυμα γραφει το ευαγγελιον, ως λεγει Χρυσοστομος. Οιμαι δε. Chr. Pasch. p. 233. C.

[u] Certe Athanasius in tractatu de libris sacræ scripturæ, et Chrysostomus,

to go to the Gentiles, till after the council of Jerusalem, Acts xv. supposed Matthew's gospel to have been written in the fifteenth year of our Lord's ascension, of the vulgar account forty-nine: but neither had for their opinion the express authority of Eusebius, or any other very ancient writer. It is well known to be very common to insert articles in Chronicles, and such like works: this article, concerning the time of Matthew's Gospel, is probably a late addition.

I am of opinion, that Mill has judiciously followed Irenæus, in placing St. Matthew's gospel about the year of Christ LX. Whose account I suppose to be favoured by Origen, and other writers of the first three centuries: but I must not now stay to allege all the reasons and arguments for that date.

XII. Eusebius affords us divers critical remarks upon the New Testament.

'Which also,' says he[v] upon Ps. lxxvii. or, as in our Bibles, lxxviii. 2, 'the scripture of the sacred[w] gospels teaches, where it is said: "All[x] these things spake Jesus unto the multitude in parables. And without a parable spake he not unto them, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying: I will open my mouth in parables; I will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation." For[y] instead of, "I will speak dark sayings of old," [or from the beginning,] Matthew, as being a Hebrew, uses a translation of his own, saying: "I will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation." Instead of which Aquila has translated: "I will pour down things which have been enigmatical from the beginning." And Symmachus: "I will cause to spring up ancient dark sayings."'

One might be apt to argue hence, that our learned commentator supposed Matthew to have written in the Greek language: and that being by birth a Hebrew, and well understanding the original language of the Old Testament, when he quoted texts from thence, he did not always take the Greek version of the Seventy, but translated for himself,

scribit Matthæum primum omnium Hierosolymis evangelium suum conscripsisse: idque anno xv. post ascensum Christi ab eo factum fuisse, tradit Nicephorus, et auctor Chronici Alexandrini. Vales. Annot. ad Euseb. l. iii. c. 24.

[v] In Ps. lxxvii. p. 463. D. E.

[w] Ἡ των ἱερων ευαγγελιων γραφη. Ib. E.

[x] Matt. xiii. 34, 35.

[y] Αντι γαρ τȣ φθεγξομαι προβληματα απ' αρχης, Ἑβραιος ων ὁ Ματθαιος οικειᾳ εκδοσει κεχρηται, ειπων· Ερευξομαι κεκρυμμενα απο καταβολης· ανθ' ὁ μεν Ακυλας· Ομβρησω αινιγματα εξ αρκηθεν, εκδεδωκεν· ὁ δε Συμμαχος· Αναβλυσω προβληματα αρχαια. Ib. E.

as he saw good. So[z] Montfauçon seems to have understood Eusebius. For he says: 'Since Matthew, according to the 'testimony of Irenæus, Origen, and Eusebius himself [in 'other places], and Jerom, wrote his gospel in Hebrew; 'certainly Matthew did not use a Greek interpretation of his 'own: but expressed the Hebrew words in the Syro-Chal-'daic tongue, such as was then in use among the Jews, as 'may be perceived in the expression Lamma Sabachtani, 'and not a few other. By which it is evident, that Mat-'thew, in his gospel written in Hebrew, when any texts oc-'curred out of the Old Testament, expressed them in the 'Syro-Chaldaic language: but whether he used an inter-'pretation of his own, or took those texts out of some version 'before made, is not easily determined. But afterwards the 'Greek translator (who he is, St. Jerom says, is uncertain) 'used an interpretation of his own, without following the 'Septuagint version.' It seems to me, therefore, that Mont-fauçon understood Eusebius to say here, though contrary to what he supposes him to say elsewhere, that Matthew writing in Greek did not follow the Seventy, but translated for himself out of the Hebrew tongue. And I own, that this appears to me the most natural meaning of our author's own words. But of this more by and by.

2. Eusebius has another like observation upon John, which deserves to be taken notice of on its own account: and more especially as it may serve to illustrate the preceding observation, and I think confirm the sense in which I take it. It is in his Commentary upon Ps. xl. 10, otherwise Ps. xli. 9. 'Therefore it is[a] said, "Has lift the sole of his foot against me." But instead of "sole of the foot," which is the expression used by the Seventy, the Hebrew reading imports "heel." And so therefore Aquila, who strictly follows the Hebrew, has rendered it. For which reason also the evangelist John, as being a Hebrew descended of Hebrews, recording the words of our Saviour, does not use the expression, "sole of the foot," but "heel."' See John xiii. 18.

3. Once more, upon Ps. ii. 7. "This day have I begotten thee." 'But[b] the Jew (whom I before mentioned) said, that the proper meaning of the word is, "I brought forth," which

[z] Vid. Prælim. in Euseb. in Ps. cap. 9. sect. 1.

[a] Διο λελεκται· Εμεγαλυνεν επ' εμε πτερνισμον. Αντι δε τε πτερνισμον, παρα τοις ὁ ειρημενον, ἡ Ἑβραικη αναγνωσις πτερναν περιεχει. Οὑτως αν δηλευσας τῳ Ἑβραικῳ Ακυλας εξεδωκε. Ὁθεν και ὁ ευαγγελιστης Ιωαννης, ως αν Ἑβραιος εξ Ἑβραιων, τον Σωτηρα ε πτερνισμον, αλλα και πτερναν, ωνομακεναι εμνημονευσεν. In Ps. p. 171. D.

[b] Ὁ μεν τοιγε Ἑβραιος ελεγετο Κυριον ειναι την λεξεως ετεκον, ὁπερ και

is also the version of Aquila. But the apostle, being skilled in the law, in the epistle to the Hebrews, has followed the Seventy.' See Heb. i. 5.

Here Eusebius plainly ascribes the epistle to the Hebrews to St. Paul: for by the 'apostle,' he certainly means him; and he only of the apostles was learned in the law. But it may be questioned by some, whether it be herein implied, that St. Paul wrote that epistle in Greek; or only, that writing in the Syro-Chaldaic language, then in use among Jews, he used a word of the same import with that in the Greek version of the Seventy. But the former seems to me to be by far the most obvious meaning of our author's expressions.

For farther clearing this matter, I shall mention these following propositions.

(1.) It seems to me, that the most natural and obvious meaning of Eusebius's words in these passages both concerning Matthew's gospel, and the epistle to the Hebrews, implies a supposition, that they were written originally by the several authors in the Greek language: and if Eusebius had thought that they were written in Hebrew, or Syriac, he would have given some hint of it, or have used some expressions, denoting that to be his opinion.

I do not say, that it is certain and evident from Eusebius's expressions, that he supposed these books were written in Greek: for, possibly, we ourselves might upon some occasion say, that instead of "I will speak dark sayings," Matthew more closely imitating the Hebrew says: "I will utter things kept secret," without implying thereby, that he wrote in English. Nevertheless, I think it must be allowed to be probable, that in one or other of these critical remarks upon Matthew's gospel, and the epistle to the Hebrews, some expression would have fallen from our author, denoting his opinion, that those books were not written in the Greek language used by himself in his Commentaries, if he had really thought so. And I presume, I may venture to appeal to any one, whether he can think, that Eusebius writing in Greek and criticising the Greek Epistle to the Hebrews, would say the apostle followed the Seventy, if he had supposed him to have written in Hebrew or Syro-Chaldaic.

(2.) It does not appear to me a clear point, that Eusebius was persuaded, that either Matthew's gospel, or the epistle to the Hebrews, was originally written in any language different from the Greek. It is true, he has mentioned several

Ακυλας πεποιηκεν. Ὁ δε αποστολος νομομαθης ὑπαρχων εν τῃ προς Ἑβραιους τῃ των ὁ εχρησατο. Comm. in Ps. p. 15. E.

passages of ancient [c] writers, where it is said, that the gospel of Matthew was written in Hebrew: and a passage of Clement of Alexandria, where is [d] also mentioned a tradition, that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by St. Paul in the same language, and that St. Luke translated it into Greek: and in another place Eusebius may be reckoned by some to deliver his own opinion on the same side. His words are: 'For [e] Paul having written to the Hebrews in their own language, some think that the evangelist Luke, others that this very Clement, translated it [into Greek]. Which last is the more likely, since there is a resemblance between the style of the epistle of Clement, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, as well as between the sentiments of those writings.' But to me it seems, that these expressions cannot be relied upon, as representing Eusebius's own settled opinion: he may be as well understood even there to represent the more common accounts and traditions, without interposing his own judgment upon the point. And the critical passage, which we are now considering, may be as fairly reckoned to contain Eusebius's own opinion, as any in his works.

(3.) Nor am I satisfied, that it was the settled opinion of many other learned christians of those times, that the gospel of Matthew, and the epistle to the Hebrews, were written in the Hebrew tongue. If they had been persuaded of this, they would, some of them at least, have made inquiries after the originals. We have no proof that Eusebius, or any other of the Gentile christian authors, quoted by him, or whose writings we have any where else met with, had seen any Hebrew copy of St. Matthew's gospel; nor any the least hint of a Hebrew copy of the epistle to the Hebrews to be found any where, or as used by any people whatever. Indeed, there was a Gospel called according to the Hebrews, much resembling Matthew's gospel, and in the Hebrew language: but it appears not to have been much respected by Eusebius, or any of the learned christians whose works he was acquainted with: therefore it is manifest, they did not think it to be Matthew's original gospel.

If it should be said, that the ancient christian writers, which we have any knowledge of, were Gentiles, and did not understand Hebrew; and for that reason they might

[c] L. iii. c. 39. p. 113. B. l. v. c. 8. p. 172. C. c. 10. p. 175. C. L. vi. c. 25. p. 226. B. Conf. et l. iii. c. 24. p. 95. B.

[d] L. vi. c. 14. in.

[e] L. iii. c. 38. in.

not be inquisitive after the Hebrew originals, since they had a Greek translation; I answer, that they were not all strangers to the Hebrew language. And supposing only a very slight acquaintance with that language, and that there were but a very few only who had that, it is very likely there would have been inquiries made after the originals of those books by some, particularly by Origen and Eusebius, who were not absolute strangers either to the Hebrew language or learning. Even they who had none, or a very slight acquaintance with the Hebrew language, would have procured copies in the original language, and would have been at the pains to consult some Hebrew christian, or even an unbelieving Jew, about the readings in them, to compare them with the copies of the Greek translations. Did not Origen in his Commentaries? Does not Eusebius in his Commentaries upon the Psalms, and Isaiah, often compare the Hebrew with the Septuagint, and other Greek translations? and that, though the Septuagint version was in great esteem. Why then should they not have done the same in regard to the gospel of Matthew, and the epistle to the Hebrews, if they had thought the original to be Hebrew? Besides, if Matthew's gospel and the epistle to the Hebrews, had been indeed thought to have been originally written in Hebrew, it is highly probable, there would have been several Greek translations of them; whereas we know not of any attempts of this kind, excepting only the first supposed translation.

Before I proceed, I would put the reader in mind, that I formerly examined the question, whether[f] Origen thought St. Matthew's gospel to have been written in Hebrew: and that, if I mistake not, I showed, that the[g] same great critic did not suppose the Epistle to the Hebrews to have been written in any other language than the Greek.

(4.) To these observations I shall subjoin the sentiments of some learned moderns, favouring our argument.

The very learned and laborious I. A. Fabricius was of opinion, that both[h] Matthew's gospel, and the[i] epistle to

[f] Vol. ii. ch. xxxviii. num. xxx. [g] Ib. ch. xxxviii. num. x. 7.

[h] Græcum Matthæi interpretem Jacobum alii, alii Paulum, alii Lucam denique, vel Joannem, incertâ famâ tradiderunt; cum Matthæum ipsum Græce scripsisse, sit verius. Fabric. ad Hieron. cap. 3. de Vir. Ill. Vid. ejusd. Bib. Gr. T. iii. p. 126.

[i] ———Sed Græce, quæ hodie habemus, originarium esse auctoris sacri contextum argumentis non contemnendis post Calvinum probat laudatus Spanhemius,—Millius—Heideggerus—Blondellus—cum ex totâ antiquitate ne unus possit proferri testis, qui Hebraïcum viderit. Bib. Gr. T. iii. p. 160.

the Hebrews, were written in Greek. So likewise thought [k] Lightfoot, whose judgment upon this point may be reckoned as valuable as that of most men: and Dr. Whitby in his Preface to the four gospels earnestly contends, that St. Matthew did not write in Hebrew.

I would also insert here the sentiment of Beausobre, from his excellent Preface to the epistle to the Hebrews.

'The ancients,' says [l] he, 'had no other reason to believe, 'that St. Paul wrote in Hebrew, than that he wrote to the 'Hebrews. But that reason, however probable it may ap- 'pear, is not convincing; because it is certain, that the 'Greek tongue was understood in Judea, though it was not 'the vulgar tongue. All the writers of the New Testament 'wrote in Greek, though they wrote for all believers in ge- 'neral, whether Hebrews or Gentiles. Barnabas, or who- 'ever is the author of the Epistle under his name, wrote to 'the Hebrews, and yet wrote in Greek. Works composed 'in this language were useful to more persons, and even to 'a great number of Jews, for they who lived in Egypt and 'Asia spake Greek. In a word, they who talked of a He- 'brew original, never saw it; and have supposed without 'proof what they imagined ought to have been.—Indeed 'almost all the passages of the Old Testament are here 'quoted according to the Seventy, not according to the He- 'brew.—A man needs only to read the epistle to the He- 'brews to know that it is not a version; it has altogether 'the air of an original: there is nothing of the constraint of 'a translator; nor are there those Hebrew phrases which are 'so common in the translation of the Seventy, and in that of 'Ecclesiasticus: for which reason we may be willing to as- 'sent to the opinion of Origen, who judges upon this ques- 'tion in a manner altogether worthy of his moderation and 'discernment. "If [m] I was to speak my own opinion, I 'should say, that the thoughts [or sentiments] are the apos- 'tle's, but the language and composition of some one else, 'who committed to writing the apostle's sense, and as it

[k] Having said that Matthew's gospel was written in Greek, and afterwards translated into Hebrew, he adds: 'The same is to be resolved concerning the 'original language of the epistle to the Hebrews. The epistle was written to 'the Jews inhabiting Judea, to whom the Syriac was the mother-tongue; but 'yet it was written in Greek for the reasons above named. For the same 'reasons the same apostle wrote in Greek to the Romans, although in that 'church there were Romans, to whom it might seem more agreeable to have 'written in Latin: and there were Jews, to whom it might seem more proper 'to have written in Syriac.' Lightfoot, Vol. ii. p. 104.

[l] Préface sur l'Epître de S. Paul aux Hébreux. sect. xv.—xviii.

[m] See that passage cited before, Vol. ii. ch. xxxviii. num. i.

'were reduced into commentaries the things spoken by 'his master." The style then is not the apostle's: never- 'theless that hinders not but the Epistle may be his, as to 'the thoughts and matter.' So that learned writer, who also adds: 'What therefore seems most probable upon the 'question is, that St. Luke, who accompanied St. Paul, and 'was with him at Rome, was his secretary: he wrote the 'epistle for the apostle, and according to his instructions; 'hence the difference of style and composition in this and 'the other epistles written by St. Paul alone.'

So writes Beausobre in the above-mentioned place. But since, he has said that he has been much disposed to[n] think that Apollos, of Alexandria, wrote this epistle. However, if he was the author, that can make no alteration in the opinion about the original language of the epistle: Apollos, very probably, would write in Greek.

XIII. I shall observe only a various reading or two.

1. We find quoted in our author more than once those words of Matt. xiii. 35, from Psalm lxxviii. 2, in this manner: "I will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation:" without[o] *κοσμε*, of "the world," which is now in our copies. It is probable therefore that this text so stood in the copies used by Eusebius: and indeed, "of the world," is not necessary. Mill has not taken any notice of this.

2. It may be worth the while to observe, that in his Commentary upon the lxxxviith Psalm, Eusebius, quoting Luke ii. 2, does not say, "Cyrenius governor of Syria," but "this[p] was the first survey," or enrolment, "of Cyrenius, who governed Syria." The reader, if he thinks fit, may consult what was said[q] formerly concerning this matter, before I had observed this passage of our author. This reading is not in Mill: Eusebius's Commentary upon the Psalms was published since his time. Perhaps this ought not to be reckoned a various reading: for I do not affirm, that Eusebius had any copy of the New Testament where "governed" was written; he may here only give the sense of the text. I would add, that in his Comment upon the preceding

[n] Plus je lis Philon, plus je soupçonne, qu' Apollos pourroit avoir écrit cette épître. Car certainement on y trouve quantité de pensées et d' idées prises de Philon, dont apparemment Apollos avoit été disciple, étant Juif d'Alexandrie. Remarques sur le N. T. Tom. ii. p. 160.

[o] ——— *ερευξομαι κεκρυμμενα απο καταβολης.* In Ps. p. 462. D. Vid. supr.

[p] *Αυτη ἡ απογραφη πρωτη εγενετο ἡγεμονευσαντος της Συριας Κυρηνιε.* In. Ps. p. 543. C.

[q] See the first part of this work. Book ii. ch. 1. sect. 5.

Psalm likewise, he speaks of Cyrenius, as[r] the person by whom that survey was made, and of his coming into Judea for that purpose.

3. In the Commentary upon Ps. xvi. 1, otherwise xvii. 1. 'The next words are: "Attend to my cry." Which may be well used by him who is tried, and in prayer sends up supplications to God: who presents not little and common requests, nor asks of God earthly and mortal things. And[s] this our Saviour also taught, saying: "Seek ye the great things, and the little shall be added unto you."' Compare Matt. vi. 33. Of this saying, as ascribed to our Saviour by Clement and Origen, I have spoken[t] formerly. This particular citation of it is not inserted in Grabe's, or other collections of such things, this Commentary of Eusebius not having been published till lately.

XIV. Though my design relates chiefly to scriptures of the New Testament, I cannot forbear to observe, (what our great author thought not proper to omit,) that in his Ecclesiastical History there are three catalogues of the Books of the Old Testament, as received by the Jews. The first is that[u] of Josephus from his books against Apion: The second is that[v] of Melito bishop of Sardis: The third is taken from[w] Origen's works.

XV. It will not be amiss to put down here some instances of general divisions of sacred scripture, which are to be found in this writer.

He frequently uses a Greek word, literally denoting 'in the testament,' and generally, as equivalent to canonical: he uses it, when he proceeds to put down Josephus's[x] catalogue of the scriptures of the Old Testament. Clement of Alexandria, he says, wrote[y] brief Commentaries upon all the scriptures in the Testament, not omitting those that are contradicted. The title of the chapter in which he inserts Origen's catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament is: How[z] he mentions the scriptures in the Testament. He uses the same word, when he alleges[a] Irenæus's

[r] ———ὁτε Κυρηνιος επιτρας τῃ Ιωδαιᾳ τας απογραφας εποιειτο. p. 543. E.

[s] Τουτον γαρ και ὁ σωτηρ εδιδασκεν, λεγων· Αιτειτε τα μεγαλα, και τα μικρα προστεθησεται ὑμιν. In Ps. p. 56. A.

[t] See Vol. ii. ch. xxxviii. num. xxvii. 5.

[u] H. E. l. iii. c. 9 et 10.

[v] L. iv. c. 26. f.

[w] L. vi. c. 25. in.

[x] Τουτων εν τῳ προτερῳ τον αριθμον της λεγομενης παλαιας των ενδιαθηκων γραφων τιθησι. L. iii. c. 9. p. 85. A.

[y] ———πασης της ενδιαθηκης γραφης. l. iii. c. 14. in.

[z] ———ὁπως των ενδιαθηκων γραφων εμνημονευσε. l. vi. c. 25.

[a] ———τας περι των ενδιαθηκων γραφων—παραδοσεις. l. v. c. 8. in.

testimony to the New Testament: he elsewhere speaks[b] of books acknowledged by all, and others not in the Testament, but contradicted. The same word is used by Origen. In his Treatise of Prayer he observes, that[c] the Jews do not receive the book of Tobit as in the Testament: it is also in Origen's passage alleged[d] by our author. Epiphanius uses a somewhat like phrase, when he says, the Alogians were of opinion, that[e] St. John's gospel ought not to be placed in the Testament, or be reckoned canonical.

Old[f] and New Testament is another common division: as also[g] prophets and apostles: gospels[h] and epistles.

XVI. The respect which the ancient christians had for the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, appears by many things mentioned by this writer.

1. It is needless to insist here upon the epithets, sacred and divine scripture, of which we have seen so many instances. To the like purposes are such expressions as these: the[i] sacred gospel; according[k] to the most certain testimony of the sacred gospels; the[l] divine scripture of the gospels.

2. He says, there[m] is no error or mistake in the scriptures: the prophets, according[n] to his account, spake only as the Spirit dictated: they[o] did not write their own words, but were employed by the Spirit of God.

3. In his Epistle to the church at Cæsarea, after signing the Nicene Creed, he says, that[p] the use of unscriptural

[b] —ανωμολογημενας γραφας, και τας αλλας παρα ταυτας, ᾳκ ενδιαθηκους μεν, αλλα και αντιλεγομενας. l. iii. c. 25. p. 97. D.

[c] Τῃ δε τω Τοβιτ βιβλῳ αντιλεγουσιν οἱ εκ περιτομης, ως μη ενδιαθηκῳ. Orig. T. i. p. 220. F.

[d] —ωδε πως γραφων κατα λεξιν· Ουκ αγνοητεον δ' ειναι τας ενδιαθηκους βιβλους, ως Ἑβραιοι παραδεδοασιν, δυο και εικοσι. L. vi. c. 25. in.

[e] Λεγουσι δε το κατα Ιωαννην ευαγγελιον—αδιαθετον ειναι. H. 51. n. 18. p. 441. C.

[f] —των ειρων γραφων της παλαιας διαθηκης καταλογω. L. vi. c. 25. in.—της καινης διαθηκης γραφας. L. iii. c. 25. in. et passim.

[g] Προφητικων δηλαδη και αποστολικων λογων, οἱς εκκλησια τω σωτηρος ἡμων εποικοδομειται. In Ps. p. 414. E.

[h] Τοις ευαγγελικοις και αποστολικοις αναγνωσμασιν. De Ec. Th. l. iii. p. 195. B.

[i] Ταυτα μεν το ιερον ευαγγελιον. Dem. Ev. p. 418. B.

[k] Κατα την αψευδεστατην των ἱερων ευαγγελιων μαρτυριαν. Dem. E. p. 301. A.

[l] —ἡ Θεια γραφη των ευαγγελιων. In Ps. p. 693. E.

[m] Εργον δε Θρασυ και προπετες ειναι ἡγουμαι το αποφηνασθαι τολμαν την Θειαν γραφην ἡμαρτησθαι. In Ps. p. 129. B. C. Conf. ibid. p. 66. D.

[n] —δηλων ὁτι οργανον ην ἡ προφητικη γλωσσα, ἑτερου του χρωμενου αυτῃ, ἁγιου πνευματος. In Ps. p. 187. D.

[o] Ου γαρ οικεια ῥηματα προσεφερον, τῃ δε Θεου πνευματος βουλῃ διηκονουντο. Ibid. p. 462. E.

[p] —δια το απειργειν αγραφοις χρησασθαι φωναις· δι' ὁ σχεδον ἡ πασα γεγονε

phrases had been the great cause of the dissensions and disturbances that had happened in the churches.

4. He says, the [q] first successors of the apostles, leaving their home, and performing the office of evangelists, went forth and preached the gospel to such as had not heard it; and then delivered to them the scripture of the gospels. From which passage, as well as from many others, it appears, that the gospels were then understood to be for general use.

5. Eusebius says of Origen, that[r] from his childhood he was well versed in the divine scriptures.

6. According to our author, as cited [s] formerly, the scriptures are the rule of faith, and the standard of orthodoxy. 'There are,' says he, 'beside these, treatises of many others, whose names we have not been able to learn; orthodox[t] and ecclesiastical men, as the interpretations of the divine scripture given by each one of them manifest.'

7. In his Oration in praise of the emperor Constantine, demonstrating the truth of the christian religion, our author testifies the great respect that was paid to the scriptures of the New Testament, and the great number of translations which had been then made of them. 'Who,' says he, 'ever delivered before-hand predictions of so many things, 'that were afterwards exactly accomplished in the event, 'as our Saviour did——to take men, originally employed 'in fishing, mean and illiterate, and constitute them law-'givers and masters of the universe of mankind; what and 'how mighty a work must this seem to you!' 'To engage 'to them by word and promise, and indeed "make them 'fishers of men;" and[u] to confer upon them so great a vir-'tue and power, as to compose writing, and publish books: 'and that these also should obtain such esteem, as to be 'translated into every language, both of Greeks and barba-'rians, throughout the whole world, and be diligently stu-

συγχυσις τε και ακαταστασια των εκκλησιων. Ap. Socr. l. i. c. 8. p. 26. D. Thdrt. l. i. c. 12. p. 39. D.

[q] —εργον επιτελων ευαγγελιστων, τοις ετι παμπαν ανηκοοις τυ της πιστεως λογυ —και την των θειων ευαγγελιων, παραδιδοναι γραφην. H. E. l. iii. c. 38. p. 109. B. C.

[r] ———ταις θειαις γραφαις εξετι παιδος ενησκημενος H. E. l. vi. c. 2. p. 202. C.

[s] Vol. ii. ch. xxxii. num. ii.

[t] Ορθοδοξων μεν και εκκλησιαστικων, ως γε δε ἡ ἑκαστυ παραδεικνυσι της θειας γραφης ἑρμηνεια. L. v. c. 27.

[u] Και τοσαυτην αυτοις αρετην τε και δυναμιν παρασχειν, ως και γραφας συνταξαι, και βιβλους παραδυναι. και ταυτας εις τοσυτο κρατυναι, ως καθ' ὁλης της οικυμενης παντοια γλωσσῃ βαρβαρων τε και Ἑλληνων μεταβαλλομενας παρα πασι τοις εθνεσι μελετησθαι, και πιστευεσθαι θεια ειναι λογια τα εν αυταις καταβεβλημενα· ὁσον εις αποδειξιν εναργη της αυτυ θεοτητος. De Laud. Const. c. 17. p. 662. C. D.

'died by all nations, and the things contained in them be 'believed to be divine oracles. How evident a demonstra- 'tion is this of his divinity.'

8. In the last chapter of the third book of the Evangelical Demonstration is a like argument; where he says, that[v] in a short space of time the gospel was preached throughout the whole world, for a testimony to all nations; and Greeks and barbarians had the scriptures concerning Jesus in their own letters and dialect.

9. Of reading the scriptures Eusebius speaks in this manner in his Evangelical Preparation: 'So[w] likewise the Jewish scriptures had before [Plato] required, that faith should precede the examination and understanding of the divine scriptures, in such expressions as these: "If[x] ye will not believe, ye shall not understand;" [so Eusebius from the Seventy, where we have, "Ye shall not be established."] Again, "I[y] believed: therefore have I spoken." After which same manner with us [christians] also, to those who are just brought over to us, and are as yet but weak, and as it were but infants as to their minds, the reading in the divine scriptures [that is, the divine scriptures themselves] is barely put into their hands, recommending it to them to believe the things therein contained as the words of God. But to those who are confirmed and grown old in knowledge, it is allowed to penetrate farther, and search into the profoundest meaning of the words. Such as these the Jews called Deuterotæ, interpreters and expositors of the scriptures.'

It is hence apparent, that reading the scriptures was recommended even to new converts from heathenism.

10. In his Ecclesiastical History Eusebius says, 'that in his time it[z] was customary for christians, particularly the recluse and devouter sort, to be more especially engaged in the attentive reading of the divine scriptures at the festival of our Saviour's passion.'

[v] Κεκηρυκτο γαρ το ευαγγελιον εν βραχει χρονῳ εν ὁλῃ τῃ οικουμενῃ εις μαρτυριον τοις εθνεσι· και βαρβαροι και Ἑλληνες τας περι τυ Ιησυ γραφας πατριοις χαρακτηρσιν και πατριῳ φωνῃ μεταλαμβανον. Dem. l. iii. p. 137. A.

[w] Εικοτως δε τα και ἡ Ἑβραιων προλαβουσα γραφη της των Θειων γραφων συνεσεως τε και Θεωριας την πιστιν προσταττει, δι' ὡν φησιν· Εαν δε μη πιστευσητε, ου μη συνητε· Και αυθις, Επιστευσα, διο και ελαλησα. Ενθεν και παρ' ἡμιν τοις μεν αρτι εισαγομενοις—ἁπλουστερον ἡ εν ταις Θειαις γραφαις αναγνωσις παραδιδοται, μετα τυ δειν πιστευειν ὡς Θευ λογοις τοις εμφερομενοις παρακελευεσθαι. Τοις δε την ἑξιν προβεβηκοσι, και πολιοις το φρονημα, εμβαθυνειν και δοκιμαζειν τον νυν των λεγομενων επιτετραπται. Τουτους δε παισιν Ἑβραιων δευτερωτας φιλον ην ονομαζειν, ωσπερ ἑρμηνευτας και εξηγητας οντας της των γραφων διανοιας. Præp. Ev. l. xii. c. 1. p. 573. D. 574. A.

[x] Is. vii. 9. [y] Ps. cxvi. 10.

[z] H. E. l. ii. c. 17. p. 57. B.

11. I shall only add one passage more from the Commentary upon the Psalms; where Eusebius speaks of the public reading and explication of the scriptures. For he says, 'that[a] in times of persecution, when discourses and readings of the divine scriptures are for the most part prohibited and hindered, and there are few or none found to impart spiritual food to the souls of men; the providence of God by an influx of the divine Spirit nourisheth the souls of men, and causeth them to be taught of God: so that without the instruction of men they are nourished by a secret influence.'

XVII. What we have now seen in the words of this learned and laborious bishop, who flourished at about three hundred years after our Lord's ascension, is an invaluable testimony to the things concerning the Lord Jesus himself and his apostles, and to the swift and wonderful progress of the gospel, and to the scriptures of the Old and New Testament. The former were those received by the Jewish people. The number of the books of the New Testament does not appear to have been in his time settled by any authority, that was universally allowed of: but the books following were universally received, the four gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen epistles of Paul, one epistle of Peter, and one epistle of John. These, I say, were universally received by christians in our author's time, and had been all along received by the elders and churches of former times. Beside these, we now generally receive also an epistle to the Hebrews, an epistle of James, a second epistle of Peter, a second and third of John, an epistle of Jude, and the Revelation. And it appears from this learned writer, that these books or epistles were then next in esteem to those before mentioned, as universally acknowledged; and were more generally received as of authority, than any other controverted writings. Beside these, there was the Gospel according to the Hebrews, made use of by the Jewish christians; being, probably, a translation of St. Matthew's gospel, with some additions; and, as it seems, containing little or nothing contrary to the genuine doctrine of Christ and his apostles. The book called the Doctrine, or Doctrines of the Apostles, we have not now a distinct knowledge of; but, probably, it was a small book, containing the rudiments of the christian religion, and fitted for the use of young people, and new converts, and never esteemed a part of sacred scripture. As for the rest, they were not very numerous,

[a] —εν γαρ τοις καιροις των διωγμων, καθ' ους πολλακις κεκωλυνται μεν αι διδασκαλιαι και των θεοπνευστων γραφων αναγνωσματα—ως και ανευ της ανθρωπων διδασκαλιας αποῤῥητῳ δυναμει τρεφεσθαι. In Ps. 32. p. 128. A. B.

and their character is easily determined; for either they were useful ecclesiastical writings, as the Epistles of Barnabas and Clement, and the Shepherd of Hermas, which, as we have seen from the quotations of them in the writers of the first three centuries, were never received as of authority, or a part of sacred and canonical scripture: or they were mean, absurd, and fabulous compositions, despised and disliked by the sounder Christians in general, both of our author's, and of former times. To the books of sacred scripture the greatest respect was shown; they were esteemed as of authority, and decisive in all points of a religious nature; they were publicly read and explained in the assemblies of christian people; and they were open to be freely read by all sorts of persons in private, for their instruction and improvement in religious knowledge, and their edification in virtue. Finally, it may be observed, that this learned author makes little use in his works of apocryphal scriptures of the Old Testament: none at all of christian writings, forged with the names of Christ's apostles, or their companions.

CHAP. LXXIII.

MARCELLUS, BISHOP OF ANCYRA IN GALATIA.

1. I PUT in the margin Jerom's article[a] of Marcellus; but I do not think it needful to translate it.

2. Marcellus is spoken of by Cave, as flourishing about the year 330; but that time seems too late. It is generally supposed, that he was present at a council of Ancyra in 314, as bishop of that city. He was also at the[b] council of Nice in 325, where he signalized himself against the Arians. It is concluded from[c] Epiphanius, that Marcellus died in 372,

[a] Marcellus, Ancyranus episcopus, sub Constantino et Constantio principibus floruit. Multaque diversarum ὑποθεσιων scripsit volumina, et maxime adversus Arianos. Feruntur contra hunc Asterii et Apollinarii libri, Sabellianæ eum hæreseos arguentes. Sed et Hilarius in septimo adversum Arianos libro nominis ejus, quasi hæretici meminit. Porro ille defendit se non esse dogmatis cujus accusatur, sed communione Julii et Athanasii, Romanæ et Alexandrinæ urbis pontificum, se esse munitum. De V. I. c. 86.

[b] Vid. Epiph. H. 72. c. 2. p. 834. D. et Athan. Apol. contr. Arian. n. 32. p. 150. E.

[c] Epiph. H. 72. n. 1.

when he had been bishop almost sixty years, and had lived almost or quite a century.

3. In the year 334, or 335, he wrote a book against Asterius, and other Arians, which occasioned him a great deal of trouble. Socrates says, that[d] in opposing Asterius, Marcellus went into a contrary extreme, and embraced the opinion of Paul of Samosata, who says, that Jesus Christ is a mere man.

4. The bishops assembled at Jerusalem in 335, for dedicating the church built by Constantine, required him to renounce his opinion, and burn his book. But those bishops were hastily summoned to Constantinople; where, in the year 336, the matter was resumed. Marcellus was deposed, and Basil put in his room: but he was restored by the synod at Sardica in 347. Nevertheless, Marcellus still lay under the suspicion of heresy with many.

5. Sozomen says farther, that[e] the council of Constantinople wrote a letter to the churches of Galatia, admonishing them to reform their error, to search for the copies of Marcellus's book, and burn them.

6. That book was particularly answered by the famous Eusebius of Cæsarea, and by order[f] of the council itself. Though Marcellus was not then young, Eusebius says it[g] was the only book he had published. It was[h] a very large work, consisting of a thousand lines or verses. Eusebius takes notice, that[i] he quoted heathen authors to illustrate the scriptures: he likewise chargeth[k] him with a vain ostentation of secular learning; whether rightly or not, we can hence conclude, that Marcellus was learned. He did likewise quote very largely the books of the Old and New Testament: and we can plainly perceive from Eusebius's quotations and arguments, and from his own letter and confession of faith delivered to Julius, bishop of Rome, about the year 241, which are preserved in[l] Epiphanius, that Marcellus received the same scriptures that other christians did, and paid them a like respect.

7. Socrates[m] and Sozomen[n] seem to have supposed that Marcellus went into the opinion of Paul of Samosata. Eusebius continually chargeth him with[o] Sabellianism.

[d] Ψιλον γαρ ανθρωπον—ετολμησεν ειπειν τον Χριστον. Socr. l. i. c. 36. p. 72. [e] Και ταις αυτοθι εκκλησιαις εγραψαν, αναζητησαι την Μαρκελλω βιβλον, και εξαφανισαι. Soz. l. ii. c. 33.

[f] Vid. Euseb. contr. M. l. ii. p. 55. D. [g] Contr. M. l. i. c. 1. in.

[h] Ib. p. 2. [i] P. 14. B. C. [k] Ib. c. 3. p. 16. D.

[l] H. 72. n. 2, 3. p. 834—836. [m] Socr. l. i. c. 6. p. 72.

Conf. l. ii. c. 19. p. 98, 99. et cap. 20. [n] Soz. l. ii. c. 33.

[o] ———πως ε δηλος αν γενοιτο, τον μεν Σαβελλιον ὑποδυομενος. Contr.

Theodoret, in[p] his Heretical Fables, speaks of Paul, Sabellius, Marcellus, and Photinus, in four distinct chapters one after another: and in his introduction to that work, he reckons him[q] with Ebion and Photinus, and elsewhere with[r] Photinus and Paul of Samosata: and he particularly says of Marcellus, that[s] he denied a Trinity of persons. However, there were[t] formerly, as well as[u] lately, different apprehensions concerning the real sentiments of Marcellus: and it must be owned, that there is a good deal of obscurity in some of his passages cited by Eusebius, but it seems to me, that there is sufficient reason to think he was a Sabellian or Unitarian.

8. Montfauçon persuades[v] himself, and would persuade others, that not long before his death, about the year 372, Marcellus being uneasy at the accusations brought against him by St. Basil, as well as others, sent one of his deacons, with others of his church, as a deputation to Athanasius, carrying with them a confession of faith, completely orthodox: which confession Athanasius, and other bishops of Egypt then present with him, accepted of, and gave them a letter of recommendation to communion with the churches.

9. But it seems to me, that this story is not well supported. Montfauçon does not well know when[w] that deputation to Athanasius was sent; he placeth it in the year 372, by guess only. St. Basil, though he[x] corresponded with Athanasius, and others of Egypt, knew nothing of that letter of recommendation; and in a letter written after that

Marc. l. i. p. 5. A. *Αντικρυς τον Σαβελλιον ανανεθμενος.* De Ec. Th. l. ii. seu contr. Marc. l. iii. c. 1. p. 104. *Ὁρᾳς Ιεβαιον αντικρυς, τον μονογενη υἱον τθ θεθ—αρνθμενον.* Ib. cap. 2. p. 105. A.

[p] Hær. Fab. l. ii. c. 8—11.

[q] *Ταυτης δε της αἱρεσεως ηρξε μεν Εβιων, μεχρι δε Μαρκελλθ και Φωτεινθ τας διαφορας επινοιας εδεξατο.* Hær. Fab. Compend. T. iv. p. 188. D.

[r] *Φωτεινος γαρ και Μαρκελλος, και ὁ εκ Σαμοσατων Παυλος, ανθρωπον μονον ειναι λεγθσι τον Κυριον ἡμων και Θεον.* Epist. 104. T. iii. p. 976. A.

[s] *Τθτῳ αρνηθη των ὑποστασεων τριαδα.* H. F. l. ii. c. 10.

[t] Vid. Hieron. supra not. (a) p. 276. Epiphan. H. 72. Tillemont collects the opinions of several ancients about him in Marcel. d'Ancyre. Mem. T. vii. p. 510—512. à Paris.

[u] Vid. Zacagn. Pr. ad Collect. Monum. Gr. p. 42, &c. Montfauç. Diatriba de Causa Marcelli ap. Nov. Collect. Patr. T. ii. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. vi p. 31 et 92. T. 8. p. 335.

[v] Re compertâ, Marcellus, ut eorum conatus et molimina interpellaret, oratores qui causam apud Athanasium suam agerent, ac sui, Ancyranæque ecclesiæ nomine fidei professionem emitterent, delegavit. Cumque legatorum formula sanam prorsus et orthodoxam fidem præferret, huic Athanasius, cum aliis qui aderant episcopis, adstipulatus, literas commendatitias rogantibus concessit. Diatrib. de Marcell. cap. 5. p. 63. Ap. Nov. Collection. Patr. T. ii.

[w] Hæc porro legatio in annum 372 commode referatur. Diatrib. cap. 6. p. 64.

[x] Cui frequens cum Athanasio epistolarum usus erat. Montf. Diatrib. ib.

supposed date in 377, reproves some[y] people for communicating with the followers of Marcellus. Moreover, Chrysostom[z] in his homilies in the latter part of the fourth century, often argues against Marcellus as a heretic: not now to say any thing more of Socrates, and Sozomen, or Theodoret, or others, who appear not to have known any thing of this orthodox confession of Marcellus, or Athanasius's letter of communion.

It is indeed well known, and allowed, that for a while Athanasius had a kindness for Marcellus; and no wonder, when Marcellus, like himself, was so hard pressed by the Arians. But his respect for Marcellus seems to have abated afterwards: Hilary of Poictiers,[a] and Sulpitius Severus[b] expressly say, that Athanasius separated himself from his communion. Nor do I perceive, that[c] what Epiphanius says, overthrows their accounts. For certain, he does not confirm, but weaken the credit of the story told by Montfaucon; for he says nothing of it, though he had a fair occasion to mention it, and wrote but a few years after the death of Marcellus and Athanasius.

CHAP. LXXIV.

EUSTATHIUS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH.

1. SAYS Jerom, 'Eustathius[a] of Side in Pamphylia, first 'governed the church at Berœa, and afterwards at Antioch.

[y] At Basilius—quia semel conceptam de Marcelli impietate opinionem vix missam facere poterat, cum Diocæsariensibus patribus non leviter expostulat, quod Marcellianos ad communionem, inconsultis aliis episcopis, admisserint. [Vid. Basil. Ep. 265. al. 293. T. iii. p. 410. edit. Bened.] Hæc Basilius, vel ignorans ea, quæ Alexandriæ in gratiam Marcelli et asseclarum ab Athanasio gesta fuerant, vel, &c. Montf. Diatrib. ib. p. 66.

[z] Vid. in ep. ad Philip. hom. 6. T. xi. p. 234, 235. in ep. ad Heb. hom. 2. p. 14—16. hom. 8. p. 89. T. xii. Bened. et passim.

[a] Nam, negatâ sibi ab Athanasio communione, ingressu sese ecclesiæ Marcellus abstinuit. Hilar. Fragm. 2. p. 1300.

[b] Interjecto deinde tempore, Athanasius, cum Marcellum parum sanæ fidei esse penitus comperisset, a communione suspendit. Sulp. Sev. Hist. l. ii. c. 52. p. 382.

[c] Vid. H. 72. n. 4. p. 837.

[a] Eustathius, genere Pamphylius, Sidetes, primum Berhœæ, Syriæ, deinde Antiochiæ rexit ecclesiam. Et adversum Arianorum dogma componens multa sub Constantino principe pulsus est in exilium Trajanopolim Thraciarum, ubi usque hodie conditus est. Exstant ejus volumina de Animâ, de Engastrimutho

'As he wrote much against the Arian doctrine, he was 'banished in the time of the emperor Constantine to Tra-'janopolis in Thrace, where he lies buried to this day. 'There are extant his volumes concerning the soul, of the 'Pythoness against Origen, and an infinite number of epis-'tles, which it would be tedious to reckon up.'

2. Eustathius is placed by Cave at the year 325, when the council of Nice met: but as Eustathius was before that bishop of Berœa, if not also of Antioch, and was then so considerable, as to be thought by many to be the bishop who complimented Constantine in a short oration at his entrance into the council; I presume he ought to be placed sooner, about the year 320.

3. For a particular account of him I refer to[b] Cave, and others. I observe some few of the more material things, and briefly only.

4. By[c] means of the intrigues of Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Theognis of Nice, he was deposed by a synod at Antioch, about the year 328, as a Sabellian, and otherwise unworthy of the pastoral office: after which he was banished. The time of his death is not certain: some think he did not die before the year 360. Sozomen says, he had been assured, that[d] Eustathius bore the hard treatment he met with very patiently.

5. Eustathius is placed by Jerom, in his letter to Magnus, among those christian writers, who were remarkable for secular learning, as well as for their knowledge of the scriptures: but Socrates reckons him among those obscure persons, who[e] had endeavoured to raise their own reputation by opposing Origen. Sozomen, however, commends[f] him for his eloquence, as well as piety, and says, that his works were in his time well esteemed. Theodoret calls him[g] the great Eustathius.

6. I need not give a particular account of Eustathius's works: the inquisitive may find sufficient satisfaction in the writers before referred to. The fragments collected by[h] Fabricius deserve to be read.

adversum Origenem, et infinitæ epistolæ, quas enumerare longum est. De V. I. c. 85.

[b] Vid. Cav. Hist. Lit. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 166. &c. Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. vii. Pagi Crit. in Baron. Ann. 324. n. 26, &c. 325. n. 17. 327. n. 3. 340. n. 19. [c] Vid. Socr. l. i. c. 24. Soz. l. ii. c. 19. Thdrt. l. i. c. 21. [d] Soz. l. ii. c. 19. fin. [e] Socr. l. vi. c. 13.

[f] Ανηρ τα τε αλλα καλος και αγαθος, και επι ευγλωττια δικαιως θαυμαζομενος, ως εκ των φερομενων αυτω λογων συνιδειν εστιν. Soz. l. ii. c. 19. fin.

[g] —της αληθειας προμαχος ὁ μεγας Ευσταθιος. Theod. l. i. c. 21. p. 52. A.

[h] Bib. Gr. T. 1. p. 172, &c.

7. Eustathius's enmity to Arianism[i] is well known: whether he was not a Sabellian is doubtful.

8. Eusebius of Cæsarea accused him[k] of Sabellianism soon after the council of Nice. Socrates' expressions in his account of the sentence passed upon Eustathius by the synod at Antioch are remarkable: 'That[l] he was deposed, 'as rather adhering to the doctrine of Sabellius, than of the 'council of Nice.' And he presently afterwards owns, that George of Laodicea, in his history of Eusebius of Emesa, relates, that Eustathius was deposed, Cyrus of Berœa accusing him as a Sabellian. The fragments collected by Fabricius may be thought to countenance this supposition: and there are learned moderns who[m] think, that Eustathius of Antioch was of the same opinion with Marcellus of Ancyra, and that neither of them were orthodox.

[i] Eustathium nostrum, qui primus Antiochenæ ecclesiæ episcopus contra Arium clarissimâ tubâ bellicum cecinit. Hieron. ad Evang. T. ii. p. 571. in Vid. et. Theod. l. i. c. 8. in.

[k] *Διαβαλλει δε Ευσταθιον, ως την Σαβελλιε δοξαν εισαγοντα.* Socr. l. i. c. 23. f. Conf. Soz. l. ii. c. 18.

[l] *Καθαιρεσιν Ευσταθιον, ως τα Σαβελλιε μαλλον φρονεντα, η ἁπερ ἡ εν Νικαιᾳ συνοδος εδογματισεν.* Socr. l. i. c. 24. in.

[m] Pour Marcel, le fait passe à présent constant. Il fût Sabellien. A l' égard d'Eustathe, des savans le defendent, d'autres l'accusent. Pour moi, je ne croi pas qu'on puisse l'excuser. Beausobre Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 543, not. (2.) Vid. ib. p. 542. et Worm. Histor. Sabellianismi, cap. 5. n. 19, 20.

CHAP. LXXV.

ATHANASIUS, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA.

I. *His history.* II. *Select passages.* III. *His testimony to the scriptures in his Festal Epistle.* IV. *In his other works:* 1. *To the Gospels.* 2. *The Acts.* 3. *Paul's Epistles.* 4. *Catholic Epistles.* 5. *The Revelation.* V. *Of the Doctrine of the Apostles, and the Shepherd of Hermas.* VI. *Various readings.* VII. *A Bible sent by Athanasius to the Emperor Constans.* VIII. *General titles and divisions, and respect for the scriptures.* IX. *The sum of his testimony.* X. *The Synopsis of sacred scripture.*

1. ATHANASIUS succeeded Alexander in the see of Alexandria in the year 326, and died in the year 373, when he had been bishop 46 years[a] complete.

There is no need that I should write the history of Athanasius, or give a particular account of his works: the nature of my design allows me now to contract, since the life of Eusebius of Cæsarea; nor shall I transcribe Jerom's chapter[b] from his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, because it is not very important. I have referred to divers learned moderns, who have bestowed laudable pains in writing at large the history of this celebrated bishop; and the reader may also consult the Testimonies or Elogies of ancient writers, prefixed to the Benedictine edition of his works. As I do not there see the name of Epiphanius, I insert here his character of Athanasius; that[c] he was the father of orthodoxy.

II. Though I do not write the life of Athanasius, I may be allowed to transcribe some remarkable passages.

1. On[d] account of the doctrine of the Trinity, he says, the heathen people of his time thought that the christians taught a plurality of Gods.

[a] Vid. Pagi Ann. 326. n. 3. 372. n. 9—11. Basnag. Ann. 373. n. 9. Cav. H. L. Athanas. Vit. a Benedictin. adornat. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. viii.

[b] De V. I. cap. 87.

[c] —Αθανασιε τϑ μακαριε, και πατρος της ορθοδοξιας. H. 69. n. 2. p. 728. B.

[d] Ἑλληνων—φασκοντων και νομιζοντων, δια την τριαδα, λεγειν και ἡμας πολλϑς Θεϑς. Or. iii. Contr. Arian. n 15. p. 564. C.

2. Athanasius's enmity to Arianism is well known: I formerly cited[e] a passage where he speaks of it as the worst of all heresies. He elsewhere says, the[f] devil was the father of it: nor will he by any means allow, that[g] Arians can be rightfully called Christians.

3. When he declaims against Arianism, as[h] the worst and most hateful of all heresies, he makes this its peculiarity, that whilst other heretics endeavoured to support their opinions by sophistry, these[i] men have invented a new way, and have endeavoured to carry their point by external, that is, civil authority, or the power of the magistrate. 'Whenever[k] any man differs from them, they have him before the governor, or the general: whom[l] they cannot subdue by reason and argument, they take upon them to convince by whippings and imprisonments; which is enough to show, that their principles are any thing rather than religion: for it is the property of religion not to compel, but to persuade. Our Lord himself does not use violence, but leaveth men to the freedom of their own choice. Speaking to all, he says: "If[m] any man will come after me:" and to the disciples: "Will[n] ye also go away?"'

And on account of these violent methods in particular, he says, that[o] this sect, or heresy, had put on the devil complete.

4. Athanasius observes, that[p] christian people never took their denomination from their own bishops, but from the Lord, in whom we believe. And though the blessed apostles are our masters, and have ministered to us the gospel of our Lord, we are not named from them. For from Christ

[e] Vol. iii. p. 276. [f] ———ὡς ὁ πατηρ αυτης ὁ διαβολος. Cont. Arian. Or. i. n. 1. p. 405. C. [g] Αλλα και οἱ τϐτϐς καλϐντες Χριϛιανϐς, πολυ και λιαν πλανωνται. Ib. p. 406. A.

[h] Ἡ δε νεα και μυσαρα τϐτων αἱρεσις. Hist. Arian. ad Monach. n. 67. p. 384. B.

[i] Οἱ δε προσαται ταυτης, ὁρωντες ἑαυτϐς λοιπον ασχημονϐντας, και μηδεν ευλογον ἐχοντας, αλλην ὁδον επενοησαν, και δια της ἐξωθεν ἐξϐσιας εκδικειν ταυτην επεχειρησαν. Ib. n. 66. p. 383. D. E.

[k] Και μονον τις αυτοις αντειρηκεν, ἑλκεται προς τον ἡγεμονα; η τον ϛρατηλατην. Ib. p. 384. B.

[l] —λοιπον, ϐς μη δεδυνηται πεισαι λογοις, τϐτϐς τῃ βια, και πληγαις, και δεσμωτηριοις ἑλκειν επιχειρει, γνωριζϐσα ἑαυτην και ϐτως, ὡς παντα μαλλον ἐστιν, η Θεοσεβης. Θεοσεβειας μεν γαρ ἰδιον, μη αναγκαζειν, αλλα πειθειν, ὡσπερ ειπαμεν. κ. λ. Ib. n. 67. p. 384. C. [m] Matt. xvi. 24.

[n] John vi. 67. [o] Ω καινης αἱρεσεως, ολον ενδυσαμενης τον διαβολον εν ασεβειᾳ και πραξει. Ib. n. 66. in. p. 383. C.

[p] Ουδε πωποτε γαρ λαος απο των οικειων επισκοπων εσχε την επωνυμιαν, αλλ' απο τϐ Κυριϐ, εις ὁν και την πιϛιν ἐχομεν—αλλ' απο τϐ Χριϛϐ χριϛιανοι και ἐσμεν, και ονομαζομεθα. Οἱ δε περι ἑτερων ἐχοντες την αρχην ἡς νομιζϐσι πιϛεως, ἐκεινων εικοτως ἐχϐσι και την οικονομιαν, ως αυτων γενομενοι κτημα. Contr. Arian. Or. i. n. 2. p. 406. C.

we are, and are called christians. But they who receive from others a new faith, are justly denominated from them, whose property they are.

III. I proceed to his testimony to the scriptures: and here I begin with transcribing at large the fragment, which we have, of[q] what is called a Festal, or Paschal Epistle.

'But[r] since we have spoken of heretics as dead persons, and of ourselves as having the divine scriptures for salvation: and I fear, lest, as Paul wrote to the Corinthians, some few of the weaker sort should be seduced from their simplicity and purity by the cunning and craftiness of some men, and at length be induced to make use of other books called apocryphal, being deceived[s] by the similitude of their names, resembling the true books: I therefore entreat you to bear with me, if I by writing remind you of things which you know already, as what may be of use for the church. And for the vindication of my attempt, I adopt the form of the evangelist Luke, who himself says: Forasmuch as some have taken in hand to set forth writings called apocryphal, and to join them with the divinely inspired scriptures of which we are fully assured, as they delivered them to the fathers, who were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word: it has seemed good to me also, with the advice of some true brethren, and[t] having learned it from the beginning, to set forth in order these canonical books, which have been delivered down to us, and believed to be divine scripture: that every one who has been deceived, may condemn those who have deceived him: and that he who remains uncorrupted may have the satisfaction to be reminded of what he is persuaded of. The books of the Old Testament, then, are all of them in number two and twenty: for so many are the letters of the Hebrew alphabet said to be. The names and order of each one are thus: The first Genesis, the next Exodus, then Leviticus, after that the Numbers, and then Deuteronomy. After that is Joshua the son of Nun, and the Judges, and after that Ruth. And again, the next in order are the four books of the kingdoms: of these the first and second are reckoned one book; and in like manner the third and fourth are one book. After them, the first and second of the Remains [or Chronicles] are in like manner accounted one

[q] Ejusdem, ex trigesima nonâ epistolâ festali, initio mutilâ. T. i. p. 961. D.

[r] Ibid. p. 961. E. 962, 963. A. B.

[s] ———*απατωμενοι τη ομωνυμια των αληθινων βιβλιων.* p. 961. E.

[t] ———*και μαθοντι ανωθεν, εξης εκθεσθαι τα κανονιζομενα, και παραδοθεντα, πιστευθεντα τε θεια ειναι βιβλια.* p. 962. A.

book. Then the first and Second of Esdras, also reckoned one book. After them the book of the Psalms, then the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs. Beside these there is Job, and at length the Prophets. The twelve are reckoned one book. Then Isaiah, and Jeremiah, and with him Baruch, the Lamentations, the Epistle. And after them Ezekiel and Daniel. Thus far of the books of the Old Testament. Nor do I think it too much pains to declare those of the New. They are these: The four gospels, according to Matthew, according to Mark, according to Luke, according to John. Then[u] after them the Acts of the Apostles, and the seven epistles of the apostles called catholic: Of James one, of Peter two, of John three, and after them of Jude one. Beside[v] these there are the fourteen epistles of the apostle Paul, the order of which is thus: The first to the Romans, then two to the Corinthians, after them that to the Galatians, the next to the Ephesians, then to the Philippians, to the Colossians, after them two to the Thessalonians, and the epistle to the Hebrews, then two to Timothy, to Titus one, the last to Philemon: and again, the Revelation of John. These[w] are fountains of salvation, that he who thirsts may be satisfied with the oracles contained in them: in these alone the doctrine of religion is taught: let no man add to them, or take any thing from them. Of these our Lord spake, when he put the Sadducees to shame, saying: "Ye[x] do err, not knowing the scriptures," And he exhorted the Jews: "Search[y] the scriptures: for these are they which testify of me." However, for the sake of greater accuracy, I add as follows: that[z] there are other books beside these, without; not canonical indeed, but ordained by the fathers to be read to [or by] those who are newly come over to us, and are desirous to be instructed in the doctrine of religion. The Wisdom of Solomon, the wisdom of Sirach, and Esther, Judith, Tobias: the Doctrine of the Apostles, as it is called, and the Shepherd. So that my[a] beloved, those being canonical, and these read, there is no mention of apocryphal books: but they are the invention of heretics, who wrote

[u] Μετα ταυτα, Πραξεις αποστολων, και Επιστολαι καθολικαι καλουμεναι των αποστολων ἑπτα. Ib. C.

[v] Προς τουτοις Παυλου αποστολου εισιν επιστολαι δεκατεσσαρες.—Ib. D.

[w] Ταυτα πηγαι του σωτηριου, ωστε τον διψωντα των εν τουτοις εμφορεισθαι λογιων. Εν τουτοις μονοις το της ευσεβειας διδασκαλειον ευαγγελιζεται. Μηδεις τουτοις επιβαλλετω. κ. λ. Ib. D.

[x] Matt. xxii. 29. [y] John v. 39.

[z] Ὡς ὁτι εστι και ἑτερα βιβλια τουτων εξωθεν· α κανονιζομενα μεν, τετυπωμενα δε παρα των πατερων, αναγινωσκεσθαι τοις αρτι προσερχομενοις.—p. 963. A.

[a] ——κακεινων κανονιζομενων, και τουτων αναγινωσκομενων. ibid.

them after their own pleasure: assigning[b] to them, and adding to them, times; that producing them as ancient writings, they may take occasion to deceive the simple.'

Upon this enumeration, or catalogue of the books of the holy scripture, we may make a few remarks: and many are not necessary.

1. Here is mention made of these sorts of books only: 'canonical,' such as are 'read' or allowed to be read, and 'apocryphal:' by which last the writer of this epistle means books of heretics, to which they affixed a high value. Athanasius here takes no notice of 'contradicted' books, so distinctly spoken of by Eusebius of Cæsarea.

2. The reader sees what books of the Old Testament are reckoned by this writer canonical: and how many others besides are mentioned by him, as 'out of the canon,' yet allowed to be read. And I would add here, with regard to the other works of Athanasius in general, that there the Wisdom of Solomon is often quoted, Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus, but seldom; and the books of Maccabees scarce at all; which last, as we see, are also quite omitted in this catalogue.

3. This may suffice for that part of the catalogue. Upon the latter part, concerning the scriptures of the New Testament, I think it incumbent on me to be more particular: and therefore I proceed as follows.

IV. The Festal Epistle, just transcribed, is generally allowed to be[c] genuine: but as some may not reckon it to be certainly so, and as such catalogues are liable to alteration, and possibly some things may have been inserted by later transcribers, to make it more agreeable to the sentiments of their own times; it will be best, for fuller satisfaction, to observe the quotations of scripture in other works of Athanasius.

1. The four gospels, as we have sufficiently seen, were always received by all catholic christians in general: it is, therefore, quite needless to refer to any of the numerous quotations of them in the works of this writer.

We may however observe, that[d] he gives John the evangelist the title of 'the divine.' He gives likewise the

[b] ——χαριζομενων δε και προτιθεντων αυτοις χρονους. ἱν', ως παλαια προφεροντες, προφασιν εχωσιν απαταν εκ τουτου τους ακεραιους. Ib. B.

[c] Epistola Festalis, initio mutila, ut cuique palam est, ex numero esse videtur epistolarum Athanasio Festalium ab Hieronymo memoratarum lib. de scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, in quâ tamen nonnulla forte occurrat adversa suspicio.—Verum, nostro quidem judicio, nihil est. ut eâ de causâ hæreamus. Benedictin. Monitum. T. i. p. 958.

[d] Ἡ φησι και ὁ θεολογος ανηρ· Εν αρχῃ ην ὁ λογος.—Cont. Gent. n. 42. T. i. p. 41. C. D.

same title to all the apostles in general, calling them our[e] 'Saviour's divines.'

2. The Acts of the Apostles too were generally received: nevertheless I shall refer to one or two of the many passages of Athanasius, where this book is largely quoted by him.

'Let[f] them hear the great and blessed apostles in the Acts.' After which he quotes some of the discourses of Peter and Paul there recorded. He quotes this book as[g] written by St. Luke. Again, according[h] to the divine Acts of the Apostles.

3. The Festal Epistle expressly mentions fourteen epistles of Paul. Thirteen were universally received. The[i] epistle to the Hebrews is often quoted by Athanasius as the apostle Paul's.

4. We proceed to the catholic epistles.

(1.) The epistle of James is[k] quoted, as written by an apostle, as[l] written by James.

(2.) The first epistle of[m] Peter is frequently quoted.

(3.) Words of the second epistle of[n] Peter are several times quoted: and sometimes expressly as[o] Peter's.

(4.) The first epistle of[p] John is oftentimes quoted, and sometimes very distinctly.

(5.) The second epistle of John is quoted[q] very distinctly. I have no particular reference to the third epistle.

[e] *Ταυτα δε και παρα των αυτϑ τϑ σωτηρος ϑεολογων ανδρων πιϛϑσθαι τις δυναται εντυγχανων τοις εκεινων γραμμασιν.* De Incarn. n. 10. p. 55. D.

[f] *Ακϑοντες και των μεγαλων και μακαριων αποϛολων εν ταις Πραξεσι. κ. λ.* De Sent. Dionys. n. 7. p. 247. D.

[g] *Παντα μεν ὁσα ὁ Κυριος ἡμων—ως εγραψεν ὁ Λϑκας, πεποιηκε τε και εδιδαξεν.* Ep. Encyl. n. 1. p. 270. B.

[h] ———*κατα τας ϑειας των Αποϛολων Πραξεις.* Ad Amun. n. i. p. 959. C.

[i] *Ὁ μεν γαρ μακαριος Παυλος εν τῃ προς Ἑβραιϑς φησι.* De Decret. Nic. Syn. n. 18. p. 223. E. et passim.

[k] *Και ποιητης, ὁ αποϛολος φησι νομϑ.* De Sent. Dionys. n. 20. p. 257. E. Vid. Jac. iv. 11.

Ουκ ενι δε παρα τῳ Θεῳ, ως ειπεν ὁ Ιακωβος, παραλλαγη, η τροπης αποσκιασμα. Ep. 1. ad Serap. n. 26. p. 674. D. Vid. Jac. i. 17.

[m] *Και Πετρος εγραψε· Κομιζομενοι το τελος της πιϛεως.* [1 Pet. i. 9.] Epist. i. ad Serap. p. 653. E.

[n] Vid. Hist. Arian. ad Monach. n. 29. p. 360. D. E. Vid. et Ep. ad Amun. p. 960. A.

[o] *Ο ελεγεν ὁ Πετρος, ἱνα γενησθε ϑειας κοινωνοι φυσεως.* Or. i. contr. Arian. n. 16. p. 420. E. 2 Pet. i. 4. Conf. Ep. i. ad Serap. n. 23. p. 672. C. et ad Adelph. n. 4. p. 914. A.

[p] ———*Δηλοι ὁ Ιωαννης, εν τῃ πρωτῃ επιϛολῃ λεγων ϑτως. Ὁ ην απ' αρχης.* Or. iv. contr. Arian. n. 26. p. 637. C. D. *Ὡς εγραψεν ὁ μακαριος Ιωαννης. κ. λ.* Adv. Arian. Orat. 1. in. p. 405. A.

[q] *Και μηδε καν χαιρειν τοις τοιϑτοις λεγειν, ἱνα μη ποτε και ταις ἁμαρτιαις αυτων κοινωνοι γενωμεθα, ως παρηγγειλεν ὁ μακαριος Ιωαννης.* Ep. Enc. ad Ep. Æg. n. 6. p. 400. C.

(6.) Athanasius has[r] twice the words of Jude, ver. 6.

5. The book of the Revelation is several[s] times, and largely, quoted by Athanasius.

6. Upon the whole, then, we perceive, from the other genuine and unquestioned writings of Athanasius, as well as from the Festal Epistle, that this famous bishop of Alexandria, in the fourth century, received the same books in the New Testament as canonical which we do.

V. Besides these books the Festal Epistle mentions two others, the 'Doctrine of the Apostles,' and the 'Shepherd of Hermas:' and they are both so mentioned as to show plainly, that they were not a part of the rule of faith, or books by which doctrines may be proved. They are said to be 'without,' and 'not canonical;' that is, out of the canon.

1. Of the former I have already[t] spoken sufficiently, and shall add nothing farther.

2. Of the Shepherd of Hermas too we have[u] distinctly observed the value set upon it by former writers: all that remains is to consider, what notice Athanasius takes of this book in his other works.

3. In one place, it is quoted as[v] a very useful book. He quotes it again in another place, which[w] I refer to in the margin. In another place he quotes a passage of it, which[x] he supposeth the Eusebians had an eye to. Once more, he quotes it upon account of an argument of the Arians from the same passage before referred to. 'But[y] it is written in the Shepherd: (since they allege that book too, though it is not in the canon:) First of all, believe, that there is one God.—' Having answered their argument, he adds: 'And[z] why do they blame those who think rightly, for using unscriptural phrases, when they make use of unscriptural phrases to support impiety?'

4. Nothing can be plainer, than that the Shepherd of Hermas was not a book of authority with Athanasius.

[r] Ep. 1. ad Serap. n. 26. p. 675. A. Ep. 2. ad Serap. n. 3. p. 685. A.

[s] *Και εν τη Αποκαλυψει. κ. λ.* Or. i. contr. Arian. n. 11. p. 415. D. Vid. et Orat. ii. contr. Ar. n. 23. p. 491. B. C. et Or. iv. contr. Ar. n. 28. p. 639. et Ep. ii. ad Serap. n. 2. p. 684.

[t] See p. 129, 130.

[u] See p. 129.

[v] *Δια δε της ωφελιμωτατης βιβλε τε Ποιμενος.* De Incarn. n. 3. p. 49. D.

[w] De Decret. Nic. Syn. n. 4. p. 411. D.

[x] *Ελογιζοντο δε και το εν τω Ποιμενι γραφεν.* Ad. Afr. n. 5. p. 895. B.

[y] *Εν δε τω Ποιμενι γεγραπται· επειδη και τουτο, καιτοι μη ον εκ τε κανονος, προφερουσι.* De Decret. Nic. Syn. n. 18. p. 223. F.

[z] *Διατι τοινυν αγραφους αυτοι λεξεις προς ασεβειαν εφευροντες, αιτιωνται τους αγραφοις λεξεσιν ευσεβουντας.* Ib. p. 224. A. B.

VI. I shall take notice of but very few various readings in the works of this writer.

1. The Benedictines in their edition put our author's citation of Acts xx. 28, according to[a] the common reading, "Feed the church of God." But they acknowledge in[b] a marginal note, that some manuscripts have Lord, others Christ.

2. Athanasius has a very uncommon reading at Rev. xxii. 14, which[c] I place at the bottom of the page, with a[d] remark.

VII. About the year[e] 340, Athanasius sent a copy of the Bible to the emperor Constans. He speaks of it in a letter to Constantius, whom he assures, 'that he had written to his brother but once before, and then again upon[f] occasion of sending to him the books, or volumes of the divine scriptures, which by his order he had prepared for him.'

Learned men have been divided about the meaning of the original phrase; but Montfauçon, I think, has[g] clearly shown, that thereby we are to understand the scriptures in several volumes. As a confirmation of this sense, I transcribe[h] a part of his argument at the bottom of the page. Mill[i] concurs with that learned Benedictine.

VIII. The Festal Epistle represents distinctly the several parts of scripture, and the great respect shown them by the author. Nevertheless, some forms of quotation, and evi-

[a] Vid. Ep. i. ad Serap. n. 6. p. 653. D. [b] Reg. i. Κυριε. At seguer. et Felckm. Χριστε. [c] Μακαριοι οἱ πλατυνοντες τας στολας αυτων. κ. λ. Or. iv. contr. Arian. n. 28. p. 639. C.

[d] Upon that peculiar reading my excellent friend Dr. Benson has given me this observation: 'He is ready to think, that πλυνοντες was either written by 'way of contraction, or blindly, so as scarce to be read at all: and that some 'bold or blundering transcriber changed it into πλατυνοντες. Thus the 'reading will agree with that ancient reading, mentioned by Mill, and sup-'ported by MSS. Versions, and Fathers.'

[e] Vid. Benedictin. Vit. S. Athan. p. 33.

[f] Και ὁτε πυκτια των θειων γραφων κελευσαντος αυτε μοι κατασκευασαι, ταυτα ποιησας επεστειλα. Ad Imp. Constant. Apol. n. 4. p. 297. D. E.

[g] ——πυκτια quippe illa των Θεων γραφων nihil esse aliud arbitramur, quam ipsam sacram scripturam, quæ ad faciliorem legentis usum, in plura volumina compingerctur: πυκτια quippe significant volumina. Monitum in Synops. Scripturæ ap. Ath. T. ii. p. 124.

[h] Est itaque πυκτιον liber compactus, sive volumen.—Innumera proferre licet similia loca, queis palam fiat πυκτια των θειων γραφων nihil aliud esse, quam libros scripturarum sacrarum plura in volumina compactos, non vero synopsim sacræ scripturæ: quemadmodum πυκτιον Απολλιναριε est liber Apollinarii, et πυκτιον Ωριγενες φιλωκαλιας est liber Philocaliæ Originis. Animadv. xv. in Vit. et Script. Athan. ap. Coll. Nov. Patr. p. 38, 39.

[i] ——sive Biblia integra, pluribus in lectoris commodum voluminibus compacta. Mill. Proleg. n. 745.

dences of like respect, may be also taken from the other works of Athanasius.

1. In the Festal Epistle are expressions of the highest regard for those books, which were canonical, or the rule of faith; whether of the Old or the New Testament. They are divine scriptures, oracles, fountains of salvation; in them alone the doctrine of religion is taught with absolute certainty, without any danger of being deceived and misled.

2. Quoting Paul, he calls him, the[k] blessed Paul, a man bearing or carrying Christ; and the holy servant of Christ.

3. The sacred[l] and divinely inspired scriptures are sufficient to show us the truth.

4. Censuring the multitude of Arian synods, he says, 'The divine[m] scripture is sufficient above all: but if upon this occasion a synod be needful, let them observe the determinations of the fathers at the council of Nice.'

5. 'Let[n] these be hearkened to, the determination of the gospel, the preaching of the apostles, the testimonies of the prophets.'

6. Having quoted several passages out of the Old Testament, 'But[o] do you also,' says he, 'search the gospels, and what the apostles have written.'

7. 'Let[p] us inquire after the ancient tradition, and doctrine, and faith of the catholic church which the Lord delivered, which the apostles preached, which the fathers kept: for on this the church is founded.'

IX. This testimony of Athanasius to the scriptures is very valuable: it appears from the Festal Epistle, and from his other works, that he received all the books of the New Testament that we do, and no other, as of authority. And,

[k] ———εις ὁν ὁ χριστοφορος ανηρ ὁ μακαριος Παυλος. Contr. Gent. n. 5. p. 5. F.

———λεγοντος τϑ χριστοφορϑ ανδρος. De Incarn. n. 10. p. 56. A.

Ὁ ἁγιος τϑ Χριστϑ διακονος Παυλος. Cont. Gent. n. 26. p. 25. A.

[l] Αυταρκεις μεν γαρ εισιν αἱ ἁγιαι και Θεοπνευστοι γραφαι προς την της αληθειας απαγγελιαν. Cont. Gent. n. 1. T. i. p. 1. B.

[m] Εστι μεν γαρ ἱκανωτερα παντων ἡ Θεια γραφη. Ει δε και συνοδϑ χρεια περι τϑτϑ, εστι τα των πατερων· και τϑτϑ γαρ ϑκ ημελησαν οἱ εν Νικαια συνελθοντες. De Synod. n. 6. p. 720. B.

[n] Προκεισϑω τοινυν—και της ἡμετερας πιστεως ὁ λογος, και ευαγγελιϑ ὁ ὁρος, και των αποστολων το κηρυγμα, και των προφητων ἡ μαρτυρια.—Cont. Apoll. l. ii. n. 4. p. 949. C.

[o] Ερωτησατε δε και ὑμεις περι των εν ευαγγελιοις, και ων εγραψαν οἱ αποστολοι. —Ep. i. ad Serap. n. 6. p. 653. A.

[p] Ιδωμεν δε και—αυτην την εξ αρχης παραδοσιν και διδασκαλιαν και πιστιν της καθολικης εκκλησιας, ἡν ὁ μεν Κυριος εδωκεν, οἱ δε αποστολει εκηρυξαν, και οἱ πατερες εφυλαξαν· εν ταυτῃ γαρ ἡ εκκλησια τεθεμελιωται. Ep. i. ad Serap. n. 28. p. 676. D.

considering the time in which he lived, the acquaintance he had with the several parts of the christian church at that time, and the bishops of it, in Egypt, and its neighbourhood, in Europe, and Asia, and the knowledge he had of ancient christian writings; it must be reckoned of great use to satisfy us, that notwithstanding the frequent quotations of other books, in the writings of divers ancient christians, they did always make a distinction, and did not design to allege as of authority, and a part of the rule of faith, any books, but those which were in the highest sense sacred and divine.

X. It yet remains, that we take notice of[q] the Synopsis of Sacred Scripture, usually joined with the works of Athanasius. By some it has been reckoned genuine; but for the most part, it is supposed by learned men[r] to be falsely ascribed to him. On this side of the question, the late learned[s] editors of Athanasius's works have freely declared themselves; and certainly they must be good judges. One reason of their rejecting it is, that it is not mentioned by any ancient writer, as a work of our Athanasius: which must be reckoned an argument of no small weight, considering how large a work it is. Some ascribe it to another Athanasius, who flourished near the end of the fifth century. Mr. Wetstein[t] expresseth himself very positively: Mill is[u] inclined to the same opinion, without being certain; which I think is best, as there is no very clear evidence who is the author.

1. In this Synopsis, in the first place, is a list or catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament, with their several names, and the first sentence of each book. After that follow particular contents, or an abridgment of every book.

2. It seems to me, that there is some reason to suspect this to be a patched work; not all written by the same author, or at the same time: for after the names of the ca-

[q] Synopsis Scripturæ Sacræ. Ap. Ath. T. ii. p. 126—204.

[r] Nam Synopsis ista non est Athanasii. Petav. Dogm. Th. T. ii. p. 28. —ab hodiernis criticis unanima fere consensu Athanasio abjudicata. Cav. H. L.

See Tillem. sur S. Athanase, note 45. Mem. Ec. T. viii. et sur S. Lucian, note 1. m. note 2. f. T. 5.

[s] Primo namque a nemine antiquorum memoratur opus simile ab Athanasio adornatum. At certe vix potuit ab Hieronymo, aliisque patribus, iis maxime qui scripturas explanârunt, et a Photio ipso, tam insigne opus Athanasianum prætermitti. In Synops. Monit. p. 124, 125. Vid. et Monfauç. Prælim. ad Nov. Coll. PP. T. ii. p. 38, 39.

[t] Athanasius scripsit Synopsin sacræ scripturæ, operibus S. Athanasii episcopi insertam. Proleg. ad N. T. edit. accurat.

[u] Vid. Mill. Proleg. n. 993, 994.

nonical books of the Old Testament, those not in the canon are said[v] to be the Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach, Esther, Judith, and Tobit. But after having given the contents of the books of each Testament, he mentions[w] four books of Maccabees, and other writings, as contradicted, or apocryphal: but if one and the same person had been the author of the whole, why did he not mention these at first in the proper place? I omit some other things, that might be mentioned in favour of the same supposition.

3. This synopsis has a great agreement with the Festal Epistle: the canonical and uncanonical books of the Old Testament, in the first instance, (as before observed,) are much the same in both. And the canonical books of the New Testament are mentioned in the same order.

4. Mill thinks, it[x] may be inferred from this Synopsis, that at this time by the christians of Alexandria the whole New Testament was divided into eight books: the first four were the four gospels, each being reckoned a distinct book; the fifth was the Acts, the sixth the seven catholic epistles, the seventh the fourteen epistles of Paul, the eighth the Revelation.

5. To be now a little more particular, for the sake of those who may expect it.

(1.) The author begins his Synopsis, saying, 'All[y] the scripture of us christians is divinely inspired; and it contains not an indefinite, but rather a determined number of canonical books: those of the Old Testament are these.' Having mentioned their names, and put down the first sentence in each book, he says: 'The[z] canonical books of the Old Testament, altogether, are 22, according to the number of the Hebrew letters: but beside these, there are other books of the same Old Testament, not canonical, but read only [and that especially] by, or to, catechumens.' The books here mentioned are the Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach, Esther, Judith, Tobit. But presently after he adds, 'Some[a] say, that Esther is reckoned canonical by the Hebrews, as also Ruth, being joined with the book of the Judges. But Esther is a distinct book. However, in

[v] P. 128, 129. [w] P. 201. D. E. [x] Prolegm. n. 995.

[y] *Πασα γραφη ἡμων Χριϛιανων θεοπνευϛος εϛιν· ȣκ αοριϛα δε, αλλα μαλλον ωρισμενα κεκανονισμενα εχει τα βιβλια. Και εϛι της μεν παλαιας διαθηκης ταυτα.* Synops. p. 126. A.

[z] *Ὁμȣ τα κανονιζομενα της παλαιας διαθηκης, βιβλια εικοσι δυο, ισαριθμα τοις γραμμασι των Ἑβραιων.—Εκτος δε τȣτων εισι παλιν ἑτερα βιβλια της αυτης διαθηκης, ȣ κανονιζομενα μεν, αναγινωσκομενα δε μονον τοις κατηχȣμενοις ταυτα.* Ib. p. 128. D. E. [a] P. 129. A.

this way likewise they compute the full number of canonical books to be two-and-twenty.'

(2.) 'These[b] then are the canonical and the uncanonical books of the Old Testament.'

(3.) Then he proceeds: 'The[c] determined and canonical books of the New Testament are these:' where he mentions all the books of the New Testament in the same order as in the Festal Epistle, with the first sentence in each book. 'The last[d] is the Revelation of John the Divine, which has been received with the rest by the ancient holy fathers having the Spirit.'

(4.) After which he gives somewhat largely the contents of the twenty-two canonical books of the Old Testament, ending with Daniel, from p. 131 to p. 168. Then he says, 'but it[e] is proper to observe the others also, which are not canonical, but only read.' Here he abridges Esther, Judith, Tobit, the Wisdom of Solomon, and the wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach; from p. 168 to p. 177.

(5.) Then he proceeds to the New Testament, and gives particularly the contents of each book, from p. 177 to 201. The first book with him is the gospel according to Matthew, the second book the gospel according to Mark, the third according to Luke, the fourth according to John: 'the fifth[f] book is the Acts of the Apostles, written,' he says, 'by Luke, who travelled with other apostles, but more especially with Paul, and wrote what he knew with certainty.' The sixth book contains the seven catholic epistles, written by several; the seventh book contains Paul's fourteen epistles; the eighth is[g] the Revelation, seen by John the evangelist and divine in Patmos.

(6.) After which he adds: 'There[h] are also divers other books, both of the Old and the New Testament, some contradicted, others apocryphal. The contradicted books of the Old Testament, spoken of before, are the Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, and Esther, and Judith, and Tobit: with which also are reckoned four

[b] Και τα μεν της παλαιας διαθηκης βιβλια, τα τε κανονιζομενα και μη κανονιζομενα. p. 129. B. [c] Τα δε της καινης διαθηκης παλιν ωρισμενα τε και κεκανονισμενα βιβλια ταυτα. p. 129. B.

[d] Επι τουτοις εστι και Αποκαλυψις Ιωαννου του Θεολογου, δεχθεισα ως εκεινου, και εγκριθεισα υπο παλαι αγιων και πνευματοφορων πατερων. p. 131. A.

[e] Ρητεον δε ομοιως και περι των ετερων της παλαιας βιβλων, των μη κανονιζομενων μεν, αναγινωσκομενων δε, ως προδεδηλωται. p. 168. C.

[f] Ο δε διηγουμενος ταυτας εστι Λουκας ο ευαγγελιστης, ο και τουτο το βιβλιον συγγραφων, συναπεδημει γαρ τοις αλλοις αποστολοις, και μαλιστα τω Παυλω, και ειδως ακριβως γραφει. p. 187. A.

[g] P. 200. A. [h] P. 201, 202.

books of the Maccabees, the history of the Ptolemies, the Psalms, and the Ode of Solomon and Susanna: these are the contradicted books of the Old Testament. The apocryphal books of the Old Testament are these; Enoch, the Patriarchs, the Prayer of Joseph, the Testament of Moses, the Assumption of Moses, Abraham, Eldad, and Modad, and the pseudepigraphal books of Elias the Prophet, Zephaniah the Prophet, Zachariah the father of John, Baruch, Ambacum, Ezekiel and Daniel. The contradicted [or apocryphal] of the New Testament are these, The Travels [or Circuits] of Peter, the Travels of John, the Travels of Thomas, the Gospel according to Thomas, the Doctrine of the Apostles, the Clementines, out of which those things have been selected, which are true and divinely inspired. And these are read. All[i] these are thus set down for the instruction of men; but they are perversely written, and spurious, and to be rejected. And none of these are to be received with the rest, or reckoned useful, especially the apocryphal books of the New Testament: in particular, no other writings, called gospels, are to be received, beside those four which have been delivered to us; even the gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John.'

After all this is added[k] a brief account of the several Greek versions of the Old Testament, as that of the Seventy, Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and some other, which were later.

All these things are referred to the reader's consideration. It is very fit to observe in what class the Doctrine of the Apostles is placed by this writer, and with what books it is numbered. I have spoken of it distinctly in the chapter of[l] Eusebius. The Clementines likewise have been already described[m] sufficiently.

(7.) In this work, particularly in the abridgment of the books of the New Testament, are several observations, which will not be approved by all. The author says, the[n] epistle to the Galatians was written by Paul at Rome; that[o] to the Ephesians likewise at Rome, before the apostle was personally acquainted with those christians. The same is said more than once by[p] Euthalius, contemporary with that

[i] *Ταυτα παντα εξετεθησαν μεν, ὁσον προς ειδησιν· παραγεγραμμενα δε εισι παντως, και νοθα, και αποβλητα. Και ȣδεν τȣτων, των αποκρυφων μαλιϛα, εγκριτον, η επωφελες, εξαιρετως της νεας διαθηκης—τα τε αλλα, και αυτα καλȣμενα εν αυτοις ευαγγελια, εκτος των παραδοθεντων ἡμιν τεσσαρων τȣτων.* κ. λ. p. 202. B.

[k] P. 203, 204.

[l] P. 129, 130.

[m] See Vol. ii. ch. xxix. num. v. vi.

[n] P. 194. D.

[o] Ib. F.

[p] Vid. Zacagn. Monum. Vet. p. 524, 633, 634.

Athanasius, whom some suppose author of the Synopsis. This author likewise, as many others do, says, that[q] St. Peter's epistles were written to Jewish Christians.

(8.) I add here some other things, which are in the latter part of this Synopsis. It is there said, 'that[r] Matthew wrote his gospel in Hebrew, and published it at Jerusalem; and that it was translated [into Greek] by James the Lord's brother according to the flesh, who was ordained by the holy apostle, the first bishop of Jerusalem: that the gospel according to Mark was dictated by Peter at Rome, and published by the blessed apostle Mark, and preached by him in Alexandria and Egypt, and Pentapolis, and Libya: that the gospel of Luke was dictated by the apostle Paul, and written and published by the blessed apostle and physician Luke: as also[s] in like manner the apostle Peter dictated the Acts of the Apostles, but Luke the evangelist wrote them: that[t] gospel according to John was dictated by the holy and beloved apostle John, when he was an exile in the island of Patmos, and was published by him at Ephesus, under the care of Gaius his host, and of the other apostles.'

But why were not these things mentioned before? They might have been as well taken notice of at the beginning of the abridgments of the several books here spoken of. Moreover, some things here said seem contrary to what was before observed: every one must perceive, that what is here said of the Acts of the Apostles, is quite different from what was said at the beginning of the contents or abridgment of that book.

(9.) Here likewise, I mean in the latter part of this Synopsis, are[u] the symbols of the four evangelists. Matthew's gospel is supposed to be signified by the face of a man, Mark's by that of a calf, Luke's by that of a lion, and John's by that of an eagle.

(10.) Thus I have now given a large account of this Synopsis, much fuller than at first I intended. It is a long and laboured work, for which the author is entitled to commendation, though there are in it some inaccuracies. This Synopsis might be compared with the Stichometry of Nice-

[q] P. 188. F.

[r] P. 202.

[s] ——— Ὡσπερ και τας Πραξεις των Αποστολων ὑπηγορευσε μεν Πετρος ὁ αποστολος, συναγραψατο δε ὁ αυτος Λεκας. Ib. p. 202. E.

[t] Το δε κατα Ιωαννην ευαγγελιον ὑπηγορευθη τε ὑπ' αυτε τε ἁγιε Ιωαννε τε αποστολε και ηγαπημενε, οντος εξοριστε εν Πατμῳ τῃ νησῳ, και ὑπο τε εξεδοθη εν Εφεσῳ, δια Γαιε τε αγαπητε και ξενοδοχε των αποστολων, περι ε και Παυλος Ρωμαιοις γραφων φησι· Ασπαζεται υμας. κ. λ. Ibid. p. 202. F.

[u] P. 202. C.

phorus, published by [v] several, and with the observations of [w] Euthalius upon the books of the New Testament, of which I shall speak more distinctly hereafter.

(11.) Upon the whole, I think, this writer, whoever he is, probably of Alexandria, or near it, received no books of the Old Testament, as of authority, beside those of the Jewish canon. And for the New Testament, he received all those which we now receive, and no other.

(12.) Finally, it deserves our particular notice, that this writer, as well as other ancient christian writers in general, professeth the highest respect for the books of sacred scripture. For having put down the catalogue of the canonical and uncanonical books of the Old Testament, and then the canonical books of the New, he adds: 'So [x] many, even these, are the canonical books of the New Testament, and as it were the first-fruits of our faith, or anchors and fastenings: having been written and published by the apostles of Christ, who conversed with him, and were taught by him. But innumerable other books have been since composed by great, and wise, and holy men, by way of testimony to them, and for explaining and illustrating them, of which I need not now speak particularly.'

CHAP. LXXVI.

A DIALOGUE AGAINST THE MARCIONITES.

1. I THINK it not best to overlook entirely a book, entitled, Of the right Faith in God, or a Dialogue against the Marcionites, in five parts or sections, ascribed to Adamantius, by some supposed to be the same as Origen. I formerly took some notice of it in the general account of [a]

[v] Vid. Coteler. ap. Patr. Apost. et Montfauç. Bib. Coislin. p. 204.

[w] Ap. Zacagn. Monum. Vet. p. 401, &c.

[x] *Τοσαυτα και τα της καινης διαθηκης βιβλια, τα γε κανονιζομενα, και της πιστεως ἡμων οἱονει ακροθινια, η αγκυραι και ερεισματα· ὡς παρ' αυτων των αποστολων τε Χριστε, των και συγγενομενων εκεινῳ, και ὑπ' αυτε μαθητευθεντων, γραφεντα και εκτεθεντα· επειτοιγε υστερον κατα την εκεινων ακολεθιαν και συμφωνιαν, αλλα μυρια και αναριθμητα βιβλια εξεπονηθησαν υπο των κατα καιρες μεγαλων και σοφωτατων θεοφορων πατερων, εις μαρτυριαν των προλαβοντων, και διαφωτισιν. κ. λ.* p. 131. A. B.

[a] See Vol. ii. ch. xxxviii. num. i.

Origen's works, and may have occasion to quote it often hereafter in the history of the heretics of the two first centuries. It is fit therefore, that we should observe briefly the author's testimony to the books of the New Testament. But he is not the famous Origen. It appears manifest, from expressions in the first section of the work, that[b] it was written in the time of a christian emperor. And from the confession made near the beginning of the same[c] section by Adamantius the orthodox disputant, it is probable, that it was not composed until after the council of Nice: accordingly, it is the general opinion of learned men, that[d] the author of this Dialogue is different from Origen, and that it may be placed about the year 330.

2. The author owns[e] four gospels, and no more, written by John, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, disciples of Christ.

3. He calls them all disciples of Christ: for he says, that[f] Mark and Luke were of the number of the seventy or seventy-two disciples.

4. Though[g] there are four evangelists, he says, there is but one gospel.

5. Adamantius, the orthodox disputant, receives also[h] the Acts of the Apostles.

6. In this work the four gospels are often quoted, and most of St. Paul's epistles, particularly the[i] epistle to the Ephesians, by that title, and the epistle to[k] the Hebrews.

7. The second epistle of Peter is here[l] quoted.

8. The words of 2 Pet. ii. 19, "Of whom a man is over-

[b] Vid. Dialog. p. 30. Basil. 1674. p. 816. Bened.

[c] P. 3. Bas. p. 804. Bened.

[d] Vid. Huet. Origenian. l. iii. Sect. 1. n. v. et in App. n. ix. Tillem. Origine, Art. 36. et note 13. Mem. T. iii. et Benedictinor.—Monitum ap. Origen. Opp. T. i. p. 800. Beausob. Hist. Manich. T. ii. p. 84, 85.

[e] Οἱ μαθηται τϐ Χριϛϐ γεγραφηκασιν, Ιωαννης και Ματθαιος, και Μαρκος, και Λϐκας. Dialog. sect. i. p. 7. Bas. 806. B. Bened.

[f] Πρωτος απεϛειλε ιβ' και μετα ταυτα οβ' ευαγγελισασθαι. Μαρκος ϐν και Λϐκας εκ των οβ' οντες Παυλῳ τῳ αποϛολῳ ευηγγελισαντο. Ib. p. 8. Bas. 806. D. Bened.

[g] Ευαγγελιϛαι μεν τεσσαρες, ευαγγελιον δε ἑν. Ib. p. 9. Bas. 807. Bened.

[h] Προϛαξον αναγνωσθηναι τας των αποϛολων Πραξεις, και τας επιϛολας. κ. λ. Ib. Sect. ii. p. 58. Basn. 828. D. Bened.

[i] Εφεσιοις δε επιϛελλων, φησι· Μνημονευοντες, ὁτι ποτε υμεις τα εθνη. κ. λ. [Eph. ii. 11—13.] Sect. v. p. 148. Bas. 867. c. Bened. Εφεσιοις δε επιϛελλων, ὁ αποϛολος φησιν. Ib. p. 152. Basn. 869. A. Ben.

[k] ——κατα τον αποϛολον. Ὁ γαρ νομος σκια των μελλοντων αγαθων. [Heb. x. 1.] Sect. iv. p. 114. Bas. 853. A. Ben. Ὁ μεν επρισθη σαρκι, ὁ δε ελιθασθη, και οἱ λοιποι εν φονῳ μαχαιρας απεθανον. Sect. iv. p. 125. Bas. 857. Ben.

[l] Πη δε υπο Πετρϐ τϐ αποϛολϐ γεγραμμενον κατα την σοφιαν, φησιν, την δεδομενην τῳ αδελφῳ μϐ Παυλῳ. Sect. ii. p. 58. Bas. 828. D. Bened. Vid. 2 Pet. iii. 15.

come, of the same is he brought in bondage," are quoted by[m] Adamantius, not as the words of Peter, but as a saying or maxim of some wise man, not a christian.

CHAP. LXXVII.

JUVENCUS.

1. AS Jerom has an article[a] for Juvencus in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, I shall transcribe it at the bottom of the page. His name at length was C. Vettius Aquilinus Juvencus: he was a native of Spain, and a man of a good family. Jerom mentions a work in four books containing the history of our Lord, as recorded in the four gospels, and another work: the former is still extant. Jerom says, he lived in the time of Constantine: which also appears from the conclusion of the fore-mentioned poem. Juvencus is in[b] Trithemius; who takes particular notice of the two works, mentioned by Jerom; and supposeth, that Juvencus had written others, though he had not seen them.

2. Jerom seems to have been much pleased with Juvencus; for he has made honourable mention of him in his letter to[c] Magnus, and placed him in his[d] Chronicle, and quoted him in his Commentary upon[e] St. Matthew. That quotation relates to the presents made by the wise men to our Saviour at his nativity, and the design of them: and

[m] Πεισει δε σε και ὁ εξωθεν λογος· ὁτι ἑκαστος ᾧ ἡττηται, τουτῳ και δεδουλωται. Sect. i. p. 41. Bas. 821. A. Bened.

[a] Juvencus, nobilissimi generis, Hispanus, presbyter, quatuor Evangelia hexametris versibus pene ad verbum transferens, quatuor libros composuit, et nonnulla eodem metro ad sacramentorum ordinem pertinentia. Floruit sub Constantino Principe. De V. I. cap. 84.

[b] De Script. Ecc. c. 62.

[c] Juvencus presbyter sub Constantino historiam Domini Salvatoris versibus explicavit: nec pertimuit Evangelii majestatem sub metri leges mittere. Ad Magn. ep. 83. T. iv. p. 657.

[d] Juvencus presbyter, natione Hispanus, Evangelia heroïcis versibus explicat. Chr. p. 181.

[e] Pulcherrime munerum sacramenta Juvencus presbyter uno versiculo comprehendit: *Thus, aurum, myrrham, regique, hominique, Deoque Dona ferunt.* Ad Matt. cap. ii. p. 9. Conf. Juvenci Historiam Evangel. p. 57. F. ap Bib. Patr. Max. T. iv.

may deserve to be compared with the verses of Sedulius,[f] another Latin poet, in the fifth century, upon the same subject.

3. Juvencus is, certainly, a good witness to our four gospels, and the things contained in them; but I do not think it needful to make many extracts. I only observe that Juvencus seems to understand Matt. xxviii. 17, as if the evangelist said, some[g] of Christ's disciples "still doubted;" but[h] Grotius, and some[i] others, think he means only, that "some had doubted before," but were now all satisfied. Theophylact[k] well deserves to be consulted upon this text.

CHAP. LXXVIII.

JULIUS FIRMICUS MATERNUS.

1. JULIUS FIRMICUS MATERNUS, not mentioned by Jerom, or any other writers that we know of, wrote a book against heathenism, still extant, inscribed to the emperors Constantius and Constans. Cave says very well, that[a] his book of the Error of profane Religions was written some time between the years 340 and 350; I therefore place him at the year 345. Julius was[b] a convert from heathenism;

[f] Aurea nascenti fuderunt munera Regi,
Thura dedere Deo, myrrham tribuere sepulchro.
C. Sedulii Carm. Pasch. l. ii. p. 30. ver. 95, 96. edit. Cellar. 1704.

[g] Jamque Galilæos conscenderat anxia montes
Mandatis Christi concursans turba suorum.
Cernitur ecce suis proles veneranda tonantis.
Illum procumbens sancte chorus omnis adorat.
Nec tamen in cunctis pariter fundata manebat
Pectoribus virtus: nam pars dubitabat eorum.
Juvenc. Hist. Ev. l. iv. Ib. p. 77. B.

[h] Vid. Grot. ad Matt. xxviii. 17. [i] See Dr. Benson's Reasonableness of the Christian Religion, p. 53, 54. [k] In evangelia, p. 183.

[a] De tempore, quo scriptus sit hic liber, nihil certi statui potest: nisi quod intra annum 340, post mortem Constantini junioris, et annum 350, quo interfectus est Constans, scriptus sit. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 204. Et Conf. Pagi in Baron. Ann. 337. n. 12. et Basn. Ann. 350. n. 9.

[b] At ego nunc sacrarum lectionum institutione formatus, perditos homines religioso sermone convenio. De Error. Profan. Religionum. Cap. 7. p. 168. E. ap. Bib. PP. Max. T. iv. et p. 424. ex edit. Jacob. Gronov. Lugd. Batav. 1709.

but it does not appear, that he had any ecclesiastical character. It is more probable, that he was a layman, and a person of quality.

2. He speaks[c] of the power which christians had over dæmons, or the heathen deities.

3. He speaks of the great progress which the christian religion had made, as[d] obtaining in every part of the world, and superior to Gentilism in many places.

4. He applauds the emperors[e] for having destroyed the heathen temples, and ascribes their success in war to that conduct.

5. In divers parts of his book he earnestly excites the emperors to restrain the[f] idolatrous rites of heathenism by their edicts, to demolish their temples, deprive[g] them of their ornaments. For this he makes use of many arguments from the Old[h] and the New Testament: but I cannot say that I admire his temper, or perceive the solidity of his reasonings, upon this occasion.

6. I proceed to his testimony to the scriptures, which is very considerable; but it ought not to be expected, that I should be very particular in so late a writer.

7. He speaks[i] of the Old and the New Testament.

[c] Sic apud nos deos vestros, cum hominibus nocere cœperint, religiosi sermonis flagella castigant. Sic in corpore hominum constituti dii vestri verbo Dei spiritualium flammarum igne torquentur, et qui apud vos quasi dii coluntur, apud nos religiosæ fidei medelâ Christi gratiâ humano subjacentes imperio, et tormenta repugnantes sustinent, et victi pœnis ultricibus subjugantur. Cap. 14. p. 170. B. Bib. p. 433. Gr.

[d] Quis locus in terrâ est, quem non Christi possederit nomen? quâ sol oritur, quâ occidit, quâ erigitur septentrio, quâ vergit auster, totum venerandi numinis majestas implevit. Et licet adhuc in quibusdam regionibus idololatriæ morientia palpitent membra, tamen in eo res est, ut e christianis omnibus terris pestiferum hoc malum funditus amputetur. Cap. 21. p. 172. H. Bib. PP. 445. Gron.

Modicum tantum superest, ut legibus vestris prostratus Diabolus jaceat, ut extinctæ idololatriæ pereat funesta contagio. Cap. 21. p. 173. A. Bib. p. 446. Gr.

[e] Post excidia templorum in majus Dei estis virtute provecti. Vicistis hostes, propagâstis imperium, &c. Cap. 29. p. 176. F. Bib. p. 463. Gronov.

[f] Amputanda sunt hæc, sacratissimi imperatores, penitus atque delenda, et severissimis edictorum vestrorum legibus corrigenda, ne diutius Romanum orbem præsumtionis istius error funestus commaculet, ne pestiferæ consuetudinis convalescat improbitas. Cap. 17. Bib. PP. p. 171. A. Gronov. p. 437.

[g] Tollite, tollite, securi, sacritissimi imperatores, ornamenta templorum. Deos istos aut monetæ ignis, aut metallorum coquat flamma. Donaria universa ad utilitatem vestram, dominiumque transferte. Cap. 29. p. 176. F. Bib. p. 463. Gron.

[h] Sed et vobis, sacratissimi imperatores, ad vindicandum et puniendum hoc malum necessitas imperatur; et hoc vobis Dei summi lege præcipitur, ut severitas vestra idololatriæ facinus omnifariam persequatur.—In Deuteronomio [cap. xiii.] lex præscripta est. Cap. 30. p. 179. E. Bib. PP. 467. Gr.

[i] Lapis hic——Christus aut fidei fundamenta sustentat, aut in angulo

8. He has quoted most books of the Old Testament, and many of them by name.

9. He has many references to the four gospels.

10. He quotes the gospels of[k] Luke and[l] John by name, and many passages from this last.

11. He received[m] the book of the Revelation, which he quotes often, and largely, and with great respect.

12. He shows great[n] respect for the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament in general.

CHAP. LXXIX.

CYRIL OF JERUSALEM.

I. *His time and works.* II. *A catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament.* III. *A general remark.* IV. *Observations relating to the gospels.* V. *Of the Acts of the Apostles.* VI. *St. Paul's epistles.* VII. *The catholic epistles.* VIII. *The Revelation.* IX. *General divisions, and respect for the sacred scriptures.*

ST. JEROM has a short chapter concerning Cyril, which I put at the bottom of the[a] page. I transcribe only what relates to his writings: 'His Catechetical Discourses, which he composed in his youth, are still extant.'

positus, duorum parietum membra æquatâ moderatione conjungit, id est, veteris et novi Testamenti in usum colligit gentes. Cap. 21. p. 172. H. Bib. 446. Gr.

[k] Invenimus enim in evangelio Lucæ: 'Sint lumbi vestri præcincti,' &c. Cap. 20. p. 172. D. Bib. 443. Gr.

[l] Dicit enim in evangelio Johannis. Cap. 19. p. 171. H. Bib. p. 441. Gr.

[m] Secretiora pandantur arcana. In Apocalypsi, quis sit sponsus, inveniemus. Cap. 20. p. 172. C. Bib. 443. Gr.

Hæc eadem nobis sanctâ revelatione monstrantur. Invenimus enim in Apocalypsi ita esse præscriptum. Cap. 25. p. 174. E. Bib. PP. p. 453. Gron.

[n] In hac probatione arcana prophetarum veneranda pandantur. Adsistat nobis sanctorum oraculorum fides. Joël Divino Spiritu monente sic dicit. Cap. 20. p. 172. C. Bib. p. 442. Gron.

Ait enim de hoc Esaïas, innuente Spiritu Sancto. Cap. 21. p. 172. F. Bib. 444. Gr.

Hoc a venerando prophetâ sanctâ voce præcanitur, et ex ore prophetico vox jubentis auditur. Ait enim Spiritus Sanctus. Cap. 25. p. 174. D. Bib. 452. Gr.

[a] Cyrillus Hierosolymæ episcopus, sæpe pulsus ecclesiâ, et receptus, ad extremum sub Theodosio principe octo annis inconcussum episcopatum tenuit. Exstant ejus κατηχησεις, quas in adolescentiâ composuit. De V. I. cap. 112.

It is computed, that[b] Cyril was born about the year 315, that he was ordained presbyter in 344 or 345, bishop in 350, or 351, and died in 386. For farther particulars concerning his history, and his works, I refer to other[c] authors. The Catechetical Discourses mentioned by Jerom, and which alone I shall have occasion to quote, were composed in 347 or 348, while he was yet presbyter only.

II. I begin with citing that discourse, which contains a[d] catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament.

'These[e] things,' says he, 'we are taught by the divinely 'inspired scriptures of the Old and New Testament. For 'there is one God of both Testaments, who in the Old Testa- 'ment foretold the Christ, who has been manifested in the 'New.——Read the divine scriptures, the two-and-twenty 'books of the Old Testament, which were translated by 'the seventy-two interpreters.—Read[f] those two-and-twenty 'books, and have nothing to do with apocryphal writings. 'These, and these only, do you carefully meditate upon, 'which we securely or openly read in the church. The 'apostles and ancient bishops, governors of the church, 'who have delivered these to us, were wiser and holier than 'thou. As a son of the church therefore, transgress not 'those bounds: meditate upon the books of the Old Testa- 'ment, which, as has been already said, are two-and-twenty: 'and if you are desirous to learn, fix them in your memory, 'as I enumerate them one by one. Of the law the first are 'the five books of Moses: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Num- 'bers, Deuteronomy. Then Jesus the son of Nun, and the 'book of the Judges, with Ruth, making the seventh. Then 'follow the historical books, the first and second of the 'kingdoms, which according to the Hebrews are one book: 'in like manner the third and fourth book. And the first 'and second of the Chronicles, also reckoned by them one 'book. The first and second of Esdras too are computed 'one book. The twelfth is Esther. These are the historical 'books. The books written in verse are five: Job, and

[b] Vid. Ant. Aug. Toutée Benedictin. Diss. i. De Vit. Cyril. Hieros.

[c] Vid. Tout. ut supr. Cyril. ex edit. Tho. Milles Oxon. Cav. Hist. Lit. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. viii.

[d] Cat. iv. n. 33—36. Ed. Bened. n. 20—22. edit. Milles.

[e] *Ταυτα δε διδασκομεθα ἡμας αἱ θεοπνευστοι γραφαι της παλαιας τε και καινης διαθηκης.* Cat. iv. n. 33. in. Bened.

[f] *Τουτων τας εικοσι δυο βιβλους αναγινωσκε. Προς δε τα αποκρυφα μηδεν εχε κοινον· ταυτας μονας μελετα σπουδαιως, ἁς εν και εκκλησιᾳ μετα παῤῥησιας αναγινωσκομεν. Πολυ σου φρονιμωτεροι, και ευλαβεστεροι ησαν οἱ αποστολοι, και οἱ αρχαιοι επισκοποι, οἱ της εκκλησιας προεσται, οἱ ταυτας παραδοντες· συ ων, τεκνον της εκκλησιας ων, μη παραχαραττε τους θεσμους. κ. λ.* Ib. c. 35.

'the book of Psalms, and the Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes, 'and the Song of Songs, the seventeenth book. After 'these are five prophetical books, the twelve prophets, 'being one book, of Isaiah one, of Jeremiah one, with Ba- 'ruch, and the Lamentations, and the Epistle: then Eze- 'kiel, and the book of Daniel, the twenty-second book of 'the Old Testament.

'The[g] books of the New Testament are the four gospels 'only; the rest are falsely inscribed, and hurtful. Receive 'likewise the Acts of the twelve apostles: as also the seven 'catholic epistles of James and Peter, John and Jude: and 'the seal of all, and the last [work] of the disciples, the 'fourteen epistles of Paul. As for any beside these, let them 'be all held[h] in the second, or no rank. And whatever 'books are not read in the churches, those neither do thou 'read in private, as thou hast heard.'

III. This is the catalogue of the sacred books of scripture, publicly read at that time in the church of Jerusalem, and the only books from whence doctrines were to be proved. I leave it to my readers to make several remarks which I omit: but it must hence appear evident to all, that no books written after the times of the apostles, or by any men who were not either apostles, or companions of apostles, were esteemed by the church of Jerusalem a part of the New Testament, or of the rule of faith.

IV. I now add some other observations concerning the latter part of the Catalogue, and the gospels in particular.

1. One thing observable is the order in which the books of the New Testament are placed: the gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the catholic epistles, and the epistles of St. Paul. In like manner in another place: 'There[i] yet remain many other texts, that might be alleged from the Acts of the Apostles, the catholic epistles, and the fourteen epistles of Paul.'

[g] *Της δε καινης διαθηκης, τα τεσσαρα μονα ευαγγελια· τα δε λοιπα ψευδεπιγραφα και βλαβερα τυγχανει—Δεχθε δε και τας Πραξεις των δωδεκα αποστολων· προς τουτοις δε και τας ἑπτα Ιακωβου, και Πετρου, Ιωαννου, και Ιουδα, καθολικας επιστολας· επισφραγισμα δε των παντων, και μαθητων το τελευταιον, τας Παυλου δεκατεσσαρας επιστολας. Τα δε λοιπα παντα εξω κειισθω εν δευτερῳ. Και ὁσα μεν εν εκκλησιαις μη αναγινωσκεται, ταυτα μηδε κατα σαυτον αναγινωσκε, καθως ηκουσας.* Ib. n. 36. p. 69.

[h] Reliqua vero omnia extra in secundo [ac nullo] ordine habeantur. Versio Benedictin.

[i] *Λειπει γαρ ἡμιν πολλα δε απο της Πραξεως Αποστολων———λειπει δε πολλα και εκ των καθολικων, και εκ των Παυλου δεκατεσσαρων επιστολων.* Cat. 17. n. 20. p. 274.

2. Cyril says, that[k] St. Matthew wrote his gospel in Hebrew.

3. He had in his copies the[l] first chapter of St. Matthew's gospel.

4. He says, that[m] John the Baptist connected the Old and New Testament.

5. Moreover he was of opinion, that[n] baptism had its original from the same John.

6. There was no doxology at the end of the Lord's Prayer in Cyril's copies. The prayer in him concludes after this manner: "And[o] lead us not into temptation, O Lord, but deliver us from evil. Amen."

7. He quotes[p] St. Mark's gospel expressly.

8. Quoting St. John's gospel, he gives him the title of[q] the divine.

V. The book of the Acts of the Apostles[r] is often and largely quoted by Cyril in his Catechetical Discourses, and as divine scripture.

He is very clear, that[s] the epistle of the council of Jerusalem, recorded in Acts xv. was sent to all Gentile christians in general.

VI. Cyril, as we have seen, received fourteen epistles of the apostle Paul: he mentions[t] that number of Paul's epistles several times.

VII. St. James's epistle, in his enumeration, is the first of the twelve catholic epistles. If by the author of that epistle he meant the brother of our Lord, and the first bishop of Jerusalem, he did not reckon him to be an apostle, as ap-

[k] Ματθαιος ὁ γραψας το ευαγγελιον, Ἑβραϊδι γλωσσῃ τϐτο εγραψε. Cat. 14. p. 212. D.

[l] Εαν τοινυν ακϐσῃς τϐ ευαγγελιϐ, λεγοντος, Βιβλος γενεσεως Ιησϐ Χριστϐ υἱϐ Δαβιδ. Cat. 11. n. 5. in.

[m] Ιωαννης ὁ βαπτιστης, ὁ μεγιστος μεν εν προφηταις, αρχηγος δε της καινης διαθηκης, και τροπον τινα συναπτων αμφοτερας. Cat. 10. n. 19. p. 146. B.

[n] Παλαιας το τελος, και καινης διαθηκης αρχη το βαπτισμα. Ιωαννης γαρ ην αρχηγος. Cat. 3. n. 6.

[o] Vid. Cat. 23. cap. 17, 18.

[p] Ὁ γαρ εν τριτῃ ὡρᾳ σταυρωθεις, ὡς Μαρκος φησι. Cat. 17. n. 19.

[q] Οἱ των αγιων ευαγγελιων ακροαται Ιωαννῃ τῳ Θεολογῳ πεισθωμεν. Cat. 12. c. 1. in.

[r] Και μοι λαβε των λογων αποδειξιν απο της Θειας γραφης, Κορνηλιος ην ανηρ δικαιος——Cat. 3. n. iv. p. 41. C. Σιμων, ὁ εν ταις Πραξεσι των Αποστολων.—Cat. 6. n. 14. in.

[s] Και γραφεσιν οἱ αποστολοι και πρεσβυτεροι πασι τοις εθνεσιν καθολικην επιστολην. Cat. 4. cap. 28. Vid. et Cat. 17. n. xxix.

[t] Τεθαυμακα αληθως της τϐ ἁγιϐ πνευματος οικονομιαν· πως τας μεν των αλλων επιστολας εις ολιγον περιεγραψεν αριθμον· Παυλῳ δε τῳ προτερον διωκτῃ γραψαι δεκατεσσαρας επιστολας εχαρισατο. Cat. 10, n. 18.

Επιλειψει γαρ με διηγεμενον ὁ χρονος, ει εβϐλομην λεγειν τα λειποντα περι ἁγιϐ πνευματος εκ τϐ Παυλϐ τεσσαρες και δεκα επιστολων. Cat. 17. n. 34. Vid. ibid. n. 20.

pears by several[u] places. Toutée particularly acknowledges as much in a[v] note.

VIII. The book of the Revelation seems not to have been received by Cyril, or the church of Jerusalem, in his time. It is not mentioned in the catalogue above transcribed: it may be supposed to be there excluded by him, and ranked among apocryphal scriptures, not expressly named. And there is another passage which countenanceth that supposition: for, speaking of Antichrist, he quotes[w] Daniel, the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew, the second chapter of the second epistle to the Thessalonians: but declines all notice of the Revelation, and perhaps reflects upon it as[x] apocryphal. I therefore transcribe below a note[y] of the Benedictine editor upon this place.

IX. 1. I put down an instance of general divisions, where at once are mentioned[z] Old and New Testament, Law and Prophets, Gospel and Apostles: where likewise it is said, that all those scriptures were dictated by one and the same Spirit.

2. I add other passages, expressing the peculiar regard which was shown to the same scriptures.

3. Why[a] do you curiously inquire after what the Holy Spirit has not written in the scripture?

[u] ——— *εχεις δωδεκα μαρτυρας. Ει τοις δωδεκα απιστησι, τας πεντακοσιας δεχεσθωσαν. Επειτα ωφθη Ιακωβῳ τῳ ἑαυτε μεν αδελφῳ επισκοπῳ δε πρωτῳ της παροικιας ταυτης.* Cat. 14. n. 21. p. 216. A.

——— *αλλ' ηδη και τοις αποστολοις, και Ιακωβῳ, τῳ ταυτης της εκκλησιας επισκοπῳ, σπαδη γεγονε.* Cat. 4. n. 28. p. 66. A.

[v] Notandum, sive in hoc loco, in quo sancti Jacobi auctoritatem et dignitatem maxime extollit Cyrillus, sive Cat. 4. n. 28. solam illi episcopalem dignitatem tribui, nusquam apostolicam. Imo eum utrobique ab apostolis secernere videtur. Toutée, not. 1. p. 216.

[w] Vid. Cat. 12, 13, et seq.

[x] *Βασιλευσει δε ὁ αντιχριστος τρια και ἡμισυ ετη μονα. Ουκ εξ αποκρυφων λεγομεν, αλλ' εκ τε Δανιηλ. Φησι γαρ· Και δοθησεται εν χειρι αυτε ἑως καιρε, και καιρων, και ἡμισυ καιρε.* Cat. 15. n. 16. p. 232. Vid. Dan. vii. 25. Et conf. Apocal. xii. 14.

[y] Visum est nonnullis Apocalypsim hic a Cyrillo notari. Quod ratione non caret. Eam sane in apocryphorum nomine habuit, qui cum libros, quos in canone non comprehendit, apocryphorum nomine compellet. Cat. 4. num. 33. Apocalypsim prætermittit in recensione librorum Novi Testamenti, ibid. n. 36. Præterea veteres omnes, quos in hac catechesi sequitur, res Antichristi exponentes semper Apocalypsim Danieli conjungunt. Vide Irenæum,—Hippolytum—Non igitur imprudens Cyrillus, sed penitus certo concilio, Apocalypsis in toto hoc argumento commemorationem prætermîsset; hujusque prætermissionis rationem hoc loco allegare videtur. Tout. not. 2. p. 232.

[z] ———*ὁτι ϑχ ἑτερον μεν εν νομῳ και προφηταις, ἑτερον δε εν ευαγγελιοις και αποστολοις αλλ' ἐν εστι και το αυτο πνευμα ἁγιον, το εν παλαιᾳ και καινῃ διαθηκῃ τας ϑειας λαλησαν γραφας.* Cat. 17. n. 5. p. 267. A.

[a] *Τι τοινυν πολυπραγμονεις ἁ μηδε το πνευμα ἁγιον εγραψεν εν ταις γραφαις.* Cat. 11. n. 12.

4. This[b] we do not say of our own invention, but upon the ground of the scriptures received [or read] in the church.

5. He[c] continually alleges the books of scripture in proof of what he teaches. He says, that[d] not any the least article of faith ought to be proved by mere probable reason only, without the divine scriptures.

6. The creed, he says, is[e] a summary of the principal doctrines of religion collected out of the scriptures.

7. He calls his hearers[f] disciples of the New Testament.

8. He recommends it to his hearers, to[g] nourish their souls, and[h] establish themselves by reading the divine oracles.

9. He says, that[i] they of them who are studious may, by frequent reading the divine scriptures, learn more fully what he delivered briefly, only for want of more time.

CHAP. LXXX.

THE AUDIANS.

1. THEODORET placeth the Audians[a] in the time of Valens, who began his reign in 364: but Tillemont[b] thinks it best to follow Epiphanius, who indeed expressly says, that[c] Audius lived at the same time with Arius; and says also, that Uranius, who succeeded Audius, was[d] dead when he

[b] *Ταυτα δε διδασκομεν, εχ ἐυρεσιολογεντες, αλλ' εκ των θειων εκκλησιαζομενων γραφων.* Cat. 15. n. 13.

[c] *Και αλλας δε πλειονας μαρτυριας εχων εκ των θειων γραφων——αρκεσθησομαι ταις προειρημεναις.* Cat. 15. n. 33.

Και μοι λαβε των λογων την αποδειξιν απο της θειας γραφης. Cat. 3. n. 4. p. 41. C.

[d] *Δει γαρ περι των θειων και ἁγιων της πιτεως μυτηριων, μηδε το τυχον ανευ των θειων παραδιδοσθαι γραφων.* Cat. 4. n. 17.

[e] *Ου γαρ, ὡς εδοξεν ανθρωποις, συνετεθη τα της πιτεως, αλλ' εκ πασης γραφης τα καιριωτατα συλλεχθεντα μιαν αναπληροι την της πιτεως διδασκαλιαν.* Cat. 5. n. xii. p. 78.

[f] *Καινης διαθηκης μαθηται.* Cat. 1. n. 1.

[g] *Θρεψον σε την ψυχην αναγνωσι θειαις.* Cat. 1. n. 6. p. 19.

[h] *Και παντοιως την σεαυτε ψυχην ασφαλιζε νητειαις, προσευχαις,—και θειων λογιων αναγνωσμασιν.* Cat. 4. n. 37. p. 70.

[i] *Των σπεδαιων εν ὑμιν εκ της πυκνοτερας των θειων γραφων αναγνωσεως ταυτα μανθανοντων.* Cat. 17. n. 34.

[a] Hist. Ec. l. iv. cap. 10.

[b] Mem. Ec. T. vi. Les Audiens. p. 692.

[c] *Ουτος ὁ Αυδιος τετων αρχηγος γεγενηται εν χρονοις Αρειε. κ. λ.* H. 70. n. i

[d] Ibid. n. 15.

wrote, about 376. I place Audius at about 350. If he was then dead, he[e] still flourished in his followers, which were somewhat numerous.

2. Audius was[f] a Syrian of Mesopotamia, much esteemed in his own country, as[g] Epiphanius acknowledges, for holiness of life, and zeal for the faith: who[h] seeing some things done in the churches, which he thought not to be right, reproved and admonished the bishops and presbyters to the face: telling them that such things ought not to be. In particular, he reproved the rich clergy, and such of them as led a luxurious course of life. This brought upon him abundance of ill treatment, which he endured for some time, till at length he separated from the church. So Epiphanius. Theodoret's account is not very[i] different.

3. As his reproofs were offensive to the clergy, and many people began to follow him, the bishops[k] accused him to the emperor, (whether Constantine or one of his successors, is not certain,) who banished him into Scythia: where the good man lived for some time, and where he was useful. For[l] he converted a good number of Goths to the christian religion.

4. The Audians kept Easter on the fourteenth day of the moon, after the manner of some other churches in the East. They said, that[m] this was the ancient custom, confirmed[n] by the Apostolical Constitutions, and that the bishops of Nice had innovated in complaisance to Constantine.

5. They are said by some to have been[o] Anthropomorphites: and there are other things laid to their charge, which I do not think myself obliged to take particular no-

[e] Πολλοι δε και μετα την εκεινυ τελευτην γεγονασι συν αυτοις τε και μετ' αυτον τυ ταγματος αυτυ επισκοποι, Ουρανιος τις της μεσης των ποταμων. κ. λ. Ibid. n. 15.

[f] Αυδαιος δε τις, Συρος και το γενος και την φωνην. Thdrt. ib.

[g] Ην δε ὁ ανηρ απο της μεσης των ποταμων ὁρμωμενος, διαφανης τις κατα την ἑαυτυ πατριδα, δια το ακραιφνες τυ βιυ, και κατα Θεον ζηλυ, και πιστεως. Epiph. H. 70. n. 1.

[h] Ὁς πολλακις θεωμενος τα εν ταις εκκλησιαις γενομενα, εις προσωπον επισκοπων τε και πρεσβυτερων, ελεγκτικως αντετιθει, τοις τοιυτοις λεγων· υ χρη ταυτα ὑτως γενεσθαι, υκ οφειλει ταυτα ὑτως πραττεσθαι. Epiph. H. 70. n. 1.

[i] Φασκυσι δε των εκκλησιαστικων απεσχοινισθαι συλλογων, επειδαν δε τινες μεν τον επαρατον εισπραττυσι τοκον, τινες δε γυναιξιν υ νομῳ γαμυ συνοικυντες παρανομως βιυσιν. κ. λ. H. E. l. iv. cap. 10.

[k] Epiph. ibid. n. 14. Et Conf. Theod. ubi supra.

[l] ——πολλυς δε Γοτθων κατεχησεν. Epiph. ib.

[m] Id. ib. n. ix.

[n] N. x.

[o] Vadianos, quos appellat Epiphanius, et schismaticos, non hereticos vult videri, alii vocant Anthropomorphitas; quod rusticitati eorum tribuit Epiphanius, parcens eis, ne dicantur hæretici. Eos autem separâsse se dicit, culpando episcopos divites, et pascha cum Judæis celebrando. Augustin. Hær. i. Conf. Theodoret. H. E. l. iv. c. 10.

tice of. Moreover Epiphanius does again and again say, that[p] they were orthodox upon the Trinity, and other points, and that they were only schismatics, not heretics.

6. Epiphanius does in one place say, that[q] they made use of apocryphal books, and were fond of them: but he does not expressly mention the titles of any of them.

7. The Audians are not in Philaster: it is likely he had no knowledge of them.

8. A learned modern, well acquainted with ecclesiastical antiquity, speaks[r] honourably of Audius.

CHAP. LXXXI.

HILARY OF POICTIERS.

1. ACCORDING to Cave, Hilary of Poictiers flourished about the year 354. As Jerom has placed him among his illustrious men, I transcribe[a] below a part of his chapter: where are mentioned Hilary's Commentaries upon the Psalms, the gospel of Matthew, the book of Job, and the Canticles: where likewise the character of his writings may be seen in part.

2. In his[b] Prologue to the Commentaries on the Psalms

[p] Εισι δε κατα παντα την πιστιν εχοντες, ὡς ἡ καθολικη εκκλησια. Synops. p. 808. B. Vid. et H. 70. n. 1, 2. et Ancorat. n. 14.

[q] Κεχρηνται δε και αποκρυφοις πολλοις κατακορως. Synops. p. 808. B.

[r] Certe offensum eorum [episcoporum] vitiis, et intolerabili malitiâ magnum eo tempore virum Audium, discessionem ab ecclesiâ fecisse, multosque homines alioqui non malos propterea eum secutos esse, cum mores non ferrent eorum, quorum alioqui doctrinam non improbabant. Balduin. De Legib. Constantin. l. i. cap. 6.

[a] Hilarius, urbis Pictavorum in Aquitaniâ episcopus, factione Saturnini Arelatensis episcopi, de synodo Biterrensi in Phrygiam relegatus, duodecim adversus Arianos confecit libros: et alium librum de Synodis, quem ad Galliarum episcopos scripsit: et in Psalmos commentarios, primum videlicet et secundum, et a quinquagesimo primo usque ad sexagesimum secundum, et a centesimo decimo octavo usque ad extremum. In quo opere imitatus Origenem, nonnulla etiam de suo addidit.—Et Commentarii in Matthæum, et tractatus in Job, quos de Græco Origenis ad sensum transtulit: et alius elegans liber contra Auxentium: et nonnullæ ad diversos Epistolæ. Aiunt quidam, scripsisse eum et in Cantica Canticorum. Sed a nobis hoc opus ignoratur. Mortuus est Pictavis, Valentiniano et Valente regnantibus. De V. I. cap. 100.

[b] Prol. in. libr. Psalm. p. 9. Paris. 1693.

is a catalogue of the books of the Old Testament, which I need only refer to.

3. Hilary appears to have received[c] the epistle to the Hebrews, which was not universally received by the Latin christians.

4. The book of the Revelation was generally received by the Latins: it is several times quoted by Hilary, and[d] as John's: whom he also supposeth to be[e] John the apostle.

5. I need not enlarge farther in the account of this writer.

CHAP. LXXXII.

AERIUS.

1. AERIUS,[a] of Pontus, or Lesser Armenia, was[b] living when Epiphanius wrote in 376. He was a thorough[c] Arian: but the principles by which he was distinguished were such as these: He[d] denied the difference between a bishop and a presbyter, saying, they are one order, office, and dignity. He was likewise of opinion, that[e] no offerings ought to be made for the dead: forasmuch as such things tended to make men think that the practice of piety is not necessary;

[c] Maxime cum scriptum sit: *Sunt enim efficientes spiritus, in ministerium missi propter eos, qui hæreditabunt salutem.* [Hebr. i. 14.] In Ps. cxxix. n. 7. p. 440. A.

——facturam autem per id quod Paulus ad Hebræos dixit: *Tanto melior factus angelis, quanto excellentius ab his possidet nomen.* Et rursum: *Unde, fratres sancti, vocationis cœlestis participes, &c.* De Trinit. l. iv. p. 832. Vid. Hebr. i. 4. iii. 1.

[d] Quod autem hæc folia ligni hujus non inutilia sint, sed salutaria gentibus, sanctus Johannes in Apocalypsi testatur. [Apoc. cap. xxii.] In Ps. i. p. 226. E.

[e] ——Electus ex publicano Matthæus in apostolum, et ex familiaritate Domini revelatione cœlestium mysteriorum dignus Johannes. De Trin. l. vi. n. 20. p. 891. D.

Vel ad sepulchrum prior quoque Petro currens adeptus es? vel intra consessus angelorum, et signatorum librorum insolubiles nexus—tam pia tibi hæc per Agnum ducem revelata doctrina est? Ibid. n. 43. p. 908. C.

[a] Epiph. p. 905. B. [b] H. 75. n. 1. p. 905. A. Vid. et Synops. p. 809. B. [c] Τῳ μεν πιστει ων Αρειανος τελειοτατος. Synops. p. 809. Vid. et H. 75. n. i.

[d] Φασκει δε μηδε ειναι διαφορωτερον επισκοπον πρεσβυτερε. Synops. p. 809. ——μια γαρ εστι ταξις, και μια, φησι, τιμη, και ἐν αξιωμα. H. 75. n. 3.

[e] Μη δειν, φησι, προσφερειν ὑπερ των προκεκοιμημενων. p. 809. B.

and that[f] if near the period of life, they could by presents and legacies, or somehow or other procure friends to pray for them after their death, they might escape the just punishment of their sins. They likewise denied the obligation of set fasts and feasts. The[g] keeping of Easter, they said, was unnecessary: for "Christ our passover had been sacrificed for us," 1 Cor. v. 7. To keep Easter [or passover] now, was "to give heed to Jewish fables," Tit. i. 14, and 1 Tim. i. 4. Set[h] fasts too, they said, were Jewish ordinances. If I have a mind to fast, I will take the time that best suits me. Not but that they would sometimes fast on the fourth day of the week, as others do: however, they said, they did it not as bound thereto, but only of their free-will: which last particular is sufficient to show, that what Epiphanius also says of their choosing to fast on the Lord's-day is a calumny, and an unrighteous aggravation of their principle.

2. These then are the sentiments of the people: this is the institution of Aerius and his followers. But how came they to differ so much from the rest of the world? from most of the Arians, as well as the Homoüsians? A necessary inquiry: for[i] all heresy is supposed to spring from some evil root. Well, what was it? Let us attend. It is said that Aerius was a friend of Eustathius, a man of Arian principles too: and that when Eustathius was made bishop of Sebaste in Lesser Armenia, about the year 355, Aërius was much[k] concerned that he was not bishop likewise. Eustathius endeavoured to oblige him. He ordained Aerius

[f] Τινι τῳ λογῳ μετα θανατον ονομαζετε, φησι, ονοματα τεθνεωτων; Ευχεται γαρ ὁ ζων, η οικονομιαν εποιησε, τι ωφεληθησεται ὁ τεθνεως; Ει δε ὁλως ευχη των ενταυθα τις εκεισε ωνησεν, αρα γεν μηδεις ευσεβειτω, μηδε αγαθοποιειτω, αλλα κτησασθω φιλους, δι' ὁ βελεται τροπῳ, ητοι χρημασι πεισας, ητοι φιλους αξιωσας εν τη τελευτῃ, και ευχεσθωσαν περι αυτου, ἱνα μη τι εκει παθη, μηδε τα υπ' αυτου γενομενα των ανηκεστων αμαρτηματων εκζητηθη. H. 75. n. 3. p. 907. A. B.

[g] Τι εστι το πασχα, ὁπερ παρ' ὑμιν επιτελειται; Ιουδαϊκοις παλιν μυθοις προσανεχετε. Ου γαρ χρη, φησι, το πασχα επιτελειν. κ. λ. Ib. p. 907. A.

[h] Ει δε τις των αυτου βουλοιτο νηστευειν, μη εν ἡμεραις τεταγμεναις, φησι, αλλ' ὁτε βουλεται. Synops. p. 809. C.

Αλλ' ουδε νηστεια, φησι, εστι τεταγμενη· ταυτα γαρ Ιουδαϊκα εστι, και ὑπο ζυγον δουλειας—Ει γαρ ὁλως βουλομαι νηστευειν, οἱαν δ' αν αἱρησομαι ἡμεραν απ' εμαυτου νηστευω δια την ελευθεριαν. Ὁθεν παρ' αυτοις πεφιλοτιμηται μαλλον εν κυριακῃ νηστευειν, τετραδι δε, και προσαββατῳ εσθιειν. Πολλακις δε και την τετραδα νηστευουσιν, ουχι δεσμῳ, αλλ' ἱδια προαιρεσει φησι. H. 75. n. 3. p. 907. B. C.

[i] Πασαν γαρ αἱρεσιν κακοβουλια των γενομενων απ' αρχης αχρι τελους η κενοδοξιας, η επαρσεως, ταυτα ειργασατο, η επιθυμιας ορεξις, η ζηλος προς τους πλας, η παροξυσμος, η προπετεια. Epiph. H. 75. n. 1. p. 904, 905.

[k] Αυτικα ὑστερον καθιστα τινων πρεσβυτερον, τοτε ξενοδοχειον αυτῳ εμπιστευει, ὁπερ εν τῳ ποντῳ καλειται πτωχοτροφειον. κ. λ. Ibid. p. 905. C.

presbyter, and appointed him governor of the hospital in the city: but Aerius was still uneasy, and therefore set up a new discipline: a story that does not seem to me to have the appearance of probability: now are his principles so unreasonable, but that, without being under the bias of any prejudice, he might think them founded in scripture.

3. These people, as we learn from Epiphanius, met with great difficulties. Aerius[1] and his followers were excluded from churches, and cities, and villages: and being obliged to wander abroad, they suffered great hardships, especially in the winter and cold weather.

4. From[m] Augustine's manner of speaking we may be apt to think, that he knew of some such people at the time of writing his book of Heresies in the year 428. I have placed a large part of his article at the bottom of the page. They are also in[n] Philaster: but he does not seem to have been well informed concerning them: however, he says, there were then[o] many of them in Pamphylia.

5. Tillemont considers these people as[p] Calvinists. For certain, they went much upon the presbyterian plan: and they may induce us to think, that in most times there have been some who opposed growing superstition in the church, and asserted the freedom of the gospel: but being generally opposed, and with much violence, they could not increase to any great number, and in time they were reduced to nothing. We formerly saw another like instance[q] in the people of Neocæsarea, disciples of Gregory, generally called Thaumaturgus.

[1] *Απελαυνετο δε αυτος μετα των αυτω απο των εκκλησιων, και αγρων, και κωμων, και των αλλων πολεων. Πολλακις δε μετα πολλω οχλω τω ιδιω νιφομενοι, αγροθεν διετελουν, ὑπαιθροι τε, και ὑπο πετρας αυλιζομενοι, εν υλαις καταφευγοντες,* H. 75. n. 3. p. 906.

[m] Aeriani ab Aerio quodam sunt, qui cum esset presbyter, doluisse fertur, quod episcopus non potuit ordinari; et in Arianorum hæresin lapsus, propria quoque dogmata addidisse nonnulla, dicens, offerri pro dormientibus non oportere: nec statuta solemniter celebranda esse jejunia, sed, cum quisque voluerit, jejunandum, ne videatur esse sub lege. Dicebat etiam presbyterum ab episcopo nullâ differentiâ debere discerni. August. Hær. 53. [n] H. 72.

[o] ———et in provinciâ Pamphyliâ quam plurimi commorantur. Ibid.

[p] S. Basile, n. 39. Mem. T. ix.

[q] See Vol. ii. ch. xlii. num. ii.

CHAP. LXXXIII.

THE COUNCIL OF LAODICEA.

I. *A Catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament.* II. *Remarks.*

I. THE 59th and 60th, or, according to another computation, the 58th and 59th, that is, the two last canons of the council of Laodicea in Lydia, or Phrygia Pacatiana, are to this[a] purpose.

'That[b] private Psalms ought not to be read [or said] in the church, nor any books, not canonical, but only the canonical books of the Old and New Testament.'

'The books of the Old Testament, which ought to be read, are these: 1. The[c] Genesis [generation] of the world. 2. The Exodus out of Egypt. 3. Leviticus. 4. Numbers. 5. Deuteronomy. 6. Joshua the son of Nun. 7. Judges, with Ruth. 8. Esther. 9. The first and second book of the Kingdoms. 10. The third and fourth book of the Kingdoms. 11. The first and second book of the Remains [or Chronicles]. 12. The first and second book of Esdras. 13. The book of 150 Psalms. 14. The Proverbs of Solomon. 15. The Ecclesiastes. 16. The Song of Songs. 17. Job. 18. The Twelve Prophets. 19. Isaiah. 20. Jeremiah and Baruch, the Lamentations and the Epistles. 21. Ezekiel. 22. Daniel. The books of the New Testament are these: the four gospels, according to Matthew, according to Mark, according to Luke, according to John: the Acts of the Apostles: the seven catholic epistles: of James one, of Peter two, of John three, of Jude one, the fourteen epistles of Paul: to the Romans one, to the Corinthians two, to the Galatians one, to the Ephesians one, to the Philippians one, to the Colossians one, to the Thessalonians two, to the Hebrews one, to Timothy two, to Titus one, to Philemon one.'

II. I shall now propose some observations upon this catalogue, and the council to which it is ascribed.

[a] Ap. Labbé Concil. T. ii. Bevereg. Cod. T. i.

[b] Ὁτι ʁ δει ιδιωτικας ψαλμες λεγεσθαι εν εκκλησιᾳ, ʁδε ακανονιϛα βιβλια, αλλα μονα τα κανονικα της καινης και παλαιας διαθηκης. Can. 59.

[c] Γενεσις κοσμʁ· Εξοδος εξ Αιγυπτʁ.

1. In this catalogue are omitted, for the Old Testament, the books of Judith, Tobit, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, the Maccabees: and in the New the Revelation; either not reckoning it a work of John the apostle and evangelist, or not esteeming it proper to be publicly read in the church.

2. The time of this council is not certain: some have placed it before the council of Nice; others[d] between the council of Antioch held in 341, and the council of Constantinople in 381: some in 365, others in[e] 363, which seems as likely as any.

3. Though the time of this council cannot be exactly settled, I think it cannot be denied, that there was a council held at Laodicea in the fourth century, which made many regulations concerning ecclesiastical discipline. This may be reckoned evident from the notice taken of it in the sixth general council at Constantinople, and other councils: and from its being particularly mentioned by[f] Theodoret, who wrote within sixty or seventy years after the supposed time of it.

4. The chief design of that council appears to have been to deliver rules of church discipline. Nevertheless, the bishops there assembled may have been induced, for some reasons, to publish a catalogue of sacred books, to be publicly read in the churches. Accordingly, the last canon about scripture, is generally received as genuine, though it may not be quite so unquestioned as the other preceding canons. Some have observed, that this canon is omitted by Dionysius Exiguus, and that it is wanting[g] in some ancient manuscripts. In answer to which I would say, that perhaps the omission by Dionysius[h] may be accounted for: or it may be an accidental thing, of which no account can be easily given: and his omitting it, however it came to pass, may have been an occasion of its being wanting in some manuscripts.

5. Some are of opinion, that this council[i] consisted of

[d] That was the opinion of Marca. See Tillem. Mem. E. T. vi. Les Ariens, Art. 129. et Pagi Ann. 314. n. 25.

[e] Pagi ubi supr. Basn. Ann. 363. n. 19.

[f] Ὁυ δε χαριν και συνελθουσα συνοδος εν Λαοδικειᾳ της Φρυγιας νομῳ κεκωλυκε το τοις αγγελοις προσευχεσθαι. Theod. in Coloss. cap. iii. 18. T. 3. p. 355.

[g] 'I may add, that the canon of scripture, which we go by, groundeth 'much upon that enumeration subjoined to the last canon of the council of 'Laodicea, which yet is not found in the very ancient manuscripts. Gretser 'mentioneth one, and I meet with another here at home.' John Gregory's Posthuma, p. 85.

[h] Daillé [Use of the Fathers, p. 45, 46. Lond. 1675.] endeavours to account for that omission of Dionysius.

[i] Pagi Ann. 314. n. 25.

Arian bishops, and that it was conducted by Theodosius, bishop of Philadelphia in Lydia, a man of the Arian party: though some[k] dispute this, it may be reckoned no improbable supposition. Tillemont indeed imagines, that[l] this is a disparagement of this council not to be admitted: and that it would be melancholy to think, that a council, the canons of which have been always received by the church, should have been only a council of men, enemies of the faith, and separated from the catholic communion. But Pagi[m] thinks this no just ground of offence.

6. This council has not been equally[n] esteemed by all. Possibly learned men, according to the different notions of the party they have been engaged in, have been led to disregard the last canon: some, because of its omitting the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, and others, because it has not the book of the Revelation. Basnage, in his history of the church, observes, that[o] protestants and catholics have equally disparaged this synod.

7. Finally, it ought to be observed, that this was a particular council only, consisting of thirty or forty bishops of Lydia, and neighbouring countries. Indeed it is said, that the canons of this council were received and adopted by some general councils in aftertimes. Nevertheless, perhaps it would be difficult to show, that those general councils received the last canon, and exactly approved the catalogue of sacred books therein contained, without any addition or diminution, as we now have it.

8. I have thought it not improper to put down these several observations concerning this famous canon of the council of Laodicea, which are referred to the consideration of the candid and attentive reader.

[k] Basnag. Hist. de l'Eglise, liv. viii. c. 8. n. ii. p. 437.

[l] Les Ariens, Art. 139.

[m] Nec mirum, concilium ab hæreticis habitum codicis canonum ecclesiæ universæ partem facere, cum ab ecclesiâ receptum fuerit, et nihil ejus moribus contrarium contineat. Pagi Ann. 314. n. 25.

[n] Concilii Laodiceni canon ultimus, qui catalogum exhibit librorum scripturæ, apud Dionysium Exiguum non invenitur. Et præterea, si vel admittatur, synodus tamen ipsa exiguæ auctoritatis est, neque censeri potest vocem ecclesiæ Græcæ illius temporis exhibere; tum quod particularis tantum fuit quorundam in Lydiâ episcoporum, tum quod auctor canonum prædicatur fuisse quidam Theodosius———partibus Arianorum favens. Lampe, Proleg. in Joann. l. i. c. 7. n. 24.

[o] As before, n. iii. p. 438.

CHAP. LXXXIV.

EPIPHANIUS, BISHOP IN CYPRUS.

I. *His history.* II. *Three catalogues of the books of the Old Testament.* III. *A catalogue of the books of the New Testament.* IV. *His testimony to the several books of the New Testament.* V. *General titles and divisions, and respect for the scriptures.* VI. *Remarkable passages.* VII. *The sum of his testimony.*

I. ST. JEROM has a short chapter for [a] Epiphanius, which I put in the margin without translating it.

He elsewhere speaks of Epiphanius with high [b] commendations: and also says, that [c] he was a man of five languages: that is, he understood Greek, Syriac, Hebrew, Egyptian, and Latin in part.

Epiphanius was a native of Palestine: he was chosen bishop of Constantia, formerly called Salamis, the metropolis of the island of Cyprus, in 367 or 368. He was living, and still wrote, as St. Jerom assures us, in 392, when he composed his catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers. It is supposed that he died in the beginning of the year 403. In [d] the year 373, or the beginning of 374, he wrote the book entitled the Ancorate; his Panarium, or large work against Heresies, he [e] seems to have begun in 374. For learned men have observed from the work itself, that his article against the Montanists was composed in 375, and that in the year 376, he was got as far as that of the Manichees, and more than half of the whole work. In 392, he [f] wrote his treatise of Weights and Measures. For a far-

[a] Epiphanius, Cypri Salaminæ episcopus, scripsit adversum omnes hæreses libros, et multa alia, quæ ab eruditis propter res, a simplicioribus propter verba, lectitantur. Superest usque hodie, et in extremâ jam senectute varia cudit opera. De V. I. c. 114.

[b] ——patrem pene omnium episcoporum, et antiquæ reliquias sanctitatis et opere et sermone despicias. Ad Pamm. Ep. 38. [al. 61.] T. iv. p. 313. m.

[c] Crimini ei dandum est, quare Græcam, Syriacam, et Hebræam, et Ægyptiam linguam, ex parte et Latinam, noverit? Adv. Ruf. l. ii. p. 417. f. Et Papa Epiphanius πενταγλωττος. Adv. Ruf. l. iii. p. 443. in.

[d] St. Epiphane, Art. ix. Tillem. Mem. E. T. x.

[e] Tillem. ib. Art. xi. et Petav. Animadv. in Epiph. T. ii. p. 4.

[f] Tillem. as before, art. 13.

ther account of Epiphanius's life and writings I refer to[g] others.

II. In the remaining works of Epiphanius, we find the books of the Old Testament thrice enumerated, and once those of the New. I intend to give an account of all his catalogues.

1. The catalogue, which I shall first observe, is in[h] the fourth section of the book of Weights and Measures. He reckons the sacred books of the Old Testament to be in number twenty-seven, but reduced to twenty-two, the number of the letters of the Jewish alphabet. The books last mentioned are Esdras, (meaning our Ezra and Nehemiah :) and Esther. After which he adds; 'For[i] as for those two books, the Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach,—they likewise are useful, but not brought into the same number with the foregoing; and therefore are not placed in the ark of the covenant.' In the next section he observes, that[k] the epistles of Baruch were not received by the Jews, but only the Lamentations, added to the book of Jeremiah.

2. In the twenty-third section of the same work, the Jewish books are again enumerated, and put down in their Hebrew names; where the three last mentioned are the two books of Esdras and Esther.

3. A third catalogue of the books of the Old Testament, is in the Panarium, and not very far from the beginning of it. This I shall now transcribe at large. 'Now[l] the Jews had these prophets, and books of prophets, until the return from the Babylonish captivity: the first Genesis, the second Exodus, the third Leviticus, the fourth Numbers, the fifth Deuteronomy, the sixth the book of Joshua the son of Nun, the seventh the book of the Judges, the eighth the book of Ruth, the ninth the book of Job, the tenth the Psalter, the eleventh the Proverbs of Solomon, the twelfth the Ecclesiastes, the thirteenth the Song of Songs, the fourteenth the first book of the Kingdoms, the fifteenth the second book

[g] Cav. Hist. Lit. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 414. &c. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. x. p. 484. &c.

[h] T. ii. p. 161, 162.

[i] Αἱ γαρ ϛιχηρεις δυο βιβλοι, ἡ τε τϐ Σολομοντος, ἡ Παναρετος, λεγομενη· και ἡ τϐ Ιησϐ τϐ υἱϐ Σιραχ, και αυται χρησιμοι μεν εισι και ωφελιμοι, αλλ' εις αριθμον ῥητων ϐκ αναφερονται—διο δε ϐτε εν τῃ της διαθηκης κιβωτῳ. De Mens. et Pond. n. iv. p. 162.

[k] ——και των οντων εν τῳ 'Ιερεμια· φημι δε και των Θρηνων αυτϐ, και των επιϛολων Βαρεχ, ει και ϐ κειται επιϛολαι παρ' 'Εβραιοις, ἡ μονον ἡ των Θρηνων τῳ 'Ιερεμιᾳ συναφθεισα. Ib. n. 5. p. 163. A.

[l] Εσχον δε ϐτοι οἱ Ιϐδαιοι, αχρι της απο Βαβυλωνος αικμαλωσιας επανοδϐ, βιβλϐς τε και προφητας τϐτϐς, κ. λ. H. 8. n. 6. T. i. p. 19.

of the Kingdoms, the sixteenth the third book of the Kingdoms, the seventeenth the fourth book of the Kingdoms, the eighteenth the first book of the Remains, the nineteenth the second book of the Remains, the twentieth the book of the twelve Prophets, the twenty-first Isaiah the Prophet, the twenty-second Jeremiah the Prophet, with the Lamentations, and his epistle, and the epistle of Baruch, the twenty-third Ezekiel the Prophet, the twenty-fourth Daniel the Prophet, the twenty-fifth the first book of Esdras, the twenty-sixth the second book, the twenty-seventh Esther. And these are the seven-and-twenty books, which were given by God to the Jews: though they are reckoned only two-and-twenty, according to the number of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet; for ten of the books that are double are reduced to five. There are also two other books among them, which [m] are doubted of, the Wisdom of Sirach, and of Solomon, beside [n] certain other that are apocryphal.'

III. I do not stay to make remarks upon these catalogues of the books of the Old Testament; the reader is able to do that of himself. I proceed to the catalogue of the books of the New Testament, which is another article of the same work of this author.

'Had[o] you, Aëtius, been born of the Spirit, and been taught by the prophets and apostles, you would have read the seven-and-twenty books of the Old Testament, from the creation of the world to the time of Esther, which are reckoned two-and-twenty; and also the four holy gospels, and the fourteen epistles of the holy apostle Paul, and the Acts of the Apostles, and the catholic epistles of James, and Peter, and John, and Jude, and the Revelation of John, and [p] the Wisdoms of Solomon and Sirach, and in a word all the divine scriptures.'

IV. I shall add divers passages of Epiphanius, concerning the several parts or books of the New Testament.

1. Matthew[q] both preached, and wrote a gospel in Hebrew. And[r] he wrote first, because[s] he had been called from the receipt of the customs, and from many sins. It was therefore fit he should show, that "Jesus came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." See Matt. ix. 13.

[m] Εν αμφιλεκτῳ.

[n] Χωρις αλλων τινων βιβλιον αναποκρυφων.

[o] H. 76. p. 941.

[p] ——εν τε ταις Σοφιαις Σολομωντος τε φημι, και υἱε Σιραχ, και πασαις απλως γραφαις θειαις. Ibid.

[q] Οὑτος μεν ὁ Ματθαιος Ἑβραϊκοις γραμμασι γραφει το ευαγγελιον, και κηρυττει. H. 51. n. 5. p. 426. A.

[r] Ματθαιος γαρ πρωτος ευαγγελιζεται. Ib. n. 4. p. 425. B. Vid. et n. 5. p. 425. C. D.

[s] ——και δικαιοτατα ην· Εδει γαρ τον απο πολλων ἁμαρτηματων επιστρεψαντα, και απο τε τελωνιε ανασαντα. κ. λ. Ib. n. 5. p. 425.

2. Matthew[t] wrote in Hebrew; and he is the only writer of the New Testament who made use of that language. However, Epiphanius had heard, that the gospel of John, and the Acts of the Apostles, had been translated from Greek into Hebrew, and[u] were in the library of the Jews at Tiberias. Of this he had been assured by some Jewish believers. He says nothing here particularly of the epistle to the Hebrews; and must therefore, I think, be understood to suppose, that it was originally written in Greek, as the other books of the New Testament were, excepting only the gospel of St. Matthew.

3. Matthew wrote first, and Mark, as[v] he says, soon after, being a companion of Peter at Rome. Moreover, according to Epiphanius, Mark was one of Christ's seventy-two disciples, and likewise one of those who were offended at the words of Christ recorded John vi. 44, and then forsook him, but was afterwards recovered by Peter, and being filled with the Spirit, wrote a gospel.

4. The third gospel[w] is that of Luke. He too was one of Christ's seventy-two disciples, who took offence at the same words that Mark did. He was recovered by Paul, and was[x] moved by the Spirit to write a gospel.

5. At length[y] John also, moved by the Spirit, wrote a gospel, after he had long declined it, through humility, when he was more than ninety years of age, and when he had lived many years in Asia, after his return thither from Patmos, in the time of the emperor Claudius.

6. He likewise says, that[z] John, the fourth and last in

[t] Ὡς τα αληθη εστιν ειπειν, ὁτι Ματθαιος μονος Ἑβραϊστι και Ἑβραϊκοις γραμμασιν εν τῃ καινῃ διαθηκῃ εποιησατο την τȣ ευαγγελιȣ εκθεσιν τε και κηρυγμα. H. 30. n. 3. p. 127. C.

[u] Εν τοις των Ιȣδαιων γαζοφυλακιοις—εν τῃ Τιβεριαδι. Ibid.

[v] Ευθυς δε μετα τον Ματθαιον ακολȣθος γενομενος ὁ Μαρκος τῳ ἁγιῳ Πετρῳ εν Ῥωμῃ—ὁμως δια Πετρȣ ανακαμψας ευαγγελιζεσθαι καταξιȣται, πνευματι ἁγιῳ πεφορημενος. H. 51. n. 6. p. 428. A.

[w] Ὁτι ιδȣ τριτον ευαγγελιον το κατα Λȣκαν· Τȣτο γαρ επετραπη τῳ Λȣκᾳ, ὁντι και αυτῳ απο των ἑβδομηκοντα δυο των διασκορπισθεντων επι τῳ τȣ Σωτηρος λογῳ, δια δε Παυλȣ τȣ ἁγιȣ παλιν ανακαμψαντος προς τον Κυριον. H. 51. n. 11. p. 433. C.

[x] ———αναγκαζει το ἁγιον πνευμα, και επινυττει τον ἁγιον Λȣκαν. Ib. n. viii. p. 428.

[y] Δια ὑστερον αναγκαζει το αγιον πνευμα τον Ιωαννην παραιτȣμενον ευαγγελισασθαι, δι' ευλαβειαν και ταπεινοφροσυνην, επι τῃ γηραλεᾳ αυτȣ ἡλικιᾳ, μετα ετη εννενηκοντα της ἑαυτȣ ζωης, μετα την αυτȣ απο της Πατμȣ επανοδον, την επι Κλαυδιȣ γενομενης Καισαρος, και μετα ἱκανα ετη τȣ διατριψαι αυτον απο [f. επι] της Ασιας, αναγκαζεται εκθεσθαι το ευαγγελιον. H. 51. n. xii. p. 433. D. 434. A.

[z] Τεταρτος γαρ κατα διαδοχην ελθων ὁ μακαριος, πρωτος μεν ων, ὑστερος δε τοις ετεσιν ευαγγελισαμενος. κ. λ. H. 51. n. 19. p. 441. D. Et conf. H. 69. n. 23. p. 746, 747.

order of time, was first in respect to the sublimity of his matter.

7. Epiphanius does moreover say in several places, that[a] John's gospel was occasioned by the errors of the Ebionites, the Cerinthians, the Merinthians, and Nazarenes.

8. In his Ancorate he says, there[b] are four gospels, and in them a thousand one hundred and sixty-two sections, or chapters; which is very near the number of Eusebius's canon.

9. Again in his large work, having observed the different characters of the four evangelists, and the beginnings of their several gospels, and that John wrote last, supplying some things omitted by the former: hence, says[c] he, it has come to pass, that we have a full account of what concerns both Christ's humanity and divinity.

10. In an argument, he in one place mentions the gospels in this order: According[d] to the gospel of Luke and of John, and of Matthew and Mark.

11. Epiphanius ascribes the book of the Acts to[e] Luke.

12. It is needless to take notice of any quotations of Paul's epistles. That to the Hebrews is frequently cited as Paul's; and as expressly as any other of his epistles. But the reader, if he thinks fit, may observe the place where[f] our author speaks of the order of Paul's epistles, and says, that sometimes that to the Hebrews was reckoned the tenth, being placed before the epistle to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon. In other copies it was the fourteenth.

13. The epistle of James is quoted by him[g] sometimes.

14. He says, that[h] Joseph had by his first wife four sons: James, called the Lord's brother, because he was brought up with him, and Simon, and Jude, and John, and two daughters, Anna and Salome. In another place he says, that[i] Joseph was married to Mary when he was about eighty years of age, having had by a former wife six children. He elsewhere also speaks largely of James, saying,

[a] Vid. H. 51. n. 2. p. 423. n. 12. p. 434. B. C. H. 69. n. 22, 23.

[b] Τεσσαρα εσιν ευαγγελια, κεφαλαιων χιλιων ἑκατον ἑξεκοντα δυο. Ancor. c. 50. p. 54. B.

[c] ——ἱνα απο τεσσαρων ευαγγελιστων την πασαν κατα τε την σαρκα, και κατα την Θεοτητα ακριβειαν κατασχωμεν. H. 51. n. 19. p. 442. B.

[d] Και απο τϐ κατα Λϐκαν ευαγγελιϐ, και απο τϐ κατα Ιωαννην, και απο τϐ κατα Ματθαιον, κατα απο τϐ κατα Μαρκον. H. 51. n. 28. p. 450. C.

[e] Και ημεν εν τῳ πλοιῳ ὡς ογδοηκοντα ψυχαι, φησιν ὁ Λϐκας, ὁ συγγραψαμενος τας Πραξεις των Αποστολων. Ancor. n. 59. p. 61. D.

[f] Vid. H. 42. p. 373. C. D. Conf. Mill. Prolegom. n. 236—238.

[g] Vid. H. 31. n. 34. p. 206. B. H. 77. n. 27. p. 1021. C.

[h] Ancor. n. 60. p. 62. D.

[i] H. 51. n. 10. p. 432. D.

that[k] he was the Lord's brother, and his apostle, and the first bishop of Jerusalem, and other things which need not now to be attended to.

15. He has several times quoted the two epistles of Peter.

16. He says, that[l] Peter was often in the countries of Pontus and Bithynia.

17. John's second epistle is quoted by[m] Epiphanius.

18. He cites very expressly[n] the catholic epistle of Jude, the apostle, brother of James, and of the Lord, written by inspiration.

19. Speaking of these seven epistles, it is common for him to use the word 'catholic.' He quotes St. John's first epistle in this manner: Of[o] whom the holy John says in the catholic epistle, "It is the last time. And ye have heard that Antichrist cometh." See 1 John ii. 18.

20. Epiphanius received the book of the Revelation: for he says, that[p] John imparted spiritual gifts by his gospel, his epistles, and the Revelation.

21. And in the preceding chapter he had said, that[q] all John's books or writings, his gospel, and Revelation, and epistles, were harmonious.

22. He says, that[r] John prophesied, or had the Revelation, in the isle of Patmos, in the reign of Claudius, if that be not a fault of the transcriber.

23. The book of the Revelation was not universally received in the time of Epiphanius. His account of the Alogians is, that they rejected all St. John's writings. And he says, that[s] if they had rejected the Revelation only, it

[k] Καταϛαθεντος ευθυς Ιακωβ τȣ αδελφȣ Κυριȣ καλȣμενȣ, και αποϛολȣ, επισκοπȣ πρωτȣ, υἱȣ τȣ Ιωσηφ φυσει οντος, εν ταξει δε αδελφȣ τȣ Κυριȣ κληθεντος δια την συναναϛροφην. H. 29. n. 3. p. 119. A. Vid. et n. 4.

[l] Πετρος δε πολλακις Ποντον τε και Βιθυνιαν επεσκεψατο. H. 27. n. 6. p. 107. D.

[m] H. 34. n. 13. p. 248. A.

[n] ———ὡς και περι τȣτων οιμαι εκινηθη το ἁγιον πνευμα εν τῳ αποϛολῳ Ιȣδᾳ, λεγω δε εν τῃ ὑπ' αυτȣ γραφειση καθολικῃ επιϛολῃ. κ. λ. H. 26. n. 11. p. 92. D.

[o] Περι ὡν ειπεν ὁ ἁγιος Ιωαννης εν ταις καθολικαις επιϛολαις. H. 51. n. 3. p. 428. A.

[p] Εν οἱς και ὁ ἁγιος Ιωαννης δια τȣ ευαγγελιȣ, και των επιϛολων, και της Αποκαλυψεως εκ τȣ αυτȣ χαρισματος τȣ ἁγιȣ πνευματος μεταδεδωκε. H. 51. n. 35. p. 457. C.

[q] ———τα τȣ ἁγιȣ αποϛολȣ βιβλια, φημι δε Ιωαννȣ το τε ευαγγελιον, και Αποκαλυψιν, ταχα δε και επιστολας. Συναδȣσι γαρ και αυται τῳ ευαγγελιῳ, και τῃ Αποκαλυψει. Ib. n. 34. p. 456. C.

[r] Αυτȣ δε προφητευσαντος εν χρονοις Κλαυδιȣ Καισαρος ανωτατω, ὁτε εις την Πατμον νησον υπηρξεν. Ib. n. 33. p. 456. A. conf. n. 12. p. 434. A.

[s] Και ει μεν εδεχοντο το ευαγγελιον, την δε Αποκαλυψιν απεβαλλοντο, ελεγομεν αν, μη πη αρα κατα ακριβολογιαν τοιȣτο ποιȣνται, αποκρυφον μη δεχομενοι, δια τα εν τῃ Αποκαλυψει βαθεως και σκοτεινως ειρημενα. H. 51. n. 3. p. 423. D.

might have been imagined, that they had acted upon the ground of a nice and critical judgment; as being shy of an apocryphal and mysterious book: but to reject all John's writings, was a sign of an antichristian spirit.

24. In another place he says, the[t] Revelation was generally received, or by the most.

V. We may now take some of the many passages of this writer, testifying the great respect shown by christians to the sacred scriptures, together with their general titles and divisions.

1. One[u] and the same God is preached to us in the law, and the prophets, and the gospels, and the apostles, in the Old and the New Testament.

2. He particularly examines the texts alleged by the Arians from[v] the apostle, and from the gospels.

3. The[w] apostle, or rather the Holy Ghost speaking in the apostle.

4. A[x] thing never said by any of the ancients, nor by any prophet, or apostle, or evangelist, or interpreter to this day.

5. Arguing against the followers of Origen, he says: The[y] prophets and apostles are more to be relied upon than you, or your master.

6. Against the Valentinians. Their[z] fables and fancies have no countenance from scripture, nor from Moses, nor from any of the prophets after him, nor from our Saviour, nor from his evangelists, or apostles.

7. That, and other like passages plainly show, what writings were of authority in the church, and that there were no other to which that honour was allowed.

8. Again: Such[a] a thing was never said by any of the

[t] ——παρα πλειοις ἡ βιβλος πιπεστευμενη. H. 77. n. 26. p. 1031. B.

[u] Αλλ' ὁτι Θεος εἰς ἡμιν εν νομῳ, και εν προφηταις, και εν ευαγγελιοις, και εν αποστολοις, εν παλαιᾳ και καινῃ διαθηκῃ κεκηρυκται. De Fide, n. 18. p. 1101. B.

[v] ——μετα πασων των απο τȣ αποστολȣ, και των ευαγγελιων. H. 69. n. 72.

[w] Φθεγγομενος γȣν ὁ αποστολος, μαλλον δε το πνευμα το ἁγιον φθεγγομενον εν αυτῳ. H. 76. n. 9. p. 922. C.

[x] Ουδενι γαρ πωποτε των παλαιων τȣτο ειρηται, ȣτε προφητῃ, ȣτε αποστολῳ, ȣτε ευαγγελιστῃ, ȣ τινι των εξηγητων ἑως τȣτων των ἡμετερων χρονων. H. 77. n. 24. p. 1018. B.

[y] Αληθευȣσι γαρ οἱ αποστολοι και προφηται, ἡπερ ὑμεις και ὑμων διδασκαλος. Ancor. n. 63. p. 66. C.

[z] ——ȣτε πȣ γραφης ειπȣσης, ȣτε τȣ Μωϋσεως νομȣ, ȣτε τινος προφητȣ των μετα Μωϋσεα, αλλ' ȣτε τȣ Σωτηρος, ȣτε των αυτȣ ευαγγελιστων, αλλ' ȣτε μην των αποστολων. H. 31. n. 34. p. 205. C.

[a] ——ȣδενος πωποτε των προφητων τȣτο ειρηκοτος, ȣκ αυτȣ Μωϋσεως, ȣ των προ αυτȣ, ȣ των μετ' αυτον, ȣ των ευαγγελιστων, ȣ των αποστολων. H. 33. n. 8. p. 223. C.

prophets: not by Moses, nor by any of the prophets before or after him, nor by the evangelists or apostles.

9. If we[b] deny the authority of the divine scriptures, we are fallen from truth: if we reject the Old Testament, we are no longer of the catholic church.

10. Let[c] these people, says he, produce any passage of the Old or the New Testament favouring their sentiments.

11. He complains, that[d] some men, neglecting the truth of the prophets, evangelists, and apostles, have introduced false and fabulous notions.

12. He professeth[e] to have delivered the true faith, taken from the law, and the prophets, and the gospels, and the apostles.

13. This they must allow, unless[f] they admit fables, contrary to the doctrine of the prophets and the law, and the apostles and evangelists.

VI. I shall now put down a few remarkable observations in this writer.

1. He says, that[g] when Christ was baptized, he was of the age of twenty-nine years and ten months. This he supposeth to be the meaning of St. Luke's words, iii. 23. "And Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age:" that is, thirty years not complete.

2. He thinks, our[h] Lord was exactly thirty years of age, when he wrought the miracle at Cana in Galilee, recorded, John ii. 1—11.

3. He says, there[i] are two passovers in our Lord's ministry, according to St. John's gospel; and that he suffered at the third passover in the[k] thirty-third year of his life on earth.

[b] Εαν γαρ αρνησωμεθα τας θειας γραφας, αληθεις εκ εσμεν, και ευρισκομεθα εκπιπτοντες της αληθειας, η την παλαιαν διαθηκην εκβαλλοντες, εκετι εσμεν της καθολικης εκκλησιας. H. 70. n. 7. p. 817. D.

[c] Ει εχεσι μαρτυριαν—εν παλαιᾳ και εν καινῃ διαθηκῃ. Ancor. n. 1. p. 54. B.

[d] Την γαρ θειων γραφων ακολουθιαν, και ευθυτητα, και ακακιας ὁμολογιαν, προφητικην τε, και ευαγγελικην, και αποστολικην πιστιν παρεντες, σοφιστικην ἡμιν λεξιν, και μυθωδη παρεισηγαγον. H. 77. n. 1. p. 996. B.

[e] Και οὑτω γεγραφα—βεβαιον ὁμολογιαν την απο τε νομε, και των προφητων, και ευαγγελιων, και αποστολων. Ancor. n. 83. p. 88.

[f] ——εκ προφητων τε, και νομε, και αποστολων, και ευαγγελιστων παραδοσεως. H. 70. n. 2. p. 813. C.

[g] Ην γαρ τῳ μεν οντι εικοσιεννεα ετων, και μηνων δεκα, ὁτε επι το βαπτισμα ἡκε, τριακοντα μεν ετων, αλλ' ε πληρης. H. 51. n. 16. p. 439. A. Conf. n. 28. p. 450. A.

[h] Ὁπερ πρωτον σημειον και πληρωμα τριακοντα ετων απο γενεσεως της ενσαρκε αυτε παρεσιας. κ. λ. H. 51. n. 16. p. 439. C.

[i] Ὁμως δυο πασχα μεν κατα την αρχην τε κηρυγματος ὁ Σωτηρ ποιειται, και τῳ τριτῳ πασχει. H. 51. n. 30. p. 452. C.

[k] Ευρισκεται γαρ εν τῳ τριακοστῳ τριτῳ ετει της αυτη ενσαρκωσεως παρεσιας

Therefore he did not think the "feast of the Jews," mentioned John v. 1, to be passover.

4. In another place he says, there[l] were three passovers in our Lord's ministry: but he is to be understood in the same manner as above represented.

5. He thought that[m] the two disciples, whom Jesus met in the way to Emmaus, as related Luke xxiv. were Nathanael and Cleophas.

6. Epiphanius says, that[n] the apostles did not preach themselves, but Jesus Christ, Lord. Therefore there was no sect, or church, called after the apostles; for we never heard of Petrians, or Paulians, or Bartholomeans, or Thaddeans, but of christians only, as they were called at Antioch. We saw a like observation some while ago in[o] Athanasius.

7. He says, all[q] things in the divine scripture are easy to those who inquire with a pious mind.

VII. The sum of his testimony will lie in a little room. His canon of the Old Testament was much the same with that of the Jews: for he acknowledges, that the book of Baruch was not received by them. The book of Wisdom, and the book of Ecclesiasticus, he considers as useful only, and not of authority, and therefore not admitted into the ark. Nor have the books of Maccabees, or Tobit, or Judith, any place in those catalogues. The books of the New Testament received by him, are the same as those which are now generally received by us. He quotes no others, as of authority, unless he has so quoted the Constitutions; which will be considered presently. For the sacred books of the Old and New Testament he has the highest regard. I scarce need to say, that he makes no use of christian apocryphal books, written in the name of apostles, and falsely ascribed to them. Epiphanius's aversion for such books must be well known to the readers of this work: it is a charge frequently brought by him against heretics, that[q] they made use of apocryphal books: and he reckons it no small fault in them.

πασχων ὁ μονογενης. H. 51. n. 23. p. 446. B.—Εν τῳ τριακοστῳ τριτῳ της αυτε ενσαρκε οικονομιας. Ib. n. 25. p. 448. A.

[l] Και ȣκ οἰδασιν οἱ ἰδιωται, ὁτι ȣ μονον δυο πασχα ὁμολογει τα ευαγγελια, αλλα δυο μεν πρωτα λεγει, και αυτο δε εν ᾧ πεπονθεν ὁ Σωτηρ, τρια πασχα των εν τῳ κηρυγματι πεπραγματευμενων. Ib. n. 22. p. 444. B.

[m] H. 23. n. 6.

[n] ———Διο ȣκ ενι αἱρεσις, ȣδε εκκλησια, εις ονομα αποστολων ανηγορευμενη· ȣδεποτε γαρ ηκȣσαμεν η Πετριȣς, η Παυλιȣς, η Βαρθολομαιȣς, η Θαδδαιȣς. κ. λ. H. 42. p. 366. D.

[o] P. 153.

[p] Παντα γαρ σαφη εν τῃ θειᾳ γραφῃ τοις βȣλομενοις ευσεβει λογισμῳ προσερχεσθαι τῳ θειῳ λογῳ. H. 76. n. 7. p. 920. A.

[q] This he imputes to Bardesanes. See Vol. ii. ch. xxviii. n. xii. and to several others, as may be seen, Vol. ii. ch. xli. Not to refer to other places.

CHAP. LXXXV.

THE APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS AND CANONS.

I. *Epiphanius's quotations of a work called Apostolical Constitutions, with remarks upon them.* II. *The opinions of learned moderns concerning the Apostolical Constitutions now in being.* III. *An argument upon them proposed.* IV. *They are written in the name of the apostles of Christ:* V. *But are destitute of the external evidence necessary to support that claim: not being quoted by the christian writers of the first three centuries.* VI. *They are also destitute of internal evidence:* 1. *The quotations of the books of the New Testament not suiting the apostles.* 2. *Having in them many things later than the times of the apostles:* 3. *Some things unworthy of the apostles.* 4. *Inconsistencies, and false history.* 5. *Expressions, betraying a later time than is pretended.* VII. *Consequently they are an imposture.* VIII. *The author's testimony to the books of the New Testament.* IX. *The Apostolical Canons.*

I. AS a work called Apostolical Constitutions is cited by Epiphanius, and he is the first christian writer who has quoted any book with that title, I shall here put down his[a] several citations, and sometimes with the connection.

I. In his forty-fifth heresy, that of the Severians, who were Encratites, and condemned the use of wine, he observes: 'The[b] Lord says, "I am the true Vine." [John xv. 1.] If the vine had been evil, he would not have used 'that expression. Moreover the apostles, in the work called 'the Constitution, say, that the catholic church is the plantation and vineyard of the Lord. Yea, and the Lord himself 'has again in the gospel a parable of a vineyard.' See Luke xx. and Matt. xx.

2. In his seventieth heresy, that of the Audians, who were

[a] All the passages of Epiphanius, with remarks, may be seen in Grabe's Spicil. T. i. p. 46—55, as well as elsewhere.

[b] ——Αλλα και οι αποστολοι φασιν εν τη Διαταξει τη καλουμενη· ὁτι φυτεια Θεου και αμπελων ἡ καθολικη εκκλησια. Αλλα και αυτος ὁ Κυριος παλιν εν τῳ ευαγγελιῳ ποιουμενος την του αμπελωνος παραβολην. κ. λ. Epiph. H. 45. p. 390. A. B. Vid. Const. Ap. l. i. in.

for keeping Easter at the same time with the Jews, he says: 'For[c] this purpose they allege the Constitution of the Apos-'tles: which book, though it be with many of doubtful 'authority, is not to be rejected; for it contains the whole 'order of church-government, and has nothing in it contrary 'to the ecclesiastical discipline, or the canon, or the faith. 'But they misunderstand the direction concerning Easter, 'which they allege for the support of their practice. For 'the apostles in the Constitution appoint to this purpose: 'Do not you make computation of the time, say they, but 'keep it together with your brethren who are of the cir-'cumcision, at the same time that they do:—And though 'they should be mistaken, let not that give you any con-'cern.' I put in the margin a part of[d] Grabe's note upon this passage.

3. Epiphanius afterwards[e] mentions several things, as sayings, or ordinances of the apostles, and some of them as contrary to the above-mentioned direction, and from the same work, as is reckoned.

4. In the seventy-fifth heresy, which is that of the Aerians, who were against set times of fasting and feasting under the gospel-dispensation, Epiphanius having quoted to them 1 Cor. v. 7, and Acts xx. 16, goes on: 'and[f] if the

[c] Εις τουτο δε οι αυτοι Αυδιανοι παραφερουσι την των αποστολων Διαταξιν, ουσαν μεν τοις πολλοις εν αμφιλεκτῳ, αλλ' ουκ αδοκιμον· πασα γαρ εν αυτη κανονικη ταξις εμφερεται, και ουδεν παρακεχορηγμενον της πιστεως, ουδε της εκκλησιαστικης διοικησεως, και κανονος, και πιστεως.—Ὁριζουσι γαρ εν τῃ αυτῃ Διαταξει οι αποστολοι, ὁτι ὑμεις μη ψηφιζετε, αλλα ποιειτε, ὁταν οι αδελφοι ὑμων οι εκ περιτομης, μετ' αυτων ἁμα ποιειτε—λεγοντες ὁτι καν τε πλανηθωσι, μηδε ὑμιν μελετω. H. 70. n. 10. p. 822. A. B. 823. A.

[d] Contrarium plane præcipitur in istis, quibus modo utimur Constitutionibus Clementis, l. v. c. 17.—Unde Cotelerius ad hunc locum: Recte, inquit, observârunt docti homines, Constitutionem hujus capitis diversam esse a Constitutione, de quâ Epiphanius in hæresi Audianorum. Immo non solum diversa est, sed e diametro contradicit. Grab. Sp. T. i. p. 46.

[e] Εξ αυτων δε των εκειθι ειρημενων ῥητων ἡ αντιθησις οφθησεται. Φασκουσι γαρ την αγρυπνιαν φερειν μεσαζοντων των αζυμων. Ib. n. 10. p. 823. A.

Λεγουσι γαρ οι αυτοι αποστολοι, ὁτι ὁταν εκειθι ευωχωνται, ὑμεις· νηστευοντες ὑπερ αυτων πενθειτε, ὁτι εν τῃ ἡμερᾳ ἑορτης τον Χριστον εσταυρωσαν, κ. λ. Ib. n. 11. p. 823. C. Vid. Const. l. v. c. 15.

Αυθις αυτων ακουοντες εν τῃ Διαταξει, ὁτι ὁ κακων ἑαυτα την ψυχην εν κυριακῃ, επικαταρατος εστι τῳ Θεῳ. Ib. p. 223. D. Const. l. v. cap. 20.

———την ἑορτην πασχα, τουτεστι την ἑβδομαδα την ὡρισμενην, και απ' αυτων των αποστολων εν τῃ Διαταξει. Ib. n. 12. p. 824. C.

[f] Ει δε και χρῃ το της Διαταξεως των Αποστολων λεγειν, πως εκει ὡριζοντο τετραδα και προσαββατον νηστευειν δια παντος, χωρις πεντηκοστης· και περι των ἑξ ἡμερων τω πασχα, πως παραγγελλουσιν, μηδεν ὁλως, λαμβανειν, η αρτα, και ἁλος, και ὑδατος· ποιαν τε ἡμεραν αγειν, πως τε απολυειν εις επιφωσκουσαν κυριακην, φανερον εστι. κ. λ. H. 75. n. 6. p. 910. B. C. D. Conf. Const. l. v. cap. 15, 20. l. vii. c. 23. l. v. c. 13, 15, 18, 19.

'authority is to be fetched from the Constitution of the Apos-
'tles, it may be easily shown, how they have there appoint-
'ed a fast on the fourth, and on the sixth day of the week
'for ever [or always,] except in Pentecost: and that in the
'six days of Easter no food ought to be taken, beside bread,
'and salt, and water.'

5. In the eightieth heresy, which is that of the Messalians and others: 'And[g] concerning the beard the divine word 'and doctrine in the Constitutions of the Apostles says, that 'it should not be corrupted, that is, that the hair of the 'beard should not be cut, and that men should not wear a 'meretricious dress, nor yet make a show of religion.'

6. There seems also to be a reference to this book in his Exposition of the Catholic Faith. I put a part of the passage[h] at the bottom of the page; as also a remark of Grabe[i] upon it.

Upon these quotations we may now observe as follows.

1. We hence perceive, that in the time of Epiphanius there was a work called Apostolical Constitutions: and the things therein contained seem to have been written, as in those we now have, in the name of the apostles. There were likewise in that work directions concerning Easter, and Pentecost, and other set days of fasting or feasting, as in ours.

2. Nevertheless there is reason to think, that[k] the Con-

[g] Και περι μεν ϑν τϑ γενειϑ εν ταις Διαταξεσι των αποστολων φασκει ὁ ϑειος λογος και ἡ διδασκαλια, μη φθειρειν, τϑτεστι μη τεμνειν τριχας γενειϑ. κ. λ. H. 80. n. 7. p. 1073. C. Vid. Const. l. i. cap. 3.

[h] Συναξεις δε επιτελϑμεναι ταχϑεισαι εισιν απο των αποστολων τετραδι και προσαββατῳ, και κυριακῳ· τετραδι δε και εν προσαββατῳ εν νηστειᾳ εως ὡρας εννατης. κ. λ. Exp. Fid. n. 22. p. 1104.

[i] Quod de sacris conventibus feriâ iv. et vi. nec non Dominicâ die celebrandis dicit Epiphanius, in nostris Constitutionibus non exstat. Hæque ideo ab antiquâ Apostolorum Διδαχῃ in hoc puncto differunt. Grabe, ib. p. 53.

[k] Petavius, in his notes upon Epiphanius, supposeth the Constitutions, mentioned by his author, to be different from ours. De Constitutionibus iisce dubietatem a nonnullis præfatur Epiphanius. Quo eodem nomine circumferuntur hodie in octo libros distinctæ, quæ a prioribus illis, ac nihilominus dubiis, quarum meminit Epiphanius, diversæ videntur. Etenim quinque ex illis sententiæ hoc et sequenti numero citantur, quæ in vulgatis nusquam reperiuntur: imo vero contraria quædam in iis leguntur. Nam lib. v. cap. 16. de Paschatis celebritate catholicorum dogma propalam edicitur, uti post æquinoctium instauretur. Tum ne cum Judæis agatur, et alia quædam; quæ si in antiquis illis Constitutionibus legebantur, mirum est hoc tam præsenti ac diserto testimonio usum non esse contra Audianos Epiphanium, qui Judæorum more celebrandum Pascha iisdem ex Constitutionibus affirmabant. Apparet igitur, aliud fuisse Constitutionum genus, quam quibus hodie Clementis nomen inscribitur. Animadv. in H. lxx. p. 290, 291.

Grabe was of opinion, that the Constitutions quoted by Epiphanius were not only different from ours, but that they were the Doctrine, or Doctrines of the Apostles, mentioned by Eusebius and Athanasius, and shorter than ours.

stitutions mentioned by Epiphanius, are not the same with those which we now have. The order concerning keeping Easter is quite different in ours from that quoted by the Audians: nor does Epiphanius say, that their quotation was false; though indeed he alleges some things, which seem contrary to the rule by which they governed themselves.

3. Epiphanius bears witness, that the Constitutions, which were in being in his time, were 'doubted of by many,' and were not generally received.

4. That expression, 'doubted of by many,' or, 'of doubtful authority with many,' seems to be ambiguous. It may denote, that it was doubted, whether the book should be esteemed canonical; or else, whether it was an ecclesiastical book, and not apocryphal and heretical, and utterly to be rejected. And it may be thought, that this last is the true meaning of the expression, for these two reasons: first, when Epiphanius gives an account of the canonical books of scripture, he takes no notice of this. Secondly, when he says: 'it is not to be rejected, for it has nothing in it contrary to the discipline of the church, or the canon, or the 'faith;' he seems only to assert, that it was a good ecclesiastical or catholic writing. When therefore he says, that this book was 'doubted of by many,' he intimates, that some suspected it to be the work of some heretics: in opposition to which he says, it ought not to be rejected. For it appeared from the contents of it to be the work of some honest, orthodox, or catholic christian. Daillé has argued[1] in a like manner.

5. It is not easy to say what respect Epiphanius himself had for this work. He quotes things from it, as ordinances of the apostles, and as the divine word and doctrine: but it is not mentioned in any of the passages, where he gives

Equidem id lubens concedo, Doctrinam Apostolorum, ab Eusebio et Athanasio memoratam eandem fuisse cum Διαταξει sive Constitutione Apostolicâ ab Epiphanio aliquoties laudata.—Sed istas, quibus modo utimur, Constitutiones Apostolicas Clementi adscriptas, nego easdem esse cum Διδαχαις seu Διδασκαλιαις Apostolorum, licet in quibusdam capitibus conveniant. Spic. p. 41.—contra quam hypothesin supra p. 41, et seq. evici, Διδαχας, sive Constitutiones Epiphanii, diversas a nostris, nec adeo prolixas, vel in plures libros divisas fuisse. Ib. p. 284.

[1] At non ideo fit, ut libros a Clemente vere scriptos, vereque ab apostolis instituta dictataque, quæcumque in illis narrantur, fuisse crediderit. Multis enim libris nihil inest vel a fide, vel a disciplinâ alienum, quos non idcirco dixeris vel Clementinos, vel apostolicos. Omnino videtur Epiphanius sensisse, illas apostolorum nomine tam vulgatas Diataxes boni et catholici viri opus esse non inutile, iisque sincere explicatam esse ecclesiæ fidem ac disciplinam: ut a Clemente scriptas, et ab ipsis apostolis dictatas crediderit, nihil sane cogit. De Pseudep. Apostol. l. i. cap. 2. p. 37.

the catalogues of the books of scripture, exhibited in the preceding chapter. Moreover, the expressions of his just taken notice of, seem to imply no more, than that the book was an ecclesiastical or orthodox writing: farther, either his Constitutions were not the same as ours, or he had not much regard for them. For in our Constitutions divers early heretics are named, and they are condemned and confuted: of which passages nevertheless Epiphanius has made no use of in his history of those heretics, or in his arguments against them: which every one must be apt to think he would have done, if the Constitutions which we have, had been then in being, and had been esteemed by him as of authority.

6. Whatever was the opinion of Epiphanius about the work quoted in the passages of his just recited, or referred to, there can be no good reason for us to suppose it was a book of sacred scripture; forasmuch as no such book is quoted as scripture by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Cyprian, Eusebius, or any other christian writer of the first three centuries.

If any should say that Epiphanius's Constitutions are the same with the Doctrine of the Apostles, mentioned by Eusebius and Athanasius, [which has been the opinion of Grabe and some others,] I would answer: That is not certain. Supposing them to be the same, it is manifest that the book called the Doctrine of the Apostles, was no book of sacred scripture. It is never quoted by Eusebius, or Athanasius, in any of their writings: they have only once mentioned it, each of them, as a spurious, or useful book, when they give a catalogue of the books of the New Testament: and all other christian writers before them are quite silent about it. In the Synopsis, ascribed to Athanasius, it is mentioned; but it is ranked with 'contradicted,' or apocryphal books.

II. Having seen the passages of Epiphanius concerning the Apostolical Constitutions of his time, and made remarks on them, I proceed to consider a work which we now have in eight books, with a like title: and I begin with alleging the judgments of divers learned moderns upon them.

1. Cotelerius says: 'It[m] is certain, that the work of the

[m] Itaque verum est, Constitutionum Apostolicarum οκταβιβλον opus esse apocryphum, et pseudepigraphum, ab apostolis non profectum, nec ab apostolico Clemente.———Quamvis S. Epiphanius, H. 80. 7. et Cedrenus—θειον λογον Diataxibus tribuant; attamen liquido constat, ad apostolos et Clementem non pertinere συνταγμα, quod prima ecclesiæ tempora latuit, quod a tot sanctis patribus ignoratum fuit, aut neglectum; quod pluribus suspicionem movit suppositionis, plurimis certitudinem dedit falsitatis; quod catholica ecclesia a canone scripturarum divinarum excludit; quod denique sexcenta complectitur cum veritate, cum similitudine pugnantia, recentiora temporibus apostolicis, et

'Apostolical Constitutions in eight books is apocryphal and 'pseudepigraphal, not composed by the apostles, nor by the 'apostolical Clement.—Although Epiphanius and Cedrenus 'have quoted the Constitutions as the divine word; never-'theless, it is manifest, that a book cannot be esteemed the 'work of the apostles, which the earliest times of the church 'were unacquainted with, which was unknown to the fa-'thers, or neglected by them; which has many marks of for-'gery and falsehood; which the catholic church excludes 'from the canon of divine scripture: which, finally, has in 'it very many things contrary to truth and probability, 'plainly of a later date than the times of the apostles, and 'quite different from their true characters.'

2. Tillemont's judgment is not very different from that of Cotelerius: I therefore take it next. 'If[n] the Doctrine of 'the Apostles, mentioned by Eusebius and Athanasius, and 'the Constitutions are different works, as Du Pin thinks, 'Epiphanius is the first who has mentioned the Constitu-'tions.—And though the last canon of the apostles ranks 'them with the canonical scriptures; and though the Ethi-'opians respect them as sacred and divine scripture: we are 'nevertheless constrained to own, that there are in them 'many things contrary to truth and probability, and far dif-'ferent from the time of the apostolical writings.'

3. For Du Pin's opinion, I refer at present to his Prelimi-nary[o] Dissertation upon the Bible, and to what he writes in his[p] account of the Canons and Constitutions ascribed to the apostles, and then[q] of Clement of Rome.

Daillé's opinion was, that[r] the Constitutions were com-posed after the council of Nice, and before the end of the fifth century.

5. Mr. Robert Turner thought, the[s] Constitutions made use of by Epiphanius to be different from the present Con-stitutions; and concludes his work, saying: 'That[t] the 'eight books of Constitutions seem to have been made out 'of several doctrines, constitutions, canons, travels, and tra-'ditions, ascribed to the apostles, and out of some of the an-'cient Liturgies, and the discipline and practice of the

apostolico charactere remotissima. Cotel. Jud. de Const. Ap. ap. Patr. Ap. T. i.

[n] Saint Clement de Rome, Art. vii. Mem. T. ii.

[o] L. ii. c. 6. sect. 10.

[p] Biblioth. Ec. T. i. p. 14, &c. a Amsterdam.

[q] Ibid. p. 30, &c.

[r] Si tamen, ut in re obscurâ, conjecturas et argumenta admittere libet; illud imprimis pro certo constitui posse mihi videtur, fuisse hoc opus ante finem quinti sæculi scriptum atque editum. De Pseudep. Ap. l. ii. c. 17. p. 393.

[s] Discourse of the pretended Apostolical Constitutions, p. 198.

[t] The same, p. 295.

'Greek church, oddly blended together, adulterated, and 'changed by some ignorant Arian in the fifth century.'

6. Pearson was of opinion, that[u] the Apostolical Constitutions were formed out of several lesser works called Doctrines or Constitutions, said to be written by Clement, Ignatius, Hippolytus, and others, but altered and interpolated by the author of this collection: and that the eight books of the Constitutions, as we now have them, were not composed and finished till after the time of Epiphanius. I have now placed Pearson's words somewhat at large at the bottom of the page; and I formerly[v] spoke of this opinion of his.

7. Grabe's opinion was exactly the same as Pearson's. I now also put his words[w] below.

8. James Basnage thought, that[x] Pearson had hit the time of this work very well. For on the one hand, these eight books of the Apostolical Constitutions were not known in the time of Epiphanius; it might be added, nor of Jerom. On the other hand, the author of the Imperfect Work upon St. Matthew, who wrote after the time of Theodosius, quotes the eighth book: therefore we must place the composing of this large collection at the middle of the fifth century.

9. The opinion of Samuel Basnage may be seen in his[y] Annals.

10. The late learned Dr. Waterland has these expressions, 'The[z] Clementine Liturgy, though it is not thought to have 'been ever in public use, is commonly believed to be the 'oldest of any now extant: and, though as an entire collec-'tion it cannot be justly set higher than the fifth century, yet 'it certainly contains many things derived from earlier times.'

11. Pagi thought it sufficient to say, for showing the

[u] ——ex his diversis Didascaliis atque Constitutionibus libros octo Constitutionum Apostolicarum, quas habemus, confectos atque consarcinatos fuisse, asserere non dubito—Unde conjicio, octo libros Constitutionum post ævum Epiphanii ex veteribus Didascaliis atque Diataxibus, immutatis interpolatisque, factos esse. Neque enim ille numerum librorum indicat. Pears. Vind. Ign. P. i. c. 4. p. 282, 283. Amst. 1698.

[v] See the chapter of Hippolytus, Vol. ii. ch. xxxv.

[w] Unde certissima mihi videtur sententia doctissimi Præsulis Pearsonii: qui in Vindiciis S. Ignatii asseruit, octo libros Constitutionum post ævum Epiphanii, sed ante Auctorem Operis Imperfecti in Matthæum compositos fuisse. Dictus enim auctor primus Constitutiones Apostolicas, tanquam pluribus libris constantes, citavit.———Hic itaque cum aliquamdiu post Theodosium imp. vixerit,—octo libri Constitutionum exeunte sæculo iv. vel ineunte v. prodiisse videntur.———Cæterum jam supra p. 43. admodum probabilem dixi conjecturam laudati Pearsoni—istam, quâ modo utimur, *Καθολικην Διδασκαλιαν*, in octo libros digestam, ex variis *Διδασκαλιαις* antiquoribus apostolorum, Clementis, Ignatii, conflatam, hasque maximâ ex parte in illa conservatas esse. Spic. p. 284, 285.

[x] Histoire de l'Eglise, p. 488.

[y] Ann. 100. n. 8, 9.

[z] Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist, p. 341.

Constitutions not to be Clement's, that[a] they are not mentioned among his works either by Eusebius or Jerom.

12. Le Clerc wrote a Dissertation, which he placeth at the end of the second volume of his last edition of the Apostolical Fathers. He takes notice of[b] some things in the Constitutions exceedingly unsuitable to the character of the apostles of Christ. He says, they[c] well represent the ecclesiastical discipline of the fourth century; but[d] not that of earlier times. He thinks they[e] were composed by some Arian of the fourth century: and seems to think, there[f] may be some probability in the conjecture of another learned man, that they are the work of Leontius, bishop of Tripoli in Lydia.

13. Young Barratier published a Dissertation to show, that the Constitutions were written in the second century, and not far below the beginning of it. He supposeth, that[g]

[a] Verum harum Constitutionum auctor non est Clemens Romanus, quia Eusebius, et Hieronymus libro de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, cum de scriptis S. Clementis agunt, unam duntaxat illius ad Corinthios epistolam recensent. Legatur Eusebius, l. iii. c. 15. Pagi Ann. 100. n. 8.

[b] Est in iis dogma quod maxime offendit viros doctos, et quidem merito, quo episcopus ita extollitur, ut soli Deo subjiciatur, utque Dynasta et Deus terrenus adpelletur: quod veritati atque humilitati apostolorum prorsus adversatur. Exstat. l. ii. c. 26. Rursus, cap. 34. sic loquuntur personati apostoli de episcopis:—Hos principes et reges præesse existimate, tributaque iis offerte, &c. Diss. de Const. n. 6. p. 494.

[c] Cæteroquin in Constitutionibus, quales habemus, optime describitur sæculi quarti disciplina ecclesiastica. Ib. n. 5. 1.

[d] Est hic quoque tota disciplina ecclesiastica iv. sæculi, qualis ab initio non fuerat: ut jam observavit Jac. Usserius, Diss. cap. 14, 16. quem nemo confutavit, aut confutare queat. Ib. n. 10.

[e] Ego vero Constitutiones, quales nunc habemus, cum etiamnum arderent contentiones Arianorum, ab episcopo quopiam Ariano conscriptas fuisse clanculum, ut earum auctoritate, ad confirmandam Arianam doctrinam, uteretur, et quidem ante quarti sæculi finem, existimo. Ib. n. 5.

[f] ———qualis erat Leontius Tripolitanus, in Lydiâ, episcopus, si credimus judicio viri doctissimi, Thomæ Brunonis, quod in hoc ipso volumine edidimus. Ib. n. 3.

[g] Itaque, apostolis defunctis, probabile est, pios quosdam viros conatos esse omnia eorum dicta, facta, et scripta, colligere, et posteritati servare. Sic Papias. Sic tot apocryphorum auctores. Inde statim post A. C. centesimum aliquis conatus fuerit omnia colligere, quæ apostoli circa mores et ritus christianorum reliquerint. Et sane Constitutiones ex variis collectas esse tractatibus manifestum est.———Interim nolo idcirco omnia et singula, quæ in Constitutionibus leguntur, apostolis tribuere. Multa iis supposita esse nullo negotio credo. Et sane illis temporibus tam ingens librorum apocryphorum, dubiorum, &c. numerus ortus est, ut fieri non possit, Constitutionum compilatorem, non ex iis quædam in opus suum irrepere passum esse.———In iis factis historicis, quæ nude referuntur, et non nexûs causâ adhibita sunt, aio Constitutiones omnem fidem mereri.———Sed alia ratio est de conventu v. gr. omnium apostolorum, qui modo ideo fictus est, ut iis tribuerentur Constitutiones, tanquam commune

not long after the death of the apostles some person had a like design with that of Papias: he therefore collected what he could meet with of the apostles' precepts and sayings concerning christian manners and worship. Nor did he confine himself to oral traditions: he also made use of divers books; some of them apocryphal; for which reasons many things may be here ascribed to the apostles which are not truly theirs. In some things the author may be relied upon; other things may be false and fictitious. So Barratier. I am unwilling to say that this is a trifling hypothesis and void of evidence: but it seems to me, that the Constitutions will be of little more use, or value, according to this opinion, than according to the opinion of those, who think them a collection made in the fourth or fifth century.

14. Mr. Whiston thinks, 'that[h] the apostolical Constitutions are the most sacred of the canonical books of the New 'Testament.'

III. Such are the opinions of learned men concerning this work. I now intend to offer an argument upon it under the following heads.

1. I shall observe some passages, in which the apostles are mentioned as authors.

2. We will inquire what right this work has to the names of the apostles: where will be considered both external and internal evidence.

3. If it should appear that their authority is made use of without reason, it will follow, that the work is an imposture.

IV. In the first place we are to observe some of the passages, in which the apostles are mentioned as authors.

1. Indeed these eight books of Constitutions are written, and the things contained in them are delivered, as in the name of the apostles of Jesus Christ.

2. They begin with this inscription or salutation: 'The[i] apostles and elders to all, who from among the Gentiles have believed in the Lord Jesus Christ. Grace and peace be multiplied unto you from God almighty, through our Lord Jesus Christ, in the acknowledgment of him.'

opus. Alia ratio iterum de Simoni Magi historiâ, quæ potuit ficta esse, quia credebatur interesse apostolorum, ut multa prodigia iis tribuerentur, et multa hæreticis falsa affingerentur. Barrat. Disquis. Chronol. p. 282, 283. Ultrajecti. 1740. 4to.

[h] See the second and third volumes of Primitive Christianity Revived.

[i] Οἱ ἀποστολοι και οἱ πρεσβυτεροι πασι τοις ἐξ ἐθνων πιστευσασι. κ. λ. Const. Procem. in.

3. 'Wherefore[k] we the twelve apostles of the Lord, who are now together, send you these our divine Constitutions, concerning every ecclesiastical form, there being present with us also the chosen vessel, our fellow-apostle Paul, and the rest of the elders, and the seven deacons.'

4. That quotation is from the fourth chapter of the eighth and last book. And in the last chapter of it, again: 'Now[l] this we all in common charge you, that every one remain in the rank assigned him, without transgressing the appointed bounds. For they are not ours, but God's.'

5. And still lower, in the same chapter, near the conclusion of the whole work: 'As by Moses were appointed high-priests, priests, and Levites, and by our Saviour we the thirteen were appointed: and by the apostles I, James, and I, Clement, and others, not to name them again: and by all in common, presbyters, deacons, sub-deacons, and readers——'

6. It appears, then, that the whole of the work, and all the ordinances in it, from beginning to end, are delivered in the name of all Christ's apostles, and as from God himself.

7. These Constitutions assume not only the names of the apostles, but also their characters and actions.

8. 'And[m] to take our own things,' say they, 'Judas our companion had part with us in the same ministry.'

9. 'I, Matthew,[n] one of the twelve, who speak to you in this doctrine, was a publican.'

10. 'So[o] the Lord was not ashamed of me Matthew, though before I was a publican. And he received Peter, and made him shepherd of his own sheep, after he had through fear denied him thrice. And he appointed Paul to be our fellow apostle, who before had been a persecutor.'

11. 'For[p] taking a towel, he girded himself; and then put water in a bason, and came round to us, as we sat, and washed all our feet, and wiped them with the towel.'

12. 'And[q] on the fifth day of the week, when we had eaten the passover with him, he delivered to us the representative mysteries of his precious body and blood, Judas not being present with us.——He went out to the mount of Olives—and we were with him, and sang an hymn according to custom.'

[k] Ἁμα τοινυν ὑπερχοντες ἡμεις οἱ δεκαδυο τȣ Κυριȣ αποστολοι τας δε τας θειας ἡμων εντελλομεθα διαταξεις. L. viii. c. 4. in.

[l] Εκεινο δε κοινη παντες παραγγελλομεν. L. viii. c. 46. in.

[m] L. ii. c. 14. p. 222. m.

[n] L. ii. c. 39.

[o] L. ii. c. 24. p. 234.

[p] L. iii. c. 19. p. 290.

[q] L. v. c. 14. p. 317

13. 'For[r] our Lord and Master Jesus Christ sent us twelve to teach the nations. There[s] were with us Mary, the mother of the Lord, and Mary Magdalene, and what follows.'

14. 'And[t] after eight days he gave me, Thomas, who was hard of belief concerning his resurrection, full assurance, showing me the print of the nails, and the wound made in his side by the spear.'

15. 'On the[u] day of Pentecost, at the third hour of the day, the Lord Jesus sent down upon us the gift of the Holy Ghost: and we were filled with power, and spake with new tongues, as the Spirit enabled us; and we preached to Jews and Gentiles that Jesus is the Christ.'

16 'For[v] we also, for Christ's sake, were often beaten by Caiaphas, and Alexander, and Annas; and went out rejoicing, that we were accounted worthy to suffer such things for our Saviour.' See Acts iv. 6; v. 40, 41.

17. Having mentioned divers parts of our Lord's history, they add: 'All[w] these things we testify of him, who did eat and drink with him, and were eye-witnesses of his wonderful works, of his words, and sufferings, and death, and resurrection from the dead, after which also we conversed with him forty days. And what follows.' Much more may be seen[x] elsewhere.

18. That they take upon them the character of the apostles, appears also in the names of the persons whom they speak of as their assistants and companions; all well known to have been companions of Christ's apostles, or some of them.

19. 'These things[y] we send unto you by our fellow servant, and most faithful and unanimous son in the Lord, Clement, together with Barnabas, and our most faithful son Timothy, and our own son Mark: together with whom we recommend to you Titus, and Luke, and Jason, and Sosipater.'

20. In the twelfth chapter of the eighth book is a constitution, or order of James, the brother of John, and son of Zebedee. In the thirty-third chapter of the same book is a constitution of Paul and Peter. In the thirty-fifth chapter is a constitution of James the brother of the Lord, and

[r] L. iii. c. 6. sub. in.
[s] Ibid. infr.
[t] L. v. c. 19. p. 324.
[u] L. v. c. 20. p. 325.
[v] L. v. c. 2.
[w] L. v. c. 7. p. 309.
[x] See l. v. c. 14. throughout, and l. ii. c. 55.
[y] L. vi. c. 18. p. 349.

bishop of Jerusalem. Not to mention other things of that kind.

21. These Constitutions therefore are not written, or composed, or drawn up by Clement, but by the apostles: they are only sent by him. Thus at the beginning of the sixteenth chapter of the sixth book: 'All[z] these things we have sent [or written] to you, that ye may know what our opinion is.' And in the eighteenth chapter of the same book, partly cited above: 'This[a] catholic doctrine we have left to you bishops and others, for the establishment of them that believe; and have sent it to you by our faithful fellow-minister Clement.' He also speaks, together with James, in a place before cited. But the whole work, and all the Constitutions in general are drawn up in the name of the apostles, or of them and their assistants; as appears from the many passages that have been transcribed.

22. These Constitutions then, as we have seen, are written in the name of the apostles: and, according to the whole tenor of the work, they are rightly termed apostolical.

V. Let us now inquire into the justness of this claim.

1. As the work now before us bears the title of Apostolical Constitutions, and is written in the name of the apostles, as we have sufficiently seen; we are led to inquire what notice has been taken of it in the genuine, uncontroverted works of ancient christian writers: and then to compare the Constitutions themselves, and other things occasionally mentioned in this work, with the generally received writings of the apostles, and likewise with the doctrines and customs of the early times of the church, so far as we are acquainted with them. In both these ways the Apostolical Constitutions have been largely considered by[b] Daillé, and since by[c] Mr. Robert Turner.

2. Daillé examined all the several ecclesiastical writers of the first three centuries, Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Dionysius, and Peter of Alexandria, and some others; and has shown, as it seems to me, with great probability, that the Constitutions were unknown to all those writers. Mr. Turner has again gone over all the same authors, and some others omitted by Daillé; and he could not find in them the Apostolical Constitutions any

[z] Ταυτα παντα επεστειλαμεν ὑμιν.

[a] Καταλιποντες ὑμιν—την δε την καθολικην διδασκαλιαν—διαπεμψαμενοι δια τϐ συλλειτουργϐ ἡμων Κλημεντος. p. 349.

[b] Joannis Dallæi de Pseudepigraphis Apostolicis libri iii. Hardervici. 1653.

[c] Discourse of the pretended Apostolical Constitutions. London. 1715.

more than Daillé. To those and other learned writers I refer; I shall, however, observe some things briefly.

3. In these[d] Constitutions is a long history of Simon Magus. Divers other heretics are particularly mentioned: Cleobius, Dositheus, the Ebionites, Cerinthus, Marc, Menander, Basilides, Saturninus, the Nicolaitans, and Hemerobaptists. The evil of heresies is shown; the causes of them are assigned and enumerated; they are condemned and confuted. Nevertheless, no notice is taken of all this by Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, or Eusebius; no, nor by Epiphanius, as before observed: though it would have been very much to their purpose. In short, they could not have omitted it in their censures of the ancient heresies, or in their arguments against them, if they had been acquainted with it: for, certainly, the express authority of the apostles would have been of great advantage to them.

4. With regard to Clement of Alexandria, Daillé says, that[e] he quotes Clement of Rome, and Barnabas, and other christian authors. He had also many occasions to quote the Constitutions, if he had been acquainted with them, as Daillé clearly shows: but yet he takes not any the least notice of them.

5. Another thing relating to Clement of Alexandria, well observed by[f] Mr. Turner, is; that[g] the Constitutions absolutely forbid the reading of heathen authors. Nevertheless Clement, who was himself a man of prodigious reading, and a great master of heathen learning, frequently quotes in his works all sorts of authors; and has recommended[h] the reading of heathen authors, and the study of philosophy; which he would not have done, if he had been acquainted with these Constitutions, and had acknowledged them to be apostolical.

6. Mr. Turner adds, Clement of Alexandria was not singular in this. Tertullian, Origen, and a great many more, justify and recommend the reading of heathen compositions: and though St. Jerom (as we are told) was whipped for it, yet it was never said to be because he had broken an apostolical constitution.

7. And says the ingenious[i] Mr. Brekell: The Constitutions prohibit the reading of heathen authors: and yet many of the ancient fathers, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, and others, recommended the reading of such books; a plain proof, that they knew of no such Apostolical Con-

[d] Vid. lib. 6. cap. 4—11.
[e] Vid. Dall. ib. p. 268, 269.
[f] P. 93, 94.
[g] Των εθνικων βιβλιων παντων απεχε. L. i. c. 6. in.
[h] Vid. Strom. l. i.
[i] See Divine Oracles, p. 116.

stitution. Besides, if this had been a Constitution of the christian church, the emperor Julian would have had no occasion to make the prohibition.

8. There was[k] a dispute in the third century between Stephen bishop of Rome, and Cyprian bishop of Carthage, concerning the method of receiving such as came over from heretics. Cyprian and other African bishops said the baptism of heretics was null and void, and therefore they who came over from them were to be baptized. Stephen, on the contrary, allowed the validity of their baptism; and was for receiving such as came over from them with imposition of hands only. This point is decided in[l] our Constitutions, agreeably to the judgment of Cyprian and his African colleagues: yet nobody then appealed to this work, or took any notice of it. Probably therefore it was not extant at that time.

9. I shall mention a particular relating to Origen, not generally taken notice of. In his books against Celsus he says, that[m] James and John, Andrew and Peter, were fishermen, and Matthew a publican. But in what way the rest of Christ's disciples subsisted, before they followed him, was not known. But the apostles in the Constitutions say: 'Though[n] we are employed in preaching the gospel, we do 'not omit working. For some of us are fishermen, others 'tentmakers, others husbandmen.' Certainly Origen knew nothing of this. And Cotelerius, in his notes upon the Constitutions, says, We[o] are to abide by Origen. There is no certain knowledge what occupations the rest of the twelve followed, beside those mentioned by him.

10. That the[p] Constitutions were unknown to the learned Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria about the year 248, is apparent. Basilides, a friend of his, wrote[q] a letter to him, desiring his opinion upon some points. Dionysius's letter[r] is still extant. In answer to one of the queries put by Basilides, concerning the duration of the antepaschal fast, he

[k] See Turner, as before, p. 122—130. And in this work, Vol. ii. ch. xliii. n. vi. and Vol. iii. ch. xliv. n. i.

[l] Vid. Const. lib. vi. cap. 15.

[m] *Των δε λοιπων ϐ μεμαθηκαμεν τα εργα, ὀθεν προ της μαθητειας τϐ Ιησϐ περιεποιϖν ἑαυτοις τας τροφας.* Cont. Cels. l. i. p. 48. Cant. p. 376. Bened.

[n] ———*Οι γαρ εισιν εξ ἡμων ἁλιεις, οἱ δε σκηνοποιοι, οἱ δε γης εργαται.* L. ii. cap. 63.

[o] Sed tenendum omnino est cum Origene jam laudato, præter quatuor supra memoratos, et unum publicanum, Matthæum, ignorari quâ ex arte victum sibi comparârint reliqui ex duodecim, antequam a Christo essent vocati.

[p] See Turner, p. 131—133.

[q] See before, Vol. ii. ch. xliii. n. ix.

[r] Ap. Labb. Conc. T. i. p. 832.

says it is difficult to determine. Nevertheless, the point is clearly determined[s] in our Apostolical Constitutions. And of another question put by Basilides, he gives a solution quite contrary to[t] our Constitutions: and in the conclusion of the letter, he leaves his friend to judge for himself as he sees best. This must be reckoned full proof, that Dionysius was altogether unacquainted with our Apostolical Constitutions.

11. There was a controversy about the time of keeping Easter, which[u] began in the second century, and lasted[v] until the sitting of the council of Nice: yet none appealed to the Constitutions about it. Those cited by Epiphanius determine in favour of one side; ours in favour of the other. But that neither of those Constitutions was then extant, or received as Apostolical, is manifest: for if there had been an Apostolical Constitution about it, the controversy had been ended, or rather could not have been.

12. Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, speaking of this matter says, the apostles had left it indifferent to every body: that[w] neither Christ nor his apostles, had appointed an annual festival for celebrating the memory of his passion. And speaking of the several opinions about the duration and manner of the antepaschal feast, he says, that[x] none of them were able to allege any written order about it. Consequently, Socrates likewise either knew nothing of our Constitutions, or did not esteem them Apostolical.

13. Eusebius of Cæsarea is concerned in several things already mentioned. In his accounts of early heretics, of the disputes about Easter, and other matters, he says nothing of the Constitutions; though they might have been very properly mentioned, if in being, and he had been acquainted with them. Consequently they were unknown to him. There is however one particular which may be distinctly mentioned. Our Constitutions say, that[y] the first bishops of Cæsarea in Palestine, were Zaccheus the publican, Cornelius, and Theophilus: meaning, probably, him to whom St. Luke had addressed both his gospel and his Acts.

[s] Vid. l. v. c. 18, 19, 21. [t] L. vi. c. 27, 28.

[u] See before in this work, Vol. ii. ch. xxiii. and ch. xxviii.

[v] Vid. Euseb. Vit. Const. l. iii. cap. 5.

[w] *Αλλα την ἑορτην τȣ πασχα και τας αλλας ἑορτας τιμαν τῃ ευγνωμοσυνῃ των ευεργετηθεντων κατελιπον.* Socr. l. v. c. 21. p. 283. C.

Ου γαρ νομῳ τȣτο παραφυλαττειν ὁ Σωτηρ η οἱ αποϛολοι παρηγγειλαν. Ib. D.

[x] *Και επειδαν ȣδεις περι τȣτȣ εγγραφον εχει δειξαι παραγγελμα, δηλον, ὡς και περι τȣτȣ τῃ ἑκαϛȣ γνωμῃ και προαιρεσει επετρεψον οἱ αποϛολοι. κ. λ.* Ib. p. 286. C. [y] L. vii. c. 46. in. p. 382.

Nevertheless, Eusebius no where takes [z] notice of these honourable predecessors of his in the see of Cæsarea.

14. We need not particularly examine later writers: for, as Daillé says, if[a] the Constitutions were not Apostolical in the first three centuries, all the wit and industry of later ages cannot make them so. But if we should call up and examine Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, Chrysostom, the Cyrils of Jerusalem and Alexandria, Jerom, and Augustine, and all the other eminent christian writers of the fourth, and the former part of the fifth century, they would be all silent. They give no intelligence concerning the Apostolical Constitutions: they have not quoted them, or mentioned them, in any of their writings. Jerom in particular, who, in his Catalogue of Illustrious Men, has distinct articles for all the writers of the New Testament, and for Clement Bishop of Rome, mentions not any work of theirs called Constitutions, or Apostolical Constitutions. Certainly this must be sufficient to satisfy us of the non-existence, or vast obscurity of the Apostolical Constitutions in the early days of christianity.

15. The first who has mentioned them, excepting Epiphanius, and the first of all, who has mentioned them as divided into several books, is[b] the author of the Imperfect Work upon St. Matthew, probably[c] a Latin writer, and plainly an Arian, who wrote some time after the reign of Theodosius the Great: how long after it cannot be determined. But there is as much reason to think he did not write till after the end of the fifth century, as that he wrote sooner.

16. Consequently, the Constitutions are destitute of all external evidence, that should entitle them to the character of Apostolical.

VI. I proceed to the internal evidence. Here I shall mention divers things, marks of a later age than that of the apostles, and unsuitable to their character: at the same time willingly omitting many other things, for the sake of brevity, and supposing it not necessary to be more particular.

1. The manner of quoting the books of the New Testa-

[z] Verum Pseudo-Clementis apocryphos libros aut non legit, aut potius lectos sprevit Eusebius Cæsariensis; alias tanta ecclesiæ suæ ornamenta nequâquam in operibus suis omissurus. Cot. in loc.

[a] Nam si primis tribus christianismi sæculis apostolicæ non fuerunt Bovianæ istæ Διαταγαι, nemo non videt, nullâ sequentium temporum vel auctoritate vel industriâ fieri eas apostolicas posse. De Pseudep. p. 321.

[b] Vid. Veterum Testimonia de Constitut. Ap. ap. Patr. Ap. T. i.

[c] Vid. Montfauçon. Diatriba ad Op. Imp. in Matt. ap. Chrysost. opp. T. 6. ed. Bened.

ment in this work does not suit the apostles, as, I think, every one may perceive.

(1.) 'Christ[d] says in his gospel.' [Matt. v. 27.]

(2.) 'In[e] the like manner it is written also in the gospel.' [Luke vi. 28.] And presently afterwards: 'Again[f] he says in the gospel.' [Matt. v. 44, 45.]

(3.) 'The[g] Lord often says in the gospel, reminding men: "He that has ears to hear, let him hear."'

(4.) 'For[h] our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ says in the gospel.' [Matt. v. 23, 24.]

(5.) 'Concerning[i] this the Lord declared, saying:—And again he says to his disciples, even to us, thus:' Where are quoted, Matt. x. 33, 37, 38, 39, and xvi. 22, and x. 28.

(6.) Having given an account of the circumstances of our Lord's being betrayed, and of his crucifixion and resurrection, it is added, 'All[k] these things also are written in the gospels.'

(7.) 'Let[l] a bishop be knowing, and studying the Lord's books, that he may rightly explain the scriptures:—that the interpretations of the law and the prophets may correspond with the gospel. For the Lord Jesus says; "Search the scriptures. For these are they which testify of me."' And again: 'For "Moses wrote of me."' [John v. 39, 46.] Certainly, this order was not given until after St. John's gospel was written and published, probably not until after all the Lord's books, or scriptures of the New Testament, had been written, and put into the hands of christians.

(8.) Daillé did not[m] overlook this argument.

(9.) I add no more here: but several things of a like kind will occur in a following article, concerning this writer's testimony to the scriptures. There will be seen a Constitution about the method of ordaining bishops, expressly said to be a Constitution of the Twelve, and Paul, and to seven deacons: wherein it is appointed, that the gospels should be held

[d] Λεγει γαρ εν τῳ ευαγγελιῳ. L. i. c. 1. [e] Ὁμοιως και εν τῳ ευαγγελιῳ γεγραπται. L. i. c. 2. [f] Ibid.

[g] Και ὁ Κυριος εν τῳ ευαγγελιῳ μνημονευει. L. ii. c. 6. p. 217. f.

[h] Λεγει δε ὁ Κυριος ἡμων και Σωτηρ Ιησους ὁ Χριστος εν ευαγγελιοις. L. ii. c. 53. p. 258. in. [i] L. v. cap. 4. p. 303.

[k] Ταυτα δε και εν τῳ ευαγγελιῳ εγραφη. L. v. c. 14. fin.

[l] ——πολυδιδακτος, μελετων και σπευδαζων εν ταις κυριακαις βιβλοις. κ. λ. L. ii. cap. 5.

[m] Cum ergo nostri Διαταγεις iis temporibus et vixerint, et congregati fuerint, quibus Joannis Evangelium editum erat,—clarum est, fieri nequâquam posse, ut Διαταγεις Christi apostoli vere sint. De Pseudep. Ap. L. i. c. 14. p. 168. Vid. et. p. 169, 186.

over the head of the bishop to be ordained, or just ordained. But how was it possible that all the apostles, and all the several deacons, should join in such a Constitution? Did none of the apostles or deacons die before the publication of the gospels? Were all the gospels written before the death of James son of Zebedee, and brother of John, and before the martyrdom of Stephen? None will say it. The reader is also desired to observe the first quotation in that article, and to consider whether all the apostles could join in appointing the reading of the Acts? which certainly were not written till after the sixtieth year of our Lord's nativity.

2. I proceed to other things later than the time of the apostles.

(1.) It cannot be shown that the several heretics above mentioned had appeared before the end of the apostolical age. Moreover, they are here said to have[n] published wicked books in the names of the apostles: calumniating the creation of God, and marriage, the law and the prophets; which cannot be shown to have been done before the death of the apostles.

(2.) There are many things in these books, which seem to show, that the reign of heathenism in the Roman empire was over, and that christians enjoyed ease and prosperity.

(3.) 'Nor[o] does the Lord desire that the law of righteousness should be made manifest by us only, say the apostles here. It has also been his good pleasure that it should appear and shine by means of the Romans: for they also have believed in the Lord, and have forsaken polytheism and unrighteousness; and they cherish the good, and punish the bad.' Cotelerius in his notes says: certainly[p] this could not be said by the apostles. And if it could be made out, that it might be truly said, at some season before there were christian emperors, [which cannot be easily done,] it would not be very material.

(4.) The ease and prosperity of christians appear in the description that is given of a church. 'Let[q] the building be oblong, pointing eastward, with vestries on each side at the east end, that it may be like a ship: let the bishop's throne be placed in the middle: on each side of him [or that] let

[n] Και τα επ' ονοματι ἡμων παρα των ασεβων κρατυνθεντα βιβλια μη παραδεχεσθαι. κ. λ. L. vi. c. 16. in.

Τοιαυτα και νυν εποιησαν οἱ δυσωνυμοι, διαβαλλοντες δημιεργιαν, γαμον,—νομον, προφητας. Eod. cap. sub fin.

[o] L. vi. cap. 24.

[p] Certum ac manifestum est, non potuisse hæc ab apostolis scribi. Sed an deduci debeant usque ad tempora imperatorum christianorum, id vero, ut parvi momenti, ita ambiguum, obscurumque mihi videtur. Cot. in loc.

[q] L. ii. c. 57. p. 261.

the presbyters sit: let the deacons stand near in short and light garments: let the reader stand upon an eminence.' And what follows.

(5.) In another place and book: 'When[r] this is done, let the deacons bring the gifts to the bishop at the altar; and the presbyters stand on his right hand, and on his left, as disciples stand before their master: and let two deacons on each side the altar hold a fan made of thin membranes, or of the feathers of a peacock, or of fine cloth: and let them silently keep off the small animals that fly about, that they may not get into the cups. Let the high priest, therefore, with the priests, pray by himself, and being clothed with his splendid garment, and standing at the altar, let him make the sign of the cross with his hand upon his forehead before all the people.' And what follows. This is particularly said to be a Constitution of James the brother of John, and son of Zebedee. But who can think, that such state and grandeur were brought into the church in his time, who was beheaded by Herod Agrippa within ten or twelve years after our Lord's ascension? Yea, who can think, that such a method of celebrating the eucharist was introduced in the time of any of Christ's apostles?

(6.) I might likewise object to the style of this and many other passages of this work. For it cannot be shown,[s] that the christian writers of the apostolical age, or soon after it, called christian ministers 'high priests,' or 'priests,' or 'Levites:' nor that they called the communion-table 'the altar.' Moreover it is now generally allowed, that[t] in the first and second centuries, christians had not any regular or spacious buildings to meet in.

(7.) Another Constitution, showing the church to be at ease, is this: 'When[u] you teach the people, O bishop, command them to come to church morning and evening every day—do you assemble yourselves together every day, morning and evening, singing psalms, and praying in the Lord's house.—But especially on the sabbath-day, and on the Lord's day, do you meet together more diligently.'

[r] L. viii. c. 12. p. 398.

[s] Ac sane germana virorum apostolicorum scripta, Clementis scilicet, Polycarpi, Justini, vocabula pontificis, sacerdotum, Levitarum, christiano clero significando nunquam usurpârunt. Neque magis Clementinæ ætatis est vocabulum Θυσιαστηριον, altare, ad eucharistiæ mensam indicandam. Basnag. Ann. 100. n. xii.

[t] ——— ὁτι μεν των αποστολων ὁτε ἡ εκκλησια εκομα μεν χαρισμασι πνευματικοις, εβρυε δε πολιτειᾳ λαμπρᾳ, εκκλησιαστηρια εκ ην. κ. λ. Isid. Pelus. Ep. l. ii. n. 246. At forte sic legendum: ὁτε—εβρυε δε πολιτειᾳ, λαμπρα εκκλησιαστηρια εκ εν.

[u] L. ii. c. 59.

(8.) 'Again: I [v] Paul and I Peter ordain as follows; Let slaves [or servants] work six days; but on the sabbath-day, and the Lord's day, let them have leisure to go to church to be instructed in religion.—And in the whole great week, and in that which follows, let servants cease from work; because that is the week of Christ's passion, this of his resurrection. Let them also rest on the day of Christ's ascension, because it is in the conclusion of the dispensation by Christ. Let them rest on Pentecost, because of the coming of the Spirit which was given to believers. Let them also rest from labour on the feast of the Nativity, and on the day of Epiphany. Let them also rest on the days of the apostles, and the day of Stephen the protomartyr, and on the days of other martyrs, who loved Jesus Christ above their own lives.'

(9.) Possibly some may (though without reason) pretend, or suspect, that the latter part of this Constitution is an interpolation. I therefore now insist only on the former part of it, so far as relates to servants resting on the 'sabbath-day, Lord's day, the great week, and the following, and the day of Christ's ascension, and the day of Pentecost.' And it seems to me, that neither Peter, nor Paul, nor any of the apostles, could deliver such Constitutions relating to slaves or servants: such rules could not be proposed in the time of the apostles, and at the first planting of the christian religion in the world. By the Roman laws servants were as much the property of their masters, as any other part of their estate: they could use them as they pleased; and had the power of life and death till the time of Antoninus the pious, who, by his constitution, restrained or abrogated it. For it is there said: Qui sine causâ servum suum occiderit, non minus puniri jubetur, quam si servum alienum occiderit. Inst. l. i. tit. 8. De his, qui sui, vel alieni juris sunt. Or, if we may credit Spartian, this had been done by his immediate predecessor Adrian. His words are these: Servos a dominis occidi vetuit, & jussit damnari per judices, si digni essent, Spart. in Vit. Adrian. cap. 18. But as those laws were not made till after the times of the apostles, nothing can be more absurd, than to imagine they would lay any such injunction upon slaves, as would deprive their masters two days in seven of their labour, beside other occasional days. Nothing could have more prejudiced them against the christian religion, than such an attempt upon their property: nor could any thing have been more cruel to slaves, many

[v] L. viii. c. 33.

of whom must doubtless have lost their lives, had they complied with any such Constitution of the apostles: and it may be reckoned contrary to what St. Paul enjoins, 1 Tim. xi. 1. "Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed."

(10.) Christian bishops are here supposed to have tribunals, or courts of judicature. They[w] are directed to hold their courts on the second day of the week, on Monday: and the deacons and presbyters are to be present: that is, as Daillé[x] observes, here is reference to a privilege allowed by christian emperors, not till long after the death of the apostles.

(11.) The great[y] number of days distinguished and appointed either for fasts and feasts, (as we partly saw in a late quotation,) shows this work of the Constitutions to be later than the times of the apostles. These appointments are contrary to the doctrine of Paul[z] in his well known epistles, and also to the well known practice of the church in the second and third centuries. The christians had in early times some days of fasting and feasting, but they were not so numerous as those here appointed; nor were they unanimous in the manner of keeping them; nor do they seem generally to have thought them of apostolical appointment, but rather, as Jerom says,[a] counsels of wise men, or institutions answering some good ends and purposes. That all did not think them of apostolical appointment, may be reckoned very probable from the judgment of Socrates, formerly taken notice of. Augustine declares: I[b] perceive the gospel teaches us to fast; but I do not see, that in any part of the New Testament, either Christ or his apostles have appointed on what days we should fast, and on what not to fast. And Tertullian represents the[c] catholic doctrine of his time about fasts

[w] Τα δε δικαστηρια ὑμων γινεσθω δευτερᾳ σαββατων. κ. λ. L. ii. c. 47. in.

[x] Denique rem totam sic describunt, ut planum sit, nihil aliud eos intellexisse, quam quod multis post apostolos temporibus principum christianorum benignitate atque auctoritate episcopis indultum fuit. Ubi supra, p. 319.

[y] Vid. l. v. c. 17—19. l. viii. c. 33.

[z] See Rom. xiv. 6; Gal. iv. 10; Col. ii. 15, 16.

[a] Jejunia et congregationes inter dies propter eos a viris prudentibus constitutos, qui magis sæculo vacent quam Deo. Hieron. in Galat. iv. 10.

[b] Ego in evangelicis et apostolicis literis, totoque instrumento, quod appellatur Testamentum Novum, animo id revolvens, video præceptum esse jejunium. Quibus autem diebus non oporteat jejunare, et quibus oporteat, præcepto Domini vel apostolorum non inveni definitum. Ad Casul. ep. 36. [al. 76.] cap. xi. T. 2.

[c] Itaque de cætero differenter jejunandum ex arbitrio, non ex imperio disciplinæ, pro temporibus et causis uniuscujusque. Sic et apostolos obser-

much in the same manner. As for festivals, Origen in the third century mentions but[d] three, Lord's-days, Easter, and Pentecost. I hope I need not enlarge here; but I refer to[e] Daillé and[f] Turner, who have fully considered the point. And Daillé, having summarily[g] enumerated the fasts and feasts of the Constitutions, and put down their assertion, 'that every one is guilty of sin, who fasts on the Lord's-day, or the day of Pentecost, or, in a word, on any festival of the Lord,' says very well, that the Constitutions, which have distinguished almost every day in the year, either as a fast or feast, could not come from the apostles of Christ. Indeed the great apostle Paul says to the Colossians, ch. ii. 16, and in them, I suppose, to all christians in general, "Let no man judge you in meat, or drink, or in respect of an holiday, or of the new moon, or of the sabbaths." But these apostles [whether false apostles or true, let any man determine,] make no scruple of judging men on such accounts.

(12.) Before I quite leave this point, I would take some particular notice of the respect shown in these Constitutions for the sabbath, or seventh day of the week.

They ordain, that by[h] all christians in general, the sabbath and the Lord's-day should be kept as festivals: that[i] every sabbath in the year, except one, and every Lord's-day, be kept with joy, without making them days of mourning

vàsse, nullum aliud imponentes jugum certorum et in commune omnibus obeundorum jejuniorum. De Jejun. cap. 2. p. 702. A.

[d] Εαν δε τις προς ταυτα ανθυποφερῃ τα περι των παρ' ἡμιν κυριακων, η παρασκευων, η τȣ πασχα, η της πεντηκοστης. Contr. Cels. 8. p. 758. F. Bened.

[e] Vid. de Pseudep. Ap. l. i. cap. x. xi.

[f] As before. p. 242—258.

[g] Cum hoc vero et indubitato apostolorum dogmate equidem non video, qui conciliari possint illæ tam multæ de perpetuis certorum dierum aut jejuniis aut non jejuniis leges. Illi enim et hebdomadam quidem antepaschalem, et quadragesimam, et quartam sextamque cujusvis hebdomadis ferias ab omnibus christianis jejunari lege in perpetuum latâ præcipiunt. Alterâ vero ex parte tum sabbatum, tum Dominicam diem, et omnes quinquaginta a Paschate ad Pentecostem dies, adhæc Natalis Dominici diem, &c.——hos, inquam omnes dies jejunio funestari vetant, et si quis uno ex iis jejunârit, eum deliquisse, piaculumque commeritum pronunciant. L. v. c. xx. fin. Ενοχος γαρ ἁμαρτιας εστι ὁ την κυριακην νηστευων,——η την πεντηκοστην,——Mitto rei ipsius absurditatem, atque ineptiam.——Hoc unum dico, nihil minus istos esse, quam Christi apostolos, qui omnem fere totius anni diem vel jejunii mœrori, vel prandii lætitiæ addicunt, ac mancipant, &c. Dall. de Pseud. l. i. c. xi. p. 141, 142.

Το σαββατον μεντοι και την κυριακην ἑορταζετε. L. vii. c. 23. p. 369.

[i] Παν μεν τοι σαββατον, ανευ τȣ ἑνος, και πασαν κυριακην επιτελȣντες συνοδȣς ευφραινεσθε. κ. λ. L. v. cap. 20. p. 327. Vid. et l. vii. c. 36. in. p. 376.

or fasting: that[k] servants should cease from labour, and come to church on the sabbath, and the Lord's-day, that[l] christians in general should assemble together for worship on every day, but especially on the sabbath, and the Lord's day.

Concerning these particulars I would say, that the apostles of Christ never gave such instructions about keeping the sabbath. Secondly, that they are more suitable to the fourth or fifth centuries, than to the most early times of christianity.

First, the apostles of Christ never gave such instructions about keeping the sabbath. That the apostles did not appoint the keeping of the sabbath as a feast, and forbid fasting thereon, is evident hence, that christians in general never reckoned themselves bound by any such rule. This will appear from observations of Petavius, which[m] I place below: to which I shall add a passage from[n] a letter of St. Jerom.

That the apostles did not require servants, or other christians, to cease from labour on the sabbath, is shown[o] by

[k] Σαββατον δε και κυριακην σχολαζετωσαν εν τῃ εκκλησιᾳ, δια την διδασκαλιαν της ευσεβειας. L. viii. c. 33. in. p. 414.

[l] ——μαλιστα δε εν τῃ ἡμερᾳ τȣ σαββατȣ. και εν τῃ τȣ Κυριȣ αναστασιμῳ τῃ κυριακῃ, σπεδαιοτερως απαντατε. L. ii. c. 59. p. 268.

[m] Non enim ubique, nec in totâ ecclesiâ, sabbatum jejunii expers fuit. Etenim Romani, quod Socrates lib. v. cap. xxii. scripsit, παν σαββατον νηστευȣσι. De quo fusissime Augustinus, ep. 86. et 118. [al. 36. ad Casulan. et 54. ad Januar.] Quare nulla est ab apostolis edita sanctio, quâ jejunium eo die prohiberetur, uti Augustinus asserit in ep. 118. ubi in rebus hujusmodi negat quicquam esse 'vel scripturæ sanctæ auctoritate, vel universalis ecclesiæ 'traditione determinatum.' Quâ quidem præscriptione tanquam spurius et alienus canon ille rejicitur, qui inter apostolicos 68 numeratur: Ει τις κληρικος ἐυρεθῃ την κυριακην ἡμεραν νηστευων, η το σαββατον, πλην τȣ ἑνος μονȣ, καθαιρεισθω· ει δε λαϊκος, αφοριζεσθω. Non potest hoc ab apostolis communi esse decreto constitutum.—Nec melioris notæ sunt, quæ in Apost. Constit. leguntur, l. vii. c. 28. [sec. 23.] ubi τα σαββατα και τας κυριακας ἑορταζειν præcipit. Quod ab apostolis toti ecclesiæ nunquam esse præscriptum, sanctissimorum patrum consensus approbavit. Petav. Animadv. in Epiphan. p. 359.

[n] De sabbato quod quæris, utrum jejunandum sit—sed ego illud breviter te admonendum puto, traditiones ecclesiasticas (præsertim quæ fidei non officiant) ita observandas, ut a majoribus traditæ sunt.—Atque utinam omni tempore jejunare possimus, quod in Actibus Apostolorum die Pentecostes et die Dominico apostolum Paulum, et cum eo credentes, fecisse legimus. Hier. ep. 52. [al. 28.] p. 579. in.

[o] Ad extremum, de sabbati religionis inter pseudodiataxes apostolicas exstat Petri ac Pauli nomine edita sanctio l. viii. c. 33, 'ut eo die ac Dominico servi 'ab opere feriati sint.' Hoc vero nunquam ab apostolis manâsse decretum apparet ex eo, quod Laodicense Concilium, can. 29. diserte vetat sabbato otiosos esse christianos. Ὁτι ȣ δει χριστιανȣς ιȣδαϊζειν, και εν τῳ σαββατῳ σχολαζειν,

some following observations of the learned writer just cited. He particularly takes notice, that the council of Laodicea forbids christians to esteem the sabbath a day of rest from labour.

Secondly, these instructions about keeping the sabbath are more suitable to the fourth or fifth century, than to the most early times of christianity.

Socrates, in the fifth century, says, that[p] christian churches in general throughout the world met, and had the eucharist every week on the sabbath, excepting the churches of Rome and Alexandria. Sozomen, about the same time, says likewise, that[q] at Constantinople, and almost every where, except Rome and Alexandria, christians assembled on the sabbath, as well as on the first day of the week. And in a pretended letter of St. Ignatius, composed by some[r] idle Greek, it is said: He[s] is an enemy to Christ, who fasts on the Lord's-day, or on any sabbath except one.

But it does not appear that the practice mentioned by Socrates and Sozomen of assembling on the sabbath, obtained in the early days of christianity. Nor was it universal in their time, as it would have been, in all probability, if it had been of apostolical appointment.

St. Luke informs us, Acts xx. 7, that "upon the first day of the week, when the disciples," at Troas, "came together to break bread, Paul preached to them." The same apostle, 1 Cor. xvi. 2, directs: "Upon the first day of the week, let every one lay by him in store:" meaning probably the same, which St. John, Rev. i. 10, calls the Lord's-day.

In like manner, in the times next following those of the New Testament, says Ignatius: 'Let[t] us no longer sabbatize, but 'keep the Lord's-day, on which our life arose.'

αλλα εργαζεσθαι αυτες εν τη αυτη ημερα, την δε κυριακην προτιμωντας, ειγε δυναιντο, σχολαζειν, ως χριστιανοι. Dominicis potius quam sabbatis, vacare jubet: et addit tamen, si illorum commodo fieri potest. Ut nondum illis temporibus ab omni opere feriatos esse penitus constitutum fuerit, uti Zonaras et Balsamo ad illum canonem adnotant. Petav. ib. p. 360.

[p] Των γαρ πανταχε της οικεμενης εκκλησιων εν ημερα σαββατων, κατα πασαν εβδομαδος περιοδον επιτελεσων τα μυστηρια, οι εν Αλεξανδρειᾳ, και οι εν Ρωμη, εκ τινος αρχαιας παραδοσεως, τετο ποιειν παρητησαντο. Socr. H. E. l. v. c. 22. p. 286. D.

[q] Εμελει οι μεν και τω σαββατῳ, ὁμοιως τη μιᾳ σαββατε εκκλησιαζεσιν, ως εν Κωνσταντινεπολει, και σχεδον πανταχε. Εν Ρωμη δε, και Αλεξανδρειᾳ, εκετι. Soz. l. vii. c. 19. p. 735. B.

[r] Sed modum excedit Græculus. Cotel. in loc.

[s] Ει τις κυριακην η σαββατον νηστευει, πλην ενος σαββατε, ετος Χριστοκτονος εστιν. Ignat. adscript. Ep. ad Philip. n. 14. p. 124.

[t] ——μηκετι σαββατιζοντες, αλλα κατα κυριακην ζωην ζωντες, εν ᾗ και ζωη ημων ανετειλεν δι' αυτε. Ignat. ad Magnes. cap. ix. p. 20.

Justin Martyr: 'And[u] on the day called Sunday, is an 'assembly of all who live either in the city or the country, 'and the memoirs of the apostles, and the writings of the pro-'phets are read.' He afterwards assigns their reasons[v] for meeting together on the Sunday: which are, because it is the first day, on which God dispelling darkness created the world, and our Saviour Jesus Christ rose from the dead on the same day: or in the words of a later writer, in the sixth century, on[w] the first day of the week, that is, on the Lord's-day the foundation of the world was laid, and the creation was begun.

Dionysius bishop of Corinth, in his letter to the church of Rome, says: 'To-day[x] we celebrated the holy Lord's-day, when we read your epistle to us.'

Clement of Alexandria mentions[y] the Lord's-day.

Tertullian rejects[z] sabbaths and new moons, as foreign to christians, and speaks of the Lord's-day, and Pentecost, as christian solemnities.

Origen, in a passage cited not long before, mentions the Lord's day, but says nothing of the sabbath.

I might likewise refer to what Eusebius says of Constantine's respect for the[a] Lord's-day. And I shall place in the margin some observations[b] of Petavius, agreeing with, and confirming, what is here said.

[u] Και τῃ τȣ ἡλιȣ λεγομενῃ ἡμερᾳ παντων κατα πολεις η αγρȣς μενοντων επι το αυτο συνελευσις γινεται. κ. λ. Apol. 2. [al. 1.] p. 98. D. Paris. 1636.

[v] Την δε τȣ ἡλιȣ ἡμεραν κοινῃ παντες την συνελευσιν ποιȣμεθα, επειδαν πρωτη εστιν ἡμερα, εν ᾗ ὁ Θεος, το σκοτος και την ὑλην τρεψας, κοσμον εποιησε, και Ιησȣς Χριστος, ὁ ἡμετερος Σωτηρ, τῃ αυτῃ ἡμερᾳ εκ νεκρων ανεστη. Ibid. p. 99. A. B.

[w] Εν τῃ ά ἡμερα, τετεχται τῃ κυριακῃ, ἡ καταβολη τȣ κοσμȣ και ἡ αρχη της κτισεως εγενετο. Cosmæ Ægypt. Topogr. l. ii. p. 154. E. edit. Montfauç.

[x] Την σημερον ȣν κυριακην ἁγιαν ημεραν διηγαγομεν. κ. λ. Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. iv. cap. 23. p. 145. B.

[y] Οὑτως εντολην την κατα το εναγγελιον διαπραξαμενος κυριακην την ἡμεραν ποιεις. Str. 7. p. 744. C. D.

[z] Nobis, quibus sabbata extranea sunt, et neomeniæ, et feriæ, a Deo aliquando dilectæ.——O melior fides nationum in suam sectam, quæ nullam solemnitatem christianorum sibi vindicat! Non dominicum diem, non Pentecosten, etiam si nôssent, nobiscum communicâssent. De Idolatr. cap. 14. p. 113. C.

[a] Vid. de Vit. Const. l. iv. c. 18. et 93. Et conf. Valesii Annot. in l. iv. c. 18. n. 242, 243.

[b] Denique quod Epiphanius admonet: 'triplicem illam synaxin dierum totidem ab apostolis esse traditam:' haud scio, an satis certo constare queat. Nam primis ecclesiæ temporibus unus duntaxat dominicus dies ad eam rem observatus videtur, ut ex apostolo 1 ad Cor. cap. xvi. colligitur. Quinetiam Justinus, in Apol. ii. cum de christianorum conventibus agit, solius dominicæ meminit: Την δε τȣ ἡλιȣ ἡμεραν κοινῃ παντες την συνελευσιν ποιȣμεθα. Quare magis id ex privato ecclesiæ cujusque ritu, quam ex communi apostolorum præscripto derivatum existimo, ut quartâ sextâve feriâ, aut etiam sabbato

So that the respect shown for the sabbath, and joining it with the Lord's-day, are no marks of the antiquity of the Constitutions, but rather otherwise.

(13.) Several inferior officers of the church mentioned in the Constitutions, were not in being in the apostolical times, nor immediately after them. Beside bishops, presbyters, and deacons, here[c] are readers, singers, subdeacons, door-keepers or porters, and exorcists. Cotelerius says, that[d] Ignatius at the beginning of the second century mentions only bishops, presbyters, and deacons; readers are first mentioned by Tertullian; subdeacons, exorcists, acolyths, and door-keepers, in the letters of Cyprian and Cornelius, about the middle of the third century. In the eighth book of this work are forms of[e] ordination for subdeacons, readers, exorcists. It is also constituted that[f] ministers or deacons, singers, readers, door-keepers, should marry but once.

(14.) The authority of christian bishops is highly advanced in these Constitutions, in a way that does not suit the doctrine, or the character of Christ's apostles.

(15.) 'Upon[g] this account therefore, O bishop, take care to be pure in thy actions, behaving agreeably to thy place and dignity, as sustaining the character of God among men: being set over men, priests, kings, rulers, fathers, sons, masters, and all who are subject to thee. Judge therefore with authority, as God: but receive the penitent.' That is the character which the Constitutions direct a bishop to sustain, of God among men: whereas St. Paul says, "A bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God," Tit. i. 7. Compare 1 Cor. iv. 1, 2, and 1 Pet. iv. 10.

synaxes conventusque fierent. Quam in rem egregius est Augustini locus ep. 18. 'Alia vero,' inquit, 'quæ per loca terrarum regionesque variantur, sicuti 'est, quod alii jejunant sabbato, alii vero non: alii quotidie communicant 'corpori et sanguini dominico—alibi sabbato tantum et dominico: alibi tan-'tum dominico: et si quid aliud hujusmodi animadverti potest, totum hoc 'genus rerum liberas habet observationes.' Petav. Animadv. in Epiph. p. 354. fin.

[c] Vid. l. ii. c. 25. p. 238. l. viii. c. 21—28.

[d] Aperte quidem S. Ignatius, qui initio secundi sæculi scripsit, agnoscit solummodo tres majores gradus, episcopatum, presbyteratum, diaconatum. Primus vero, quod sciam, Lectores nominavit Tertullianus. Libro de Pr. Hæreticorum cap. 41. Hypodiaconi autem, Exorcistæ, et Acolythi, non comparent ante Cyprianicas epistolas, et epistolam Cornelii papæ, quæ etiam Ostiarios adjungit, &c. Ad Const. l. ii. c. 25. not. 75.

[e] Vid. l. viii. c. 21, 22, 26.

[f] ———ὑπηρετας δε και ψαλτῳδας, και αναγνωστας, και πυλωρους, και αυτους μονογαμους ειναι κελευομεν. L. vi. c. 17. p. 347.

[g] ———γνωρισον τον τροπον σου και την αξιαν, ὡς θεου τυπον εχων εν ανθρωποις, τῳ παντων αρχειν ανθρωπων. L. ii. c. xi.

(16.) 'For[h] it is not fit that you, O bishop, who are the head, should hearken to the tail, that is, a seditious layman, to the destruction of another, but to God alone. For you are to govern those subject to you, and not to be governed by them.'

(17.) 'Let[i] a layman honour a good bishop, love and fear him, as lord and master, as the high-priest of God, as a teacher of piety. For he that hears him, hears Christ: and he that despiseth him, despiseth Christ.'

(18.) 'You[k] therefore, O bishops, are to your people priests and Levites,——who stand at the altar of the Lord our God, and offer to him reasonable and unbloody sacrifices, through Jesus the great high-priest.'

(19.) 'Be[l] you [or you are] to the laity among you prophets, rulers, governors, and kings: mediators between God and his faithful people, who receive and declare his word.'

(20.) 'The[m] bishop, he is the minister of the word, the keeper of knowledge, the mediator between God and you in the several parts of divine worship. He is the teacher of piety; he is after God your Father, who has begotten you again to the adoption of sons by water and the Spirit: he is[n] your ruler and governor, your king and potentate; he is, after God, your God on earth, who ought to be honoured by you.——Let the bishops preside over you, as honoured with the authority of God, with which he rules over the clergy, and governs all the people.'

(21.) 'These[o] do you esteem your governors and kings: and pay tribute to them as kings.' The apostles of Christ knew how to direct and secure a competent maintenance for Christian ministers, without using such language as this, which could not, in this case, proceed from a humble temper of mind.

(22.) Soon after in the same chapter, 'By[p] how much therefore the soul is more valuable than the body, so much the priesthood excels the kingdom:——therefore you ought to love the bishop as a father, fear him as king, and honour him as lord.'

[h] *Ουδε γαρ δικαιον, κεφαλην ουτα σε, ω επισκοπε, ωρα προσεχειν, τετετι λαϊκω τασιωδει ανθρωπω—αρχειν γαρ σε χρη των ὑπηκοων, ϗ μεν ὑπ' αυτων αρχεσθαι.* L. ii. c. 14. p. 223.

[i] *—ὡς κυριον, ὡς δεσποτην.* L. ii. c. 20. in.

[k] L. ii. c. 25. p. 237.

[l] *Ὑμεις τοις εν ὑμιν λαϊκοις εστε προφηται, αρχοντες, και ἡγεμενοι, και βασιλεις. κ. λ.* Ibid.

[m] L. ii. c. 26. p. 239.

[n] *Ουτος αρχων και ἡγεμενος ὑμων· ϗτος ὑμων βασιλευς, και δυναστης· ϗτος ὑμων επιγειος Θεος μετα Θεον, ὁς οφειλει της παρ' ὑμων τιμης απολαυειν. κ. λ.* Ibid.

[o] *Τετας αρχοντας ὑμων και βασιλεις ἡγεισθε· και δασμες, ὡς βασιλευσι, προσφερετε.* L. ii. c. 24. in. p. 244.

[p] Ib. p. 245.

(23.) 'For[q] if he who rises up against kings is worthy of punishment;——how much more he who rises up against the priests? For by how much the priesthood is more noble than the royal power, as having its concern about the soul; so much the greater punishment has he, who ventures (or dares) to oppose the priesthood, than he who opposes the royal power, though neither of them goes unpunished.'

(24.) '——why[r] then should not you esteem the dispensers of the word as prophets, and reverence them as gods.'

(25.) 'You[s] ought therefore, my brethren, to bring your sacrifices and offerings to the bishop as to your high-priest, either by yourselves, or by your deacons. Nor do you bring those only, but likewise bring to him first-fruits, and tithes, and free-will offerings. For he knows who are in affliction, and gives to every one, as is convenient.' So then the bishop is to have the distribution of all the gifts of the laity; but he is not accountable to them; for it follows in another chapter: 'It[t] becomes you therefore to give him to distribute: for he is the administrator and dispenser of ecclesiastical affairs [it should have been said, and secular affairs.] Yet[u] thou shalt not call thy bishop to an account, nor observe his administration or distribution; how he does it, when, or to whom, or where; nor whether he does it well, or ill: for there is one, who will call him to an account, even the Lord God, who put the administration into his hands, and honoured him with the priesthood.' Were ever such instructions given before or since? And can any man think, that the apostles of Christ would be at the pains to write instructions to cover or countenance mal-administration?

(26.) Having spoken of bishops, presbyters, deacons, readers, singers, and door-keepers, it is immediately added: 'Let[v] the laity therefore show due honour and respect in their presents to each order. Nor[w] let them easily [or upon all occasions] give trouble to the governor: but let them signify their desires by the ministers, that is, the deacons, with whom they may be more free. For neither may we have access to Almighty God, but through Christ; in like manner let the laity make known their desires to the bishop

[q] L. vi. cap. 2. p. 330.

[r] L. ii. cap. 29.

[s] L. ii. cap. 27. p. 241. Conf. l. v. cap. 1.

[t] L. ii. c. 35. fin.

[u] Ου μεν τοι λογιζευσεις σε τον επισκοπον, ουδε παρατηρησεις την οικονομιαν αυτε, πως επιτελει, η ποτε, η τισιν, η που, η ει καλως, η φαυλως, η δεοντως, κ. λ. Ib.

[v] L. ii. cap. 28.

[w] Μη ραδιως δε ενοχλειτωσαν τω αρχοντι, αλλα δια των υπηρετων ά βουλονται σημαινετωσαν, τουτεστι δια των διακονων, προς ους πλεον παρρησιαζεσθωσαν. Ibid.

by a deacon, and do as he directs.' Very fine, truly! for our Constitution-bishop is an eastern prince, who may not be seen or spoken to by mean people.

3. Several things in the Constitutions appear to be unworthy of the apostles of Christ.

(1.) I am unwilling to insist upon the direction relating to the beard, though it be joined with other things of a like kind, as we have[x] in our present Constitutions, forbidding the wearing of fine stockings and shoes, and combing and curling the hair. However, two or three things I shall mention, and leave them to be considered by others.

(2.) Concerning receiving persons to baptism: 'Let[y] a concubine, who is servant to an unbeliever, and confines herself to her master alone, be received: but if she be incontinent with others, let her be rejected.' Few[z] will think, that St. Paul would deliver this Constitution, as he is here represented to do.

(3.) The Constitution concerning married pregnant women[a] I take to be contrary to the order of nature, and the appointment of Providence. God joined one man and one woman in marriage; and designed it for mutual comfort, as well as for the preservation of the species. For certain, Lactantius,[b] the most learned Latin christian of his time, knew nothing of this Constitution. And though he was a great admirer of purity, and all virtue, he has argued against the restraint here enjoined. This one Constitution, if strictly enforced, would render the gospel a heavier yoke than all the ordinances of the law of Moses. And wherever such an appointment should be reckoned a part of any religious institution, there would be frequent occasions for dispensations: and the rule would prove detrimental to the interests of religion and virtue, without benefit to any, but those who could get the dispensing power into their hands.

(4.) Once more: 'Concerning[c] bishops, we have heard from our Lord, that a person, appointed pastor or bishop in

[x] Vid. Const. l. i. c. 3.

[y] Παλλακη τινος απιστε ἐλη, εκεινῳ μονῳ σχολαζεσα, προσδεχεσθω. L. viii. c. 32. p. 413.

[z] Hæc scilicet Paulus decrevit? Has ille leges tulit? &c. Dal. de Pseud. l. i. c. 8. p. 108.

[a] Μητε μην εγκυμονεσαις ὁμιλειτωσαν [ανδρες] αυταις. L. vi. c. 28. p. 357. f.

[b] Nec ob aliam causam Deus, cum cæteras animantes, suscepto fetu, maribus repugnare voluisset, solam omnium mulierem patientem viri fecit; scilicet, ne, feminis repugnantibus, libido cogerit viros aliam appetere, eoque facto castitatis gloriam non tenerent. Inst. l. vi. cap. 23. p. 628.

[c] ——— τον ποιμενα τον καθισταμενον επισκοπον εις τας εκκλησιας εν πασῃ παροικιᾳ—ϐκ ελαττον ετων πεντηκοντα. Ει δε και εν παροικιᾳ μικρᾳ. κ. λ. l. ii. cap. 1.

any parish should be unblamable, and not under fifty years of age.—But in a small parish, if one advanced in years cannot be found, let a younger person who is of good character be admitted. For Solomon at twelve years of age was king of Israel, and Josiah at eight years of age reigned righteously, and Joash began to reign at seven years of age.' This is tying and loosing, saying and unsaying, all at once; that is, it is saying nothing at all. This therefore appears to me unworthy of the apostles; for I cannot think that they would say and unsay, all in a breath.

If any should understand this otherwise, and say, this Constitution requires that no man be ordained bishop in a city, or large parish, under fifty years of age; it is obvious to answer, that it is an[d] absurd appointment, and therefore unworthy of the apostles. Nor do we know, that the christians of the first three centuries acted by this rule: nor, finally, is there any such canon among those which are called apostolical.

4. Inconsistences are a disparagement to any writings; this work is not free from them.

(1.) These Constitutions mention the martyrdom of Stephen, and James the son of Zebedee, which are well known from the Acts; as also, that Stephen was stoned before Paul's conversion. And[e] yet all the twelve apostles, and Paul, and the seven deacons, are said to join together in these Constitutions. The inconsistence is manifest to every body: I need not say any thing to make it evident.

(2.) In the eighth chapter of the fifth book the apostles ordain, that martyrs be honoured, and particularly James and Stephen. And yet in the twelfth chapter of the sixth book, giving an account of the council of Jerusalem, the history of which we have in Acts xv. on occasion of the controversy concerning the method of receiving the Gentiles, it is said, 'that[f] all the twelve apostles were then gathered together at Jerusalem, with James the Lord's brother.' Here, I think, is an inconsistence with what had been before said of the death of James, son of Zebedee: moreover here is also certainly a mistake, or false history: for the apostle James, just mentioned, had been beheaded by order of Herod Agrippa, before the meeting of the said council.

(3.) At the end of that twelfth chapter, having inserted the epistle to the church of Antioch and other churches, it

[d] This is particularly mentioned by Du Pin, p. 17. as one of the absurdities found in the Apostolical Constitutions.

[e] L. viii. c. 4. Conf. l. ii. c. 55.

[f] Ἡμεις οἱ δωδεκα συνελθοντες εις Ἱερεσαλημ. κ. λ. L. vi. c. 12. p. 341. in.

is said by the apostles: 'This[g] letter we sent to them; but we ourselves stayed some time at Jerusalem, consulting together about the public good and the well ordering of all things.' Then in the thirteenth chapter: 'But[h] after a long time we visited the brethren, confirming them in the word, and exhorting them to be upon their guard against heretics.' Then at the beginning of chap. xiv. 'On[i] whose account we now being all met together, Peter and Andrew, James and John sons of Zebedee, Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas and Matthew, James the son of Alpheus, and Lebbeus surnamed Thaddeus, and Simon the Canaanite, and Matthias chosen in the room of Judas, and James the Lord's brother, and Paul, the chosen vessel and master of the Gentiles: we being all gathered together have written to you this catholic doctrine.' Surely I need not harangue to show the absurdity of this. How could James brother of John, and son of Zebedee, who had been beheaded before the above-mentioned council, be present at another, not held until a good while after it? Such things almost render the writer's abilities doubtful: and may make us question, whether he was not rather ignorant than learned, as some indeed have thought.

5. The style, or manner of expression, seems sometimes to betray a later time than is pretended.

(1.) 'Now[k] concerning the bishops, which were or have been ordained in our life-time, we let you know that they are these: James, bishop of Jerusalem, brother of our Lord: upon whose death the second was Simeon the son of Cleophas; after him Judas the son of James.' And what follows. To speak of things done by the apostles in their life-time, is rather the style of an historian after their death than of the apostles themselves. Nor is it easy to conceive, that any number of apostles should be living to ordain a successor to Simeon; who, according to[l] Eusebius's history, died in the 120th year of his age: and according to Eusebius's, or Jerom's[m] Chronicle, in the reign of Trajan, and the year of our Lord's nativity 107, or thereabout.

(2.) To the like purpose in another place: 'You[n] are not

[g] *Την μεν εν επιστολην εξαπεστειλαμεν· αυτοι τε εν ικαναις ημεραις εν Ιεροσολυμοις επεμειναμεν, αμα συζητουντες προς το κοινωφελες εις διορθωσιν.* p. 342. sub fin.

[h] *Μετα δε χρονον ικανον επισκεψαμενοι τους αδελφους. κ. λ.*

[i] *Δι' ους και ημεις νυν επι το αυτο γενομενοι, εγραψαμεν υμιν την καθολικην ταυτην διδασκαλιαν.* p. 343.

[k] *Περι δε των υφ' ημων χειροτονηθεντων επισκοπων εν τη ζωη τη ημετερα. κ. λ.* L. vii. c. 46. in.

[l] H. E. l. iii. c. 32. p. 104. C.

[m] P. 165.

[n] L. viii. c. 46. p. 422. in.

ignorant of the things done by us. Doubtless you know the bishops nominated by us, and the presbyters and deacons appointed by prayer and imposition of hands.'

(3.) 'For[o] as we passed through the nations, and confirmed the churches, some we cured with healing words—but those who were incurable we cast out from the flock.—These things we did in every city, everywhere throughout the whole world.' This is not written by the apostles, but by some historian after their time.

(4.) Again, 'For[p] by the laying on of our hands, the Holy Ghost was given to believers.' But if the apostles had spoke, they would have said: 'The Holy Ghost is given by us.' The expression in the Constitutions shows, they were written at a time when spiritual gifts were no longer bestowed by the apostles.

(5.) Speaking of heretics: 'All[q] these had one and the same design.' Afterwards, 'Others[r] said; and[s] others taught.' Here the writer betrays himself: this is the style of an historian who writes of things past; not of one who relates things then doing, or gives an account of persons then in being. I put in the margin a remark of[t] Daillé upon some of the expressions just cited.

VII. All these things must be more than sufficient to satisfy us, that the Constitutions, in eight books, are not a work of the apostles: and since they bear their name, without reason, we are unavoidably constrained to own, they are an imposture. The nature of such a crime is well known, and I need not aggravate it. The character[u] of a writer of this kind may be better taken from Abp. Usher, than from me. But I think, that any man may justly recommend to the contrivers and patrons of such works, the serious consideration of those words of Solomon, Prov. xxx. 6, "Add thou not unto his words, lest he reprove thee, and thou be found a liar."

The exact time of the work cannot be determined: but as divers learned men have delivered their conjectures, I may take the liberty to say, I incline to their opinion, who think it was composed in the latter part of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century. The author, probably, was a

[o] L. vi. c. 18. p. 349.

[p] *Και γαρ δια της επιθεσεως των ημετερων χειρων εδιδοτο πνευμα αγιον τοις πιστευουσι.* L. ii. c. 41. p. 250.

[q] *Τουτοις δε πασιν—σκοπος ην εις.* L. vi. c. 10. in.

[r] *Ετεροι δε εξ αυτων ελεγον.* Ib.

[s] *Αλλοι δε—εδιδασκον.* Ibid.

[t] Nimirum iis temporibus vixit impostor, quibus utrique illi hæretici apud christianos esse desierant. De Pseudep. Ap. l. i. c. 6. p. 96.

[u] Ita enim bipedum nequissimus, qui Clementis personam quinto post excessum ipsius seculo, induit, &c. Dissertat. Ignat. cap. vi. fin.

bishop of a proud and haughty spirit, who was fond of church power, and loved pomp and ceremony in religious worship. Many learned moderns think he was an Arian; but I do not concern myself about that; the passages which have been supposed to favour Arianism, make a very small, or no part of the preceding collections: I have no reason, therefore, to bring that point into the conclusion. But I presume, that none ever suspected the author to be a Homoüsian.

VIII. Whoever was the author of this work, it is fit we should observe his testimony to the scriptures: for as the work is of some length, we may expect to see therein, in some measure, the sentiments and practice of the christians of his time concerning them.

1. 'And[v] the reader standing upon an eminence, in the middle of the church: let him read the books of Moses, and of Joshua the son of Nun, the Judges, the Kingdoms, and the Chronicles, and those[w] concerning the return from the captivity, and beside these the book of Job, and Solomon, and the sixteen prophets. And when there have been two readings, [or when two readings are over,] let another sing [or read in a chanting manner] the hymns of David;[x] and let the people repeat the conclusions in a chanting voice. Afterwards let our Acts be read, and the epistles of Paul, our fellow-worker, which he sent to the churches under the conduct of the Holy Spirit. And afterwards let a deacon, or a presbyter, read the gospels which I, Matthew, and I, John, delivered to you, and those which the fellow-workers of Paul, Mark and Luke, received and left to you. After this let one of the presbyters exhort the people, and last of all the bishop.'

Many remarks might be made here; but the most important are obvious, and cannot well be overlooked by any. The author received four gospels, and no more; also the Acts of the Apostles, and St. Paul's epistles. Why the epistles of James, Peter, Jude, and John, are omitted, may not be easy to say; but that he received others, beside those here mentioned, will appear presently. As Mark is here considered as a fellow-labourer of the apostle Paul, it is likely the writer means Mark, nephew to Barnabas, often mentioned in the Acts, and in several of St. Paul's epistles, Col. iv. 10; 2 Tim. iv. 11; Philem. 24.

2. In the above passage, the names of all the evangelists,

[v] L. ii. c. 57. p. 261, 262.

[w] *Και τα της επανοδε.* Ib.

[x] *Ανα δυο δε γενομενων αναγνωσματων, ἑτερος τις τας τε Δαβιδ ψαλλετω ὑμνες, και ὁ λαος τα ακροστιχια ὑποψαλλετο.* Ibid.

writers of the four gospels, are expressly named. The Acts of the Apostles likewise is in this work ascribed to [y] St. Luke.

3. All St. Paul's epistles are here quoted, and most of them several times, particularly that to the Hebrews.

4. The writer received other epistles of apostles, beside those of Paul, as appears from those words, 'And [z] after the reading of the law, and the prophets, and our epistles, and the Acts of the Apostles.' That direction is given in the name of the twelve [a] apostles.

5. There are supposed to be four or five quotations or references to the epistle of [b] St. James; but they are not all clear.

6. It should be here observed by us, that this writer did not esteem James, brother of the Lord, and bishop of Jerusalem, one of the twelve apostles. He is distinguished from them in several places [c] of this work.

7. There are several plain quotations of the first epistle of Peter. I put in the margin [d] one or two: I transcribe one here for the sake of its singularity. 'You [e] therefore are the holy and sacred church of God, "written" or enrolled "in heaven, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people," a bride adorned for the Lord God.' Here is a reference to Heb. xii. 23, and 1 Pet. ii. 9. Whether there be in the last words a reference to the Revelation, deserves to be considered; he may refer to [f] Rev. xxi. 2. Or perhaps he has no text of scripture at all in his eye.

8. There are no [g] clear references to the second epistle of Peter.

9. There are not in the Constitutions any quotations of the three epistles of St. John, or of the epistle of St. Jude.

10. Some may wonder, that when there are so many quotations of St. Paul's epistles, and of most other books of the New Testament, there should be so few quotations of the catholic epistles. But that wonder may be abated, when we

[y] Ὡς πᾶ λεγει ὁ Λᾶκας· Ὧν ἠρξατο ὁ Ιησᾶς ποιειν και διδασκειν. [Acts i. 1.] L. ii. c. 6. p. 217. in.

[z] Και μετα την αναγνωσιν τᾶ νομᾶ, και των προφητων, των τε επιστολων ἡμων, και των Πραξεων, και των ευαγγελιων. L. viii. c. 5. p. 392.

[a] Vid. ib. c. 4. in.

[b] Vid. l. ii. c. 8. et c. 58. p. 266. l. vii. c. 5. l. viii. c. 2.

[c] Vid. l. ii. c. 55. l. vi. cap. 12. in. et c. 14. l. viii. c. 46.

[d] Lib. iii. c. 15. sub fin. l. vii. c. 2. l. v. c. 16. p. 321. l. vi. c. 29.

[e] Και ὑμεις ᾶν εστε ἁγια τᾶ Θεᾶ ἱερα εκκλησια απογεγραμμενη εν ᾶρανῳ, βασιλειον ἱερατευμα, ἐθνος ἁγιον, λαος εις περιποιησιν, νυμφη κεκαλλωπισμενη Κυριῳ τῳ Θεῳ. L. ii. c. 25. p. 238. m.

[f] ——ἡτοιμασμενην ὡς νυμφην κεκοσμημενην τῳ ανδρι αυτης. Apoc. cap. xxi. 2.

[g] Vid. l. vii. c. 14.

consider how little notice is taken of the catholic epistles, in comparison with Paul's, by divers learned christian writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, who lived in the east.

St. Chrysostom, of the fourth century, has left homilies, or commentaries, upon the gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, the Acts of the Apostles, and St. Paul's fourteen epistles, but none upon the catholic epistles. And there are in his homilies and commentaries, few quotations of the catholic epistles, in comparison of St. Paul's. In the index of scriptures, at the end of the tenth tome of his works, of the Benedictine edition, a large volume of 730 pages, containing his homilies upon the first and second to the Corinthians, and commentaries upon the epistle to the Galatians, there is not one text from the catholic epistles, though there are quotations of the four gospels, the Acts, and all Paul's epistles, except that to Philemon: and of most of them several or many quotations. In the index at the end of the eleventh tome is but one text of the first epistle of St. Peter, and one of the first epistle of St. John: whereas all St. Paul's epistles, without exception, are there quoted, and most of them often. In the index at the end of the twelfth tome there is not one text from the catholic epistles, though there are quotations of all the preceding books, or epistles of the New Testament, and several quotations of most of them. Those indexes indeed, may not be complete; I believe they are not; though I think they are exacter than such things generally are. However, undoubtedly, texts are not omitted designedly. The Benedictine editors of St. Chrysostom's works were as willing to collect the quotations of the catholic epistles, as of any other books of the New Testament.

Theodoret, in the fifth century, who has questions, or commentaries upon all or most of the books of the Old Testament, and commentaries upon St. Paul's fourteen epistles, has none upon the catholic epistles. Nor does he in his works quote the catholic epistles oftener than St. Chrysostom has done. It is not needful to mention more particulars of this kind.

11. If the Revelation is not quoted here, that affords no argument that the Constitutions were composed before the publishing of that book. If the Constitutions were drawn up in the latter part of the fourth or in the fifth century, there would be little reason to expect in them any quotation of the Revelation: because at that time it was received by few Greek writers, or christians who lived in the eastern part of the Roman empire.

12. There can be no question made, but the writer of the

Constitutions received all those books of the New Testament, which were all along generally received by christians. Whether he received those catholic epistles, which were at some times doubted of, we cannot say certainly; but it appears to me somewhat probable, that he received all those books of the New Testament which are commonly received now by us, except the Revelation: concerning which, it is likely, he was of the same opinion with many other Greek writers of the time above mentioned, by whom it was not received.

13. This[h] author had the history of the woman taken in adultery, which we now have in St. John's gospel, chap. viii. at the beginning.

14. The common titles and divisions of the books of scripture occur here frequently: the[i] Law, the Prophets, and the Gospel: the[k] Law, the Prophets, the Psalms, and the Gospel, and the like.

15. The respect of the writer, and of christians in his time, for the sacred scripture, is manifest from many passages above transcribed, where they are quoted, and where the public reading of them in the assemblies of christians is spoken of.

16. Christians in general are exhorted to private reading the scriptures in this manner: 'Sitting[l] at home read the law, the Kingdoms, the prophets, sing the hymns of David; and with care peruse the gospel, which is the completion of them.' More to the like purpose follows there in the next chapter.

17. When a bishop is ordained, it is appointed by all the apostles met together, 'that[m] the divine gospels be held open over his head by the deacons.'

IX. Concerning the Canons, the judgment of Cotelerius is, that[n] they cannot be ascribed to the apostles, or Clement, because they are received with other books of scripture, are not quoted by the writers of the first ages, and contain in them many things not agreeable to the apostolical times.

1. I do not think myself obliged to enlarge here: they

[h] Vid. l. ii. c. 25. p. 236.

[i] L. ii. c. 39. p. 249.

[k] L. v. c. 19. p. 323.

[l] L. i. c. 5. Vid. et cap. 6.

[m] ——— *των δε διακονων τα θεια ευαγγελια επι της τυ χειροτονεμενυ κεφαλης ανεπτυγμενα κατεχοντων.* L. viii. c. 4. p. 391.

[n] Decreta ista apostolis et Clementi tribui non debere evincit, quod cum aliis sacræ scripturæ voluminibus non legantur, quod a primorum seculorum scriptoribus non laudentur, quodque multa contineant nondum temporibus apostolicis recepta. Cotel. Jud. de Canon. Ap. ap. Patr. Ap. T. i.

who are curious may consult [o] Beveridge, [p] Daillé, [q] Turner, [r] Sam. Basnage, and also James Basnage: which last says, that [s] some of them are ancient, others not older than the seventh century. Not now particularly to mention any more authors.

2. The 85th canon contains a catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament: I take only the latter part of it. 'But our sacred books, that is, of the New Testament, are the four gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, John; fourteen epistles of Paul; two epistles of Peter; three of John; one of James; one of Jude; two epistles of Clement; and [t] the Constitutions inscribed to you bishops, by me Clement, in eight books; which ought not to be divulged before all, because of the mystical things in them; and the Acts of us the Apostles.'

3. Upon this canon I need not say any thing more than that it is not ancient, or drawn up till after the end of the third century; which I think will appear from the following observations.

(1.) The epistle to the Hebrews was rejected, or doubted of, by many in the first three centuries, and also in the fourth century: but if this canon had been then in being, and acknowledged as apostolical, that epistle would have been received by all.

(2.) Several of the catholic epistles, that of James, the second of Peter, the second and third of John, and that of Jude, were rejected, or doubted of by many, in the early times of christianity: whereas they would have been rejected by all if this canon had been in being, and had been acknowledged to be apostolical. Mill [u] has already argued in this manner, and I think invincibly.

[o] Codex Canon. Illustrat. p. 581—593.

[p] De Pseudep. Ap.

[q] As before, p. 279, &c.

[r] Canonum, qui Apostolici usurpantur, non Clementem Rom. non Alexandrinum, sed anonymum quinto seculo collectorem fuisse existimamus. Qui, corrasis complurium synodorum decretis, seculis secundo, tertio, quarto labentibus congregatarum, synodicon confecit suum. Ann. 300. n. 14. Vid. et 15—17.

[s] On peut ajouter à ce recueil les Canones des Apôtres, dont quelques uns sont assez anciens, et les autres ne sont fait qu'au septième siècle. Hist. de l'Egl. l. ix. c. 7. n. 5.

[t] *Και αἱ Διαταγαι ὑμιν τοις επισκοποις δι' εμε Κλημεντος εν οκτω βιβλιοις προσπεφωνημεναι, ἁς ε χρη δημοσιευειν επι παντων, δια τα εν αυταις μυστικα· και αἱ Πραξεις ἡμων των αποστολων.* Can. 85.

[u] Unde constat, canonem 85 ex his qui Apostolici dicuntur, in quo epistola Jacobi, cæteræque supra memoratæ inter canonicas recensentur, haud genuinum esse, neque primis sæculis exstitisse.——Certe, si canon iste mox ab initio exstitisset, ecclesiæ ab epostolis fundatæ epistolas isto canone approbatas nequâquam repudiâssent, aut in dubium vocâssent. Proleg. n. 201.

(3.) The Revelation was received by many in the second and third, and following centuries; which it would not have been, if there had been a canon composed by the apostles, or Clement their companion, in which all other books of scripture were distinctly enumerated, and that omitted.

Baronius has very good observations, in my opinion, upon this 85th, or last canon of the apostles. How[v] could so many of the Latin and Greek writers, says he, receive the Revelation, which was wanting in an apostolical canon? And how could there have been such different opinions about the epistle to the Hebrews, and several of the catholic epistles, if they had been made canonical by any apostolical decree.

(4.) The first epistle of Clement was reckoned canonical by a very few, if any of the writers of the first three centuries: therefore this pretended apostolical canon, which placeth it among books of sacred scripture, was not in being.

(5.) The second epistle, called Clement's, was not[w] esteemed his in the third century; and that it is not a genuine work of his, has been clearly[x] shown.

(6.) The Constitutions are never reckoned among canonical books of scripture by any writers of the first three centuries.

(7.) Finally, the silence here enjoined with regard to the Constitutions, because of the 'mystical things' contained in them, is another argument, that this canon was not drawn up in the early days of christianity. For the Disciplina Arcani, or Doctrine of Arcanism, has no countenance from the authentic books of the New Testament: and was also unknown to Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Minucius Felix, and other primitive christian writers; who declare freely, and without reserve, before all the world, the principles of religion, and their method of worship; as has been often observed by learned men of late times. And, I pray, why is this reserve enjoined, with regard to the Constitutions only? Are there no 'mysteries' in any other books here mentioned? And are there not in the Constitutions many directions given to the laity, and to all men in general? Are they not at the beginning inscribed to 'all who from among the Gen-

[v] Rursum vero, quod ad novissimum illum canonem spectat, quâ libri canonici recensentur; ecquis unquam antiquorum Latinorum atque Græcorum adnumerare inter canonicos libros præsumsisset Apocalypsim, quam scisset in apostolorum canone prætermissam, qui vel saltem causam aliquam ejusmodi silentii non adduxisset?——Vel quid quod cum de his frequens inter patres oborta sit controversia, nemo penitus reperiatur, qui ejusmodi canonis vel saltem obiter meminerit? Ann. 102. n. 15, 16. l. iii. c. 38. et Hieron. de. V. I. cap. 15.

[w] Vid. Euseb. H. E.

[x] See vol. ii. p. 33—35.

'tiles have believed in Jesus Christ?' There must have been some particular reason for this caution. And possibly this may be as probable a reason as any, that the composer of this canon, who was either the author, or at least a great favourer of the Constitutions, being conscious of their novelty, inserted this caution with a view to evade, or weaken, the argument against their genuineness and authority, taken from the silence of antiquity about them. I place at the bottom of the page any observation of Archbishop Usher to the like purpose.

Upon the whole, I think, these observations demonstrate the late date of this canon, and that it had not a being in the first three centuries, or for some time after. Consequently it deserves not the regard of christians now, who are willing to be determined by evidence.

CHAP. LXXXVI.

RHETICIUS, BISHOP OF AUTUN.

'RHETICIUS,[a] or Reticius, bishop of Autun,' says Jerom, 'was a man of great note in Gaul, in the time of the emperor 'Constantine. There are extant his Commentaries upon the 'Canticles, and another large work against the Novatians. 'Nor have I met with any other writings of his.'

2. Rheticius was mentioned by us[b] formerly, in the history of the Donatists. He[c] was one of the Gallican bishops appointed by Constantine to hear Cæcilian and them, in a

[y] Ita enim bipedum nequissimus, qui Clementis personam (quinto post excessum ipsius sæculo) induit, Constitutionibus a seipso interpolatis, et in aliam pene speciem transformatis, canonicam auctoritatem conciliare conatus est: eâ tamen ad mysterium iniquitatis suæ celandum cautione adhibitâ, ut eas nullo modo divulgandas—præciperet. Ex quibus et Albaspinæus [Obs. l. i. c. 13.] recte observavit, Constitutiones hasce primis seculis factas non esse; cum primi seculi christiani sua lubentes mysteria, ut vel ex Justino constat, enuntiarent. Usser. Proleg. seu Diss. Ignat. cap. vi. fin.

[a] Rheticius, Æduorum, id est, Augustodunensis episcopus, sub Constantino celeberrimæ famæ habitus est in Galliis. Leguntur ejus Commentarii in Cantica Canticorum, et aliud grande volumen adversus Novatianum. Nec præter hæc quidquam ejus operum reperi. De V. I. cap. 82.

[b] See Vol. iii. ch. lxvii. num. ii. 2.

[c] Vid. Euseb. H. E. l. x. c. 5. p. 39. et Optat. l. i. c. 13.

council at Rome in 313. He was also present at the council of Arles, relating to the same cause, in 314.

3. Rheticius's Commentary upon the Canticles is mentioned by Jerom in some of his letters. I shall place a part of what he says[d] below. He owns, that[e] there was somewhat agreeable in the style; but says, the work was of little use for assisting men to understand the sacred author. He mentions some trifling thoughts: and blames Rheticius for not having first consulted Origen, and other interpreters, before he attempted to write a commentary himself.

4. Rheticius is mentioned by Augustine in his writings against the Pelagians. He speaks[f] of him as a man of great repute in his time, and has twice quoted a passage of his concerning baptism, as favouring the doctrine of original

[d] Ob hoc et ego obsecro, et tu ut petas plurimum quæso, ut tibi beati Rheticii Augustodunensis episcopi Commentarios ad describendum largiatur, in quibus Canticum Canticorum sublimi ore disseruit. Ad Florent. ep. 4. [al. 6.] T. iv. p. 6. in.

[e] Nuper quum Rheticii Augustodunensis episcopi, qui quondam a Constantino imperatore sub Silvestro episcopo ob causam Montensium missus est Romam, Commentarios in Canticum Canticorum perlegissem,—vehementer miratus sum, virum eloquentem, præter ineptias sensuum cæterorum, Tharsis urbem putâsse Tarsum, in quâ Paulus apostolus natus sit.—Innumerabilia sunt, quæ in illius mihi Commentariis sordere visa sunt. Est quidem sermo compositus, et Gallicano cothurno fluens. Sed quid ad interpretem, cujus professio est, non quo ipse disertus appareat, sed quo eum, qui lecturus est, sic faciat intelligere, quomodo ipse intellexit qui scripsit? Rogo, non habuerat Originis volumina? non interpretes cæteros? non certe aliquos necessarios Hebræorum, ut aut interrogaret, aut legeret, quid sibi vellent quæ ignorabat? Sed tam male videtur existimâsse de cæteris, ut nemo possit de ejus erroribus judicare. Frustra ergo a me ejusdem viri Commentarios postulas, quum mihi in illis displiceant multo plura, quam placeant, &c. Ad Marcell. Ep. 133. [al. ep. 10.] inter criticas. T. ii. p. 662, 624.

[f] Rheticium ab Augustoduno episcopum magnæ auctoritatis in ecclesiâ tempore episcopatus sui, gesta illa ecclesiastica nobis indicant, quando in urbe Româ, Melchiade apostolicæ sedis episcopo præsidente, cum aliis judex interfuit, Donatumque damnavit, qui prior auctor Donatistarum schismatis fuit, et Cæcilianum episcopum ecclesiæ Carthaginensis absolvit. Is cum de baptismo ageret, ita locutus est: 'Hanc igitur principalem esse in ecclesiâ indul-'gentiam, neminem præteriit, in quâ antiqui criminis omne pondus exponimus, 'et ignorantiæ nostræ facinora prisca delemus, ubi et veterem hominem cum 'ingenitis sceleribus exuimus.' Audis 'antiqui criminis pondus.' Audis 'prisca facinora.' Audis 'cum sceleribus ingenitis hominem veterem.' Et audes adversus hæc ruinosam construere novitatem? Contr. Julian. Pelagian. l. i. cap. iii. n. 7. T. 10. P. i.

Si vis agnoscere vetustatem, ex quâ parvuli christianâ gratiâ renovantur, audi fideliter quod ait homo Dei Rheticius ab Augustoduno episcopus, qui cum Melchiade Romano episcopo quondam judex sedit, Donatumque damnavit hæreticum. Hic enim, cum de christiano baptismate loqueretur, 'Hanc 'igitur,' inquit, 'principalem esse in ecclesiâ indulgentium.'—Addisne, non postea perpetrata, sed etiam ingenita scelera veteris hominis?' Numquid Manichæus fuit iste Rheticius? Op. Imperf. l. i. cap. cv. T. 10. P. 2.

sin. But it does not appear whence that passage is taken: whether from one of the books mentioned by Jerom, or from some other work, or from the debates in one of the councils above taken notice of.

5. I have thought it best to give some account of this eminent bishop and commentator, who flourished at the beginning of the fourth century, though his writings are not now extant. And I refer my readers[g] to some learned moderns, whom they may consult, if they think fit.

CHAP. LXXXVII.

TRIPHYLLIUS.

1. TRIPHYLLIUS[a] bishop of a city in Cyprus about the year 340, and afterwards, was a man of great repute for eloquence in the time of the emperor Constantius, as we learn from Jerom, whose article I place at length[b] below. He assures us that Triphyllius wrote a Commentary upon the Canticles, which he had read, and divers other works, which he had not met with. Triphyllius is likewise placed by Jerom among[c] other eminent christian writers in his letter to Magnus.

2. Suidas in his Lexicon[d] says: 'Triphyllius, a bishop, 'and disciple of Spyridion of Cyprus who wrought many 'miracles, wrote an account of our holy father Spyridion.' It is not unlikely, that this may be one of the many works of Triphyllius, which Jerom had not met with.

3. Sozomen relates divers things of Spyridion, or Spyridon, which are not very easy to be credited. One story however may be true enough; it is to this purpose. There[e]

[g] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 173. Fabr. ad Hieron. de V. I. cap. 82. Du Pin, Bib. T. ii. p. 26. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. vi. Les Donatistes. Art. 12.

[a] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 206. Fabr. Bib. Ec. ad Hieron. de V. I. cap. 92.

[b] Triphyllius, Cypri Ledrensis, sive Leucotheon, episcopus, eloquentissimus suæ ætatis, et sub rege Constantio celeberrimus fuit. Legi ejus in Cantica Canticorum commentarios. At multa alia composuisse fertur, quæ in nostras manus minime pervenerunt. De Vir. Ill. cap. 92.

[c] Exstat et—libri—et Triphyllii Cyprii. Ep. 83. T. iv. p. 656.

[d] V. Τριφυλλιος.

[e] ———και Τριφυλλιον τον Λεδρων επισκοπον ανδρα αλλως τε ελλογιμον, και δια νομων ασκησιν πολιν· χρονον εν τη Βερυτιων πολει διατριψαντα.

being upon some occasion a synod of the bishops of Cyprus, Spyridion and Triphyllius were present. Triphyllius had studied the Roman laws at Berytus for a considerable time, and was in repute likewise for his skill in other parts of learning. At an assembly for divine worship, Triphyllius was called upon to preach; and when he alleged that text [Mark ii. 9.] "Arise, take up thy bed," or couch, "and walk:" instead of the popular word in the evangelist, he made use of another Greek word, reckoned more elegant: at which Spyridion, being much offended, rose up from his seat, and before all the people said aloud, 'Are you better than he who said 'couch,' that you are ashamed to use his expressions?'

4. If this be true, we have an argument of the virtue, particularly of the humility of Triphyllius, in that work of his where he celebrated Spyridion and his miracles. The public reproof which he had received, produced no lasting resentment in his mind; he still honoured his master: he was therefore both a learned and a good man, though, as it seems, too credulous.

5. Rufinus[f] supposes Spyridion to have been present at the council of Nice: and tells divers strange stories of him, which Socrates[g] transcribed into his Ecclesiastical History. They who desire to know more of Spyridion, may consult[h] Tillemont.

Συναξεως δε επιτελεμενης, επιτραπεις Τριφυλλιος διδαξαι το πληθος, επει το ῥητον εκεινο παραγειν εις μεσον εδεησε, το αρον σε τον κραββατον, και περιπατει, σκιμποδα αντι τε κραββατε, μεταβαλων το ονομα, ειπε. Και ὁ Σπυριδιων αγανακτησας, ε συγε, εφη, αμεινων τε κραββατον ειρηκοτος, ὁτι ταις αυτε λεξεσιν επαισχυνῃ κεχρησθαι; τετο ειπων, απεπηδησε τε ἱερατικε θρονε, τε δημε ὁρωντος, κ. λ. Sozom. l. i. c. 11. p. 416, 417.

[f] Ex eorum numero (et si quid adhuc eminentius) fuisse dicitur etiam Spyridion Cyprius episcopus, vir unus ex ordine prophetarum: quantum etiam nos eorum, qui eum viderunt, relatione comperimus, &c. Rufin. H. E. l. i. cap. 5. [g] Soc. l. i. c. 12. [h] Mem. Ec. T. vii.

CHAP. LXXXVIII.

FORTUNATIANUS.

1. AS Jerom has a chapter for Fortunatianus, I transcribe it[a] below. He was born in Africa, but was bishop of Aquileia in Italy. In the reign of Constantius he wrote short commentaries or notes upon the gospels in a homely style. Fortunatianus is placed by Cave[b] at the year 340.

2. Though Jerom there speaks of Fortunatianus's commentaries as brief and rustic, he did not entirely neglect them. In a letter to Paul of Concordia, still extant, he entreats him[c] to send him those commentaries; and in the preface to his own commentary upon St. Matthew, he acknowledges, that[d] he had read what Fortunatianus had written upon that gospel.

CHAP. LXXXIX.

PHOTINUS.

I. *His history.* II. *Principles.* III. *Writings.* IV. *Character.* V. *Scriptures received by him.* VI. *His sect subsisted for some time.*

1. 'PHOTINUS of Galatia,' says[a] Jerom, 'disciple of Marcellus, and bishop of Sirmium, endeavoured to revive the

[a] Fortunatianus, natione Afer, Aquileiensis episcopus, imperante Constantio, in evangelia, titulis ordinatis, brevi et rustico sermone scripsit commentarios. Et in hoc habetur detestabilis, quod Liberium Romanæ Urbis episcopum, pro fide ad exilium pergentem, primus solicitavit ac fregit, et ad subscriptionem hæreseos compulit. De V. I. cap. 97. Vid. Fabr. in h. l. et conf. Tillemont. Mem. T. vi. Les Ariens. art. 51. et 69. [b] H. L. T. i. p. 206.

[c] Et ne putes modica esse quæ deprecor———scilicet Commentarios Fortunatiani—Ad Paul. Concord. ep. 10. [al. 21.] T. iv. p. 17. in.

[d] Legisse me fateor in Matthæum—et Latinorum, Hilarii, Victorini, Fortunatiani opuscula. Proleg. in. Matt. T. iv.

[a] Photinus de Gallogræciâ, Marcelli discipulus, Sirmii episcopus ordinatus,

'heresy of Ebion. Being afterwards banished by the emperor 'Valentinian, he wrote many volumes; among which, the 'chief are his books against the Gentiles, and to Valen-'tinian.'

Photinus was a native of Galatia, as Jerom intimates, and probably of Ancyra, the chief city. The same is intimated by[b] others. Jerom here, and[c] Sulpicius Severus, and[d] others, call him disciple of Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, of whom we have spoken[e] formerly. He[f] is also said to have been deacon to Marcellus.

The time when Photinus was ordained bishop of Sirmium, is not exactly known; nor when he first began to publish his peculiar principles, whether in 341, or 343: but he was first condemned by the Arians or Eusebians[g] in a synod held at Antioch in 344, or 345. He was afterwards condemned in several councils. But it was not easy to remove him, because[h] of the affection which the people of Sirmium had for him, who would not part with him. In the end he was condemned and deposed in a council at Sirmium, held in 351, as is now generally supposed: after which he was banished. There being some difficulties about the time of the just-mentioned council, and other councils relating to Photinus, which for the sake of brevity I do not choose to concern myself with; I refer to several learned[i] moderns,

Hebionis hæresim instaurare conatus est. Postea a Valentiniano principe pulsus ecclesiâ plura scripsit volumina: in quibus vel præcipua sunt contra Gentes, et ad Valentinianum libri. De Vir. Ill. cap. 107.

[b] ——— γενος της μικρας Γαλατιας. Socr. l. ii. c. 18. p. 96. D. Οἱ απο Μαρκελλε και Φωτεινε αγκυρογαλατων. Ap. eund. cap. 19. p. 99. B.

[c] Et tamen hoc ipsum Marcellum gravabat, quia Photinus auditor ejus fuisse in adolescentiâ videbatur. Sulp. Sev. Hist. Socr. l. ii. c. 35.

[d] ——— Μαρκελλε τε τε καθηγημενε μαθητης, ακολεθων τῳ διδασκαλῳ, κ. λ. Socr. l. c. 18. p. 96. D.

[e] See p. 146.

[f] Photinus Sirmiensis episcopus fuit a Marcello imbutus. Nam et diaconus sub eo aliquamdiu fuit. Hilar. Fragment. ii. n. 19. p. 1275.

[g] Vid. Athanas. de Synod. n. vi. vii. et conf. Socrat. l. ii. cap. 18, 19.

[h] Verum inter hæc Sirmium convenitur Photinus hæreticus comprehensus, olim reus pronuntiatus, et a communione jampridem unitatis abscissus, nec tum quidem per factionem populi potuit amoveri. Hilar. Fragm. ii. n. 21. p. 1299. Vid. et n. 22.

[i] Vid. Cav. H. L. Ann. 344. T. i. p. 209. and Life of St. Athanasius, n. xi. p. 127—129. in Lives of the Fathers of the Fourth Century. Du Pin. Bib. T. ii. p. 112. Tillem. Mem. T. vi. Les Ariens. Art. 37, 41, 44, 46, 47. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 314. et seq. T. xi. p. 378. not. Petav. Diss. de Photin. Damnat. ap. Labb. Concil. T. ii. p. 279, &c. et Animadvers. in Epiphan. H. 73. p. 304, &c. Tho. Ittigii Historia Photini in App. ad librum de Hæresiarchis. Diss. M. Larrogue de Photino hæretico, ejusque multiplici damnatione. Baron. Ann. 357. n. i. et seqq. Pagi Ann. 344, 345, 347. n. v. viii. xv. 349. n. vi. vii. 351. n. x. xi. et seqq. Basnag. Ann. 345. n. v. 349. n. viii. 351. n. vi. viii. Athanas. Vit. a Benedic. adornat ad Ann. Chr. 343, 347, 349, 351.

who have written his history, in which there are divers intricacies.

Jerom says, that Photinus was banished by Valentinian: which creates a difficulty: for the council of Sirmium, by which Photinus was deposed, and after which he was banished, was held in the time of Constantius, who died in 361, whereas Valentinian did not begin to reign before 464. Some[k] therefore have thought, that what Jerom says here is a slip of memory, or mistake through haste, putting Valentinian for Constantius. Others[l] account for it in this manner; Photinus, they suppose, must have been restored by the edict of Julian, together with other bishops banished in the reign of Constantius; and Photinus was banished a second time, in the time of Valentinian, if Jerom is not mistaken. And indeed, there is in Facundus[m] a letter of Julian to Photinus, if it be genuine; and it is very complaisant.

It is concluded from Jerom's[n] Chronicle, that Photinus died in 375 or 376. He seems to have been living when[o] Epiphanius wrote the article of his heresy in 375. Optatus[p] who wrote about 368, may be understood to speak of him as then living.

Whenever that council of Sirmium was held, by which Photinus was deposed and banished, there[q] was a conference held concerning his doctrine, at his request. The principal disputant on the other side was Basil the Arian bishop of Ancyra, who had been put in the room of Marcellus: and it is said, that Basil triumphed in the argument. The disputation was taken down by notaries appointed for that purpose; and there were several copies made of it, one to be sent to the emperor Constantius, another for the synod, and a third for the courtiers that were present, and before whom the conference was held by the emperor's order. But there is nothing of it remaining: if it had been still extant, in all probability it would have appeared curious to some in our times.

Socrates says, that[r] after Photinus had been deposed, the

[k] Vid. Petav. Animadv. ad Epiph. H. 71. p. 304.

[l] Vid. Fabr. ad Hieron. de V. I. cap. 107. et ad Philastr. cap. 65.

[m] Vid. Facund. l. iv. cap. 2. p. 59.

[n] Chr. p. 187.

[o] Vid. H. 71. n. i. et Indic. Hæres. p. 808.

[p] Dictum est hoc de Photino præsentis temporis hæretico, qui Filium Dei ausus est dicere tantummodo hominem fuisse, non Deum. Optat. l. iv. c. 5.

[q] Vid. Epiph. H. 71. n. i. p. 829. Socrat. l. ii. cap. 29, et 30. Sozom. l. iv. cap. 6.

[r] *Τουτοις τον Φωτεινον και μετα καθαιρεσιν συνεσθαι και συνυπογραψαι συμπειθειν επειρωντο, επαγγειλαμενοι αποδωσειν αυτῳ την επισκοπην, εαν εκ μετανοιας αναθεματισῃ μεν το παρευρεθεν αυτῳ δογμα, συνθηναι δε τῃ αυτων γνωμῃ.* Socr. l. ii. c. 30. p. 125. D.

bishops offered to restore him if he would recant: but he refused. Sozomen[s] speaks to the like purpose. And perhaps Philaster refers to this, in a place to be taken notice of by and by: where he says, that Photinus refused to subscribe the creed which the synod had composed.

Germinius, an Arian, often mentioned by Athanasius, and the ecclesiastical historians, was successor of Photinus.

II. Accounts of Photinus's principles may be seen in many authors, particularly in the Symbol of the Eusebian council at Antioch, where he was first condemned. They[t] join him and Marcellus together, as denying the divinity and eternal pre-existence of the Son, and the personality of the Word, under a pretence of maintaining the divine Unity.

Philaster says little more of Photinus, than[u] that he held the same opinion with Paul of Samosata, and that he would not renounce it: for which reason he was deposed, and excluded from the church of Sirmium, by the bishops who had convicted him.

Epiphanius, in his Summary, says, that Photinus was of the same opinion with Paul of Samosata; though in some respects he expressed himself differently. But both agreed, that[v] Christ began to exist when he was born of Mary. In like manner, in his fuller account: that[w] he was not from eternity, but he was born of Mary, and the Holy Ghost came upon him: that[x] he was born of the Holy Ghost and Mary, and on that account was the Son of God.

Socrates says, that[y] Photinus, bishop of Sirmium, native of Galatia, following his master Marcellus who had been deposed, maintained, that Christ was a mere man: and that the bishops assembled at Sirmium deposed him, having

[s] Soz. l. iv. c. 6. p. 543, 544.

[t] *Τοιαυτοι δε εισιν οἱ απο Μαρκελλα, και Φωτεινα των Αγκυρογαλατων, οἱ την προαιωνιον ὑπαρξιν τα Χριστα, και την θεοτητα, και την ατελευτητον αυτα βασιλειαν ὁμοιως Ιουδαιοις αθετουσιν, επι προφασει τα συνιστασθαι δοκειν τῳ μοναρχιᾳ. Ισμεν γαρ αυτον ἡμεις ουχ' ἁπλως λογον προφορικον, η ενδιαθετον τα θεα, αλλα ζωντα θεον λογον καθ' ἑαυτον ὑπαρχοντα, και Υἱον θεα και Χριστον. κ. λ.* Apud Athanas. De Synod. p. 740. n. vi. Vid. et n. vii. et apud Socrat. H. E. l. ii. c. 19. p. 99.

[u] Photinus doctrinam ejus secutus in omnibus similiter prædicabat. Inque hoc mendacio perseverans, projectus est de ecclesiâ Sirmiensium civitatis, a sanctis episcopis superatus. Philast. cap. 65. p. 128. ed. Fabric.

[v] *—Και αυτοι και απο Μαριας και δευρο τον Χριστον διαβεβαιουνται.* Indict. p. 808.

[w] *Φασκει δε ουτος, απαρχης τον Χριστον μη ειναι, απο δε Μαριας και δευρο αυτον ὑπαρχειν, εἰτοτε, φησι, το πνευμα το ἁγιον επηλθεν επ' αυτον, και εγεννηθη εκ πνευματος ἁγια.* H. 71. n. i. p. 829. A. B.

[x] *—γεννηθεις ὁ Χριστος εκ πνευματος ἁγια και απο Μαριας.* Ib. n. ii. p. 830.

[y] *—ακολουθων τῳ διδασκαλῳ, ψιλον ανθρωπον τον Υἱον εδογματισε. κ. λ.* Socr. l. ii. c. 18. p. 96. D.

found that he held the doctrine of Sabellius of Lybia, and Paul of Samosata.

Sozomen's account is, that [z] Photinus taught, there is one God Almighty, who by his own word made all things: that he did not allow the eternal generation and subsistence of the Son, but said that the Christ began to be, when he was born of Mary. He [a] was deposed, as holding the doctrine of Sabellius, and Paul of Samosata.

Theodoret does little more than say, that [b] Photinus held the same doctrine with Sabellius, except that he set it forth in a somewhat different manner; and that he was confuted by Diodorus of Tarsus in Cilicia. To which [c] there may be reckoned to be a reference in the letter ascribed to the emperor Julian, as preserved in Facundus.

Photinus is in Augustine's [d] Book of Heresies; but I do not think it needful to transcribe him. However, in other places also he mentions the Photinians, and shows their sentiment. They said, that [e] Christ was a man, and a great prophet, and excelled all men, the best and most knowing, in wisdom and holiness; but he was not God. They said, that [f] the Father only is God, and Christ a man: and they denied the personality of the Spirit.

Sulpicius Severus was quoted before. I transcribe another passage [g] in the margin.

Vincent's account is as well expressed as most; I put it below [h] at length. 'Photinus holds the unity of God after

[z] Ελεγεν δε, ὡς Θεος μεν εστι παντοκρατωρ εἰς, ὁ τῳ ἰδιῳ λογῳ τα παντα δημιουργησας· την δε προ αιωνων γενεσιν τε και υπαρξιν τε Υἱε ϗ προσιετο· αλλ' εκ Μαριας γενησθαι τον Χριστον εισηγειτο. Soz. l. iv. c. 6. p. 542. A.

[a] Ibid. D. [b] Ὁ δε Φωτεινος μιαν ενεργειαν Πατρος και Υἱε και αγιε πνευματος ειρηκεν, ἑτεροις ονομασι την των Σαβελλιε δογματων κηρυττων διανοιαν. κ. λ. Hær. Fab. l. ii. c. 11. in.

[c] Julianus etenim, perfidus imperator, sic Photino hæresiarchæ adversus Diodorum scribit: Tu quidem, O Photine, verisimilis videris, et proximus salvari, bene faciens, nequâquam in utero inducens quem credidisti Deum—Diodorus autem Nazaræi magus—acutus apparuit sophista religionis agrestis. Ap. Facund. l. iv. c. 2. p. 59. [d] Cap. 45.

[e] Quam multi dicunt, homo fuit magnus? Quam multi dicunt, propheta fuit? Quam multi antichristi, ut Photinus, homo fuit, plus nihil habuit: sed omnes homines pios et sanctos excellentiâ sapientiæ et justitiæ superavit. Serm. 246. n. 4. T. v.

[f] Photiniani quoque Patrem solem esse dicentes Deum, Filium vero nonnisi hominem, negant omnino esse tertiam personam Spiritum Sanctum. Serm. 71. cap. iii. n. v. T. 5. P. i. Vid. et ep. 185. c. xi. n. 48. T. ii.

[g] Photinus vero novam hæresim jam ante protulerat, a Sabellio quidem in unione dissentiens, sed initium Christi a Mariâ prædicabat. Sulpic. Hist. Sacr. l. ii. c. 37.

[h] Photini ergo secta hæc est. Dicit Deum singulum esse ac solitarium, et more Judaico confitendum. Trinitatis plenitudinem negat, neque ullam Dei Verbi, aut ullam Spiritûs Sancti putat esse personam. Christum vero hominem tan-

'the Jewish manner. He allows not of any Trinity of 'persons. He says, that Christ was a man born of Mary. 'He denies the personality of the Word, and the Spirit. 'There is only one God the Father, and Jesus Christ, whom 'we ought to serve.'

Marius Mercator supposes Photinus to have taught, that[i] Jesus was born of Joseph and Mary, after the manner of other men. But that is contrary to what is said by others, particularly by Epiphanius, who represents him to have taught, that Christ was born of the Holy Ghost and Mary. St. Ambrose likewise, not yet quoted, represents the doctrine of Photinus to be, that[k] Christ did not exist till he was born of the Virgin: as does[l] Hilary. The Eusebians also, in the council of Antioch, suppose[m] that to be the opinion both of Marcellus and Photinus.

Perhaps, because Photinus was said by some to have revived the principle of Ebion, Marius Mercatus concluded Photinus to have held the opinion which he ascribes to him. But it is not certain that all called Ebionites were of that opinion. And they who said Photinus aimed to revive the heresy of Ebion, might mean no more than that he was an Unitarian after the manner of the Jews.

III. We come now to his works. Jerom says, Photinus wrote many volumes. But none of them are now extant. Nor do I recollect any references elsewhere to those mentioned by Jerom, his book against the Gentiles, and to Valentinian. But Socrates[n] speaks of a work written by him after his banishment, against all heresies, and in support of

tummodo solitarium adserit, cui principium adscribit ex Mariâ. Et hoc omni modo dogmatizat, solam nos personam Dei Patris, et solum Christum hominem colere debere. Hæc ergo Photinus. Vincent. Lirin. Common. cap. 17.

[i] Photinus autem insanissimo Nestorio parem sententiam tonuit, Verbum Dei quidem non negans esse in substantiâ: sed hoc extrinsecus in isto, qui ex Mariâ, more communi conjugum, natus est, Jesu inhabitâsse peculiariter, &c. Diss. de xii. Anath. n. xvii. T. ii. p. 128.

[k] Neque, ut Photinus, initium Filii ex Virgine disputemus. Ambr. de Fide. l. i. c. 1.

[l] Hæc quia Photinus, adversus quem tum conventum erat, negabat, inserta fidei fuerunt; ne quis auderet, non ante Dei Filium quam Virginis filium prædicere, &c. Hil. de Synod. n. 50. p. 1181. C. D.

——quæ [hæresis] initium Dei Filii ex partu Virginis mentiebatur. Ibid. n. 61. p. 1185. E.

[m] Χριστον δε αυτον και Υιον τυ Θευ—μη ειναι προ αιωνων θελοντας· αλλ' εκτοτε Χριστον αυτον γεγονεναι και Υιον τυ Θευ, εξ υ την ημετεραν εκ της παρθενυ σαρκα ενειληφε, προ τετρακοσιων ὁλων ετων. Ap. Socrat. l. ii. c. 19. p. 99. A.

[n] Εγραφε δε κατα πασων αἱρεσεων, το οικειον μονον δογμα παρατιθεμενος. Socr. l. ii. c. 30. p. 126. D.

his own opinion. And in like manner Sozomen, that[o] after his banishment Photinus did not desist from maintaining his own sentiments; but published books, both in Greek and Latin, in which he endeavoured to show the falsehood of all other opinions beside his own.

Rufinus, at the beginning of his Exposition of the Creed, refers to something written upon it by[p] Photinus: but perhaps he does not intend any distinct work.

IV. The character of Photinus being in divers ancient authors, we are led to take some notice of it.

Epiphanius says, he[q] had a fluent way of speaking, and in that respect was wonderfully qualified to impose upon unwary people. Sozomen, that[r] he was naturally eloquent, and fitted to persuade men, and that he gained many to his opinions. Vincent of Lerins says, that[s] Photinus entered upon the bishopric of Sirmium with universal applause; and that he was a man of ready wit, extensive learning, and charming eloquence, and therefore was a great temptation. He spoke and wrote properly and elegantly both in Greek and Latin, of which his remaining works are a proof, there being some in each language. Socrates likewise speaks[t] of his skill in the Latin, as well as the Greek tongue, as did Sozomen before quoted.

V. There is no reason to doubt that Photinus received the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as other christians did, there being no complaints made against him upon that head.

[o] ———λογες τε τη Ῥωμαιων και Ἑλληνων φωνη συγγραφων εξεδιδε, δι' ὡν επειρατο, πλην της αυτε τας των αλλων δοξας ψευδεις αποφαινειν. Soz. l. iv. c. 6. fin. p. 544.

[p] Et quidem comperi nonnullos illustrium tractatorum aliqua de his pie et breviter edidisse: Photinum vero hæreticum scio eâtenus conscripsisse, non ut rationem dictorum audientibus explanaret, sed ut simpliciter et fideliter dicta ad argumentum sui dogmatis traheret. Rufin. in Symb. init.

[q] Γεγονε ανος ὁ Φωτεινος λαλος τον τροπον, και ωξυμμενος την γλωτταν· πολλες δε δυναμενος απαταν τη τε λογε προφορᾳ, και ἑτοιμολογιᾳ. H. 71. n. 1. p. 829. B.

[r] Φυσεως δε εχων ευ λεγειν, και πειθειν ἱκανος, πολλες εις την ὁμοιαν αυτῳ δοξαν επηγαγετο. Sozom. l. iv. c. 6. p. 542. B.

[s] ——eos commemoremus, qui multis profectibus, multâque industriâ præditi, non parvæ tentationi catholicis exstiterunt. Velut apud Pannonias majorum memoriâ Photinus ecclesiam Sirmitanam tentâsse memoratur: ubi cum magno omnium favore in sacerdotium fuisset accitus, et aliquamdiu tanquam catholicus administraret.—Nam erat et ingenii viribus valens, et doctrinæ opibus excellens, et eloquio præpotens: quippe qui utroque sermone copiose et graviter disputaret et scriberet. Quod monumentis librorum suorum manifestatur, quos idem partim Græco, partim Latino sermone composuit. Commenit. cap. 16.

[t] Εν φυγη τε διαγων τε λοιπε, λογον συνεγραψεν αμφοτεραις γλωσσαις, επει μηδε της Ῥωμαϊκης ην αμοιρος. Socr. l. xxx. p. 126. B.

From Hilary of Poictiers we know, that[u] Photinus argued from 1 Tim. ii. 5. Epiphanius says he boasted[v] of being able to support his doctrine by innumerable texts of scripture. He particularly takes notice of his alleging[w] 1 Cor. xv. 47. That Photinus received[x] the beginning of St. John's gospel, and allowed the eternity of the Word, though thereby he did not understand the Son of God, is also manifest from Epiphanius.

VI. Though Photinus was deposed and banished, his doctrine was not extinguished: he still had admirers and followers. It is very likely that the books published by him after his banishment would affect some, especially considering that he was a good writer, as well as a good speaker. The bishops of the council of Aquileia, held in 381, in a synodical epistle to the emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, say, that[y] whereas the Photinians still met together at Sirmium, even contrary to a law already made, they entreat farther care to be taken about it. In the law of the emperor Gratian, in 378, giving leave to all manner of sects to hold assemblies, there[z] is an exception of the Eunomians, Photinians, and Manichees. When St. Jerom in his Chronicle says, at[a] this time dies Photinus, from whom the Photinians are called: it is supposed that there were then some men of that denomination. Augustine[b] often mentions

[u] Hoc si timemus, deleamus in apostolo quod dictum est, *Mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Jesus*, quia ad auctoritatem hæresis suæ Photinus hoc utitur. De Synod. n. 85. p. 1198. E.

[v] —και μετα καυχησεως περι της ὑποθησεως ἑκατον μαρτυριας φερειν ὁ γενναδας επηγγειλατο. H. 71. n. i. p. 729. D.

[w] Φασκων, ὁτι και ὁ αποστολος ειρηκεν· ὁ πρωτος ανθρωπος εκ γης χοϊκος, και ὁ δευτερος απ' ϐρανϐ. Ib. n. ii. p. 830. D.

[x] Και αυτος φημι, ειναι τον λογον απαρχης, αλλ' ϗχ' Ὑιον Θεϐ γεγεννημενον. κ. λ. Ib. n. iv. in. p. 31. D.

—Αλλα, φησι, ὡσπερ δια λογϐ ὁ ανθρωπος πραττει ὁ ϐϐλεται, ϐτως, πατηρ δια τϐ οντος εν αυτῳ λογϐ εποιησε τα παντα. κ. λ. Ib. p. 832. A. Conf. n. ii. p. 830.

[y] Photinianos, quoque, quos superiori lege censuistis nullos facere debere conventus, et eam quæ de sacerdotum concilio data est congregando removistis; petimus, ut quoniam in Sirmiensi oppido adhuc conventus tentare cognovimus, clementiâ vestrâ interdictâ etiam nunc coitione, reverentiam primum ecclesiæ catholicæ, deinde etiam legibus vestris deferri debeatis. Ap. Ambros. ep. x. n. 12. T. ii. p. 809.

[z] ———μονες δε των εκκλησιων ειργειν Ευνομιανες, και Φωτινιανες, και Μανιχαιϐς. Socr. l. v. c. 2. p. 260. Conf. Soz. l. vii. c. 1. p. 705.

[a] Photinus in Galatiâ moritur. A quo Photinianorum dogma inductum. Chr. p. 187.

[b] Vos instruximus, quantam meministis, et meminisse debetis, contra hæreticos Photianos, qui solum hominem sine Deo esse decernunt; contra Manichæos, qui solum sine homine Deum. In Johan. cap. x. Tr. 47. n. 9. Tom. 3. P. 2. Vid. et Johan. cap. vi. Tr. 26. n. 5. In Joh. c. xvi. Tr. 96. n. 3.

them in discourses to the people, which he would not have done, if there were no such men. Gennadius of Marseilles speaks of a Spanish bishop, named Audentius, placed by Cave[c] at 360, who[d] wrote a book against the Photinians. From the account which Gennadius gives of that work, it appears, that the Photinians were supposed to have believed our Saviour's nativity of a virgin. We learn from him likewise, that they were sometimes called Bonosians, or Bonosiacs: supposed to be so named from Bonosus, who[e] lived in the latter part of the fourth, and the beginning of the fifth century, the place of whose bishopric is not certainly known. Which Bonosus seems to have been of opinion, that Mary[f] had other children after the birth of Jesus.

CHAP. XC.

EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF VERCELLI.

1. EUSEBIUS, born in Sardinia, bishop of Verceil, or Vercelli, in Italy, is placed by Cave, as flourishing about the year 354. He died in the time of Valentinian and Valens, in[a] the year 370, or soon after. As he is in Jerom's Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers,[b] I place the chapter below.

2. In the reign of Constantius, after the council of Milan in 355, he was banished to Scythopolis in Syria, and after-

Serm. 252. n. 4. Tom. v. In 1 ep. Joh. cap. iv. Serm. 183. cap. v. n. 8. et alibi.

[c] H. L. T. i. p. 224.

[d] Audentius, episcopus Hispanus, scripsit adversus Manichæos, Sabellianos, et Arianos, maxime quoque speciali intentione contra Photinianos, qui nunc vocantur Bonosiaci, librum, quem prætitulavit 'De Fide adversus hæreticos:' In quo ostendit antiquitatem Filii Dei coæternalem Patri fuisse, nec initium deitatis tunc a Deo Patre accepisse, cum de Mariâ virgine homo, Deo fabricante, conceptus, et natus est. Gennad. de V. I. cap. 14.

[e] Of Bonosus, see Tillemont, Mem. Ec. T. x. S. Ambroise. Art. 68 et 70. and note 43 et 45. and Mr. Bower's History of the Popes, or Bishops of Rome. Vol. I. p. 263.

[f] Vid. Ambros. de Instit. Virg. n. 35. T. ii. p. 357. ed. Bened. et ejusd. Epist. Ibid. p. 1008, 1009.

[a] Vid. Hieron. Chr. p. 186.

[b] Eusebius, natione Sardus, et ex lectore urbis Romanæ Vercellensis episcopus, ob confessionem fidei a Constantio Principe Scythopolim, et inde in Cappadociam relegatus, sub Juliano Imperatore ad ecclesiam reversus, edidit Commentarios Eusebii Cæsariensis, quos de Græco in Latinum verterat. Mortuus est Valentiniano et Valente regnantibus. De V. I. cap. 96.

wards removed to Cappadocia, and, as it seems, once[c] more to the Upper Thebais. His and his friends' sufferings are mentioned by[d] many writers. When Julian came to be emperor, they[e] had all leave to return home, in 362.

3. He translated the Commentary of his name-sake of Cæsarea upon the Psalms out of Greek into Latin. It is the only work of his, mentioned by Jerom in the fore-cited chapter. It is not unlikely, that in the place of his exile he learned Greek: for Jerom intimates, that the translation was made during that period, and published by him after his return home. This translation is mentioned by Jerom in[f] two of his letters, beside what he says of it in his Catalogue: and in one of those places he says, (if he may be relied upon,) that this bishop of Vercelli left out in his translation some heretical expressions of the original. That translation is now entirely lost, as is observed by Montfauçon,[g] in his Preliminaries to Eusebius's commentary upon the Psalms, published by him in Greek and Latin.

4. However, there are still extant some letters, or fragments of letters, supposed to be his. For a particular account of which, and some other things, I refer to divers learned[h] moderns.

[c] Vid. Socr. l. iii. c. 5. Soz. l. v. cap. 12. in. Thdrt. l. iii. c. 4. Ruf. l. i. c. 27.

[d] Interea Mediolanum convenitur, ubi tum aderat Imperator. Eadem illa contentio nihil invicem relaxabat. Tum Eusebius Vercellensium, et Lucifer a Caralis Sardiniæ, episcopi relegati. Sulp. Sev. H. E. l. ii. cap. 39. al. 55.

Eusebius Vercellensis episcopus, et Lucifer et Dionysius Caralitanæ et Mediolanensis ecclesiæ episcopi—distantibus inter se ab Arianis, et a Constantio damnati exiliis. Hieron. Chr. p. 184.

Vid. Athanas. ad Imp. Constant. Apol. p. 312. Apol. De fugâ suâ, p. 322. B. C. Ad Monach. seu. Solitar. p. 390.

[e] Omnes episcopi, qui de propriis sedibus fuerant exterminati, per indulgentiam novi Principis ad ecclesias redeunt. Tunc triumphatorem suum Athanasium Ægyptus excepit. Tunc Hilarium de prœlio revertentem Galliarum ecclesia complexa est. Tunc ad reditum Eusebii lugubres vestes Italia mutavit. Hieron. advers. Lucif. T. iv. p. 301. in.

Sed mortuo Constantio, patrono hæreticorum, Julianus solus tenuit imperium, cujus præcepto omnes episcopi catholici de exiliis relaxantur. Faustin. et Marcell. lib. Pr. ap. Bib. PP. T. v. p. 656. B.

[f] Apud Latinos autem Hilarius Pictaviensis, et Eusebius Vercellensis episcopus, Origenem et Eusebium transtulerunt. Ad S. Augustin. ep. 74. al. 89. T. iv. p. 627.

Sit in culpâ ejusdem confessionis Vercellensis Eusebius, qui omnium Psalmorum Commentarios hæretici hominis vertit in nostrum eloquium: licet hæretica prætermittens optima quæque transtulit. Ad Vigil. ep. 36. al. 75. T. 4. p. 276.

[g] Hæc porro Eusebii interpretatio jam diu interiit. Nec memini me uspiam ejus vel codicem, vel fragmenta memorata deprehendisse. Prælim. in Euseb. comm. in. Ps. cap. 2. n. iii.

[h] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. Fabric. ad Hieron. de V. I. Tillem. Mem. T. vii. Du Pin. Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 235.

5. There is a manuscript in the cathedral church of Vercelli, kept there with great respect, and said to have been written by Eusebius. It is mentioned by[i] Montfauçon in his Diarium Italicum. But though he describes its condition, as worn out by time, or much injured by accidents, he does not tell us what it contains. Cave, in his article of Eusebius, has endeavoured to supply this defect, by adding from Mabillon that it[k] contains the gospels of Matthew and Mark. Nevertheless there seems reason to think that it has the four gospels. I have not yet seen the Evangeliarium Quadruplex Latinæ Versionis antiquæ, seu Veteris Italicæ, published by Joseph Blanchini at Rome, in 1749, in which he has inserted the whole of this manuscript. But according to the accounts given of that work by two[l] journalists, the manuscripts of Vercelli has the four gospels. And they observe particularly, that it is remarkable for two various readings in St. John's gospel: one of which is an addition at chap. v. 6, the other is an omission, there being wanting the whole history of the woman spoken of, chap. viii. 1—11, and the last verse of the preceding chapter.

[i] Ecclesiam inde Cathedralem adiimus, in cujus ærario reliquiæ insignes—Codicem ibidem inspeximus in chartâ membranaceâ tenuissimâ exaratum. Aiebantque ipsâ S. Eusebii manu, qui seculo quarto floruit, descriptum, versionemque ex Græco in Latinum ab eodem adornatam. Nonnulla hinc et inde legi, comperique, versionem esse a Vulgatâ nostrâ toto cœlo discrepantem. Codex multis in partibus labefactatus putrefactusque est. Quod casu plus quam vetustate evenisse dictitabant. Narrabantque diu in flumine demersum, indeque erutum fuisse. Alium item librum eodem in sacrario repositum aiebant usui fuisse S. Eusebio Vercellensi. Sed xi. tantum seculi esse arbitror. Montf. Diar. Ital. c. 28. p. 444, 445.

[k] Idem fere antea observaverat Cl. Mabillonus [It. Itai. T. i. p. 9.] qui subdit, Codicem Evangelia SS. Matthæi et Marci continere, membranam situ fere esse corruptam, &c. Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 216.

[l] See Bibliotheque Raisonée, T. 45. P. 2. Art. x. and the Universal Librarian, Vol. i. P. i. p. 1. &c.

CHAP. XCI.

LUCIFER, BISHOP OF CAGLIARI IN SARDINIA.

I. *His history, and testimony to the scriptures.* II. *The request of his followers, Faustinus and Marcellinus.* III. *A book of Faustinus concerning the Trinity.*

I. LUCIFER[a] bishop of Cagliari, or Carali (as the ancients always write it) in Sardinia, well known in his time, and a sufferer with the fore-mentioned Eusebius in the reign of Constantius, has[b] a place in Jerom's Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers: whose chapter therefore I transcribe below.

He seems to have been removed several times. Faustinus and Marcellinus say[c] four times. The last place of his banishment was Thebais, where[d] he was with the fore-mentioned Eusebius at the time of the death of Constantius. He is supposed to have died[e] in 370.

Athanasius, for a while at least, had a great regard[f] for him, and he wrote to him[g] two letters. In the first of which he desires him to send his writings: and by his order they were translated out of Latin into Greek. Faustinus and Marcellinus express themselves, as if[h] they had been translated by Athanasius himself.

[a] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. Basnag. Ann. 362. n. xx. et alibi. Fabr. ad Hieron. de V. I. cap. 95. et Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 402. Du Pin. Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 99. Tillem. Mem. T. vii.

[b] Lucifer Caralitanus episcopus, cum Pancratio et Hilario, Romanæ ecclesiæ clericis, ad Constantium Imperatorem a Libesi episcopo pro fide legatus missus, cum nollet sub nomine Athanasii Nicænam damnare fidem, in Palæstinam relegatus, miræ constantiæ et præparati animi ad martyrium contra Constantium scripsit librum, eique legendum misit. At non multo post sub Juliano Principe reversus Caralis, Valentiniano regnante, obiit. De V. I. cap. 95.

[c] ———non solum in Sardiniâ, sed in ipsis quoque quatuor exiliis. Lib. Prec. ap. Bib. PP. T. v. p. 658. F.

Et post aliquot annos beatus Lucifer de quarto exilio Romam pergens, ingressus est Neapolim Campaniæ. Ib. p. 656. H.

[d] Vid. Socr. H. E. l. iii. cap. 5. Soz. l. v. c. 12. in. Theodoret. l. iii. c. 4.

[e] Vid. Hieron. Chr. p. 186. [f] Vid. Athan. Apol. de fugâ suâ. p. 322. C. Histor. Arian. ad Monach. p. 363, 364.

[g] Ap. Athan. Opp. p. 565, 566.

[h] Quos quidem libros—suspexit et Athanasius, ut veri vindices, atque in

Lucifer was always a man of a vehement temper, as appears from his books, written in the time of Constantius, and during his banishment; the titles[i] of which I place below. And after his liberty, in the time of Julian, contrary to the sentiment of the catholic bishops in general, he went into[k] a rigid principle, refusing, though[l] it had been determined, in a synod at Alexandria in 352, to receive those bishops who in the reign of Constantius had in any measure complied with the Arians, or to communicate with those who received them, upon the acknowledgment of their fault. Jerom[m] at once represents his principle, and speaks tenderly of Lucifer himself: as[n] does also Sulpicius Severus.

Lucifer[o] and his followers, as it seems, were willing to receive the laity who came over from the Arians, upon renouncing their error; but they would not consent that bi-

Græcum stylum transtulit, ne tantum boni Græca lingua non haberet, &c. Faustin. et Marcell. lib. pr. p. 658. B.

[i] Ad Constantinum Imp. pro Athanasio, Libri duo. De Regibus Apostaticis, Lib. i. De non conveniendo cum Hæreticis. Lib. i. De eo quod moriendum est pro Dei Filio. Lib. i. De non parcendo in Deum Delinquentibus. Lib. i. Ad Florentium Epistola brevis. Ap. Bib. PP. T. iv. p. 181—250.

[k] Vid. Hieron. adv. Luciferian. T. iv. Augustin. De Hær. cap. 81. T. viii.

[l] Pergit interea Eusebius Alexandriam, ibique confessorum concilio congretato—quo pacto post hæreticorum procellas, et perfidiæ turbines, tranquillitas revocaretur ecclesiæ—discutiunt. Aliis videbatur fidei calore ferventibus, nullum debere ultra in sacerdotium recipi, qui se utcunque hæreticæ communionis contagione maculâsset. Sed alii dicebant, melius esse—et ideo sibi rectum videri, ut, tantum perfidiæ auctoribus amputatis, reliquis sacerdotibus daretur optio, si forte velint, abjurato errore perfidiæ, ad fidem patrum statutaque converti, nec negare aditum redeuntibus, quin potius de eorum conversione gaudere. Rufin. Hist. Ec. l. i. cap. 28. Conf. Socr. l. iii. c. 9. Soz. l. v. c. 13. Theod. l. iii. c. 5.

[m] Sed, ut dicere cœperamus, post reditum confessorum, in Alexandriâ postea synodo constitutum est, ut, exceptis auctoribus hæreseos, quos error excusare non poterat, pœnitentes ecclesiæ sociarentur. Assensus est huic sententiæ Occidens———Ventum est ad asperrimum locum, in quo adversum voluntatem et propositum meum cogor beato Lucifero secus quidquam, quam et illius meritum, et mea humanitas poscit, existimare. Sed quid faciam? Veritas os reserat—In tali articulo, ecclesiæ in tantâ rabie luporum, segregatis paucis ovibus, reliquum gregem deseruit. Adv. Lucif. T. iv. p. 302.

[n] Cæterum Lucifer, tum Antiochiæ, longe diversâ sententiâ fuit. Nam in tantum eos, qui Arimini fuerunt, condemnavit, ut se etiam ab eorum communione secreverit, qui eos sub satisfactione vel pœnitentiâ recepissent. Id recte, an perperam constituerit, dicere non ausim. S. Sever. H. S. l. ii. c. 48. al. 60.

[o] Orthod. Expone mihi, quare laïcum venientem ab Arianis recipias, episcopum non recipias? Lucifer. Recipio laïcum, qui errâsse se confitetur. Et Dominus mavult pœnitentiam peccatoris quam mortem. Orth. Recipe ergo et episcopium, qui et errâsse se confitetur. Lucifer. Si errare se confitetur, cur episcopus perseverat? Deponat sacerdotium, concedo veniam pœnitenti. Hieron. adv. Lucifer. T. iv. p. 290.

shops who had complied with the Arians, should be received as such. They might, upon returning to the catholics, be received as laymen, but they were not any more to officiate in the church.

This occasioned a schism; which, however, never[p] spread very far. Rufinus[q] speaks of it as very small, and Theodoret as[r] extinct in his time. And yet in the year 384, or thereabout, they obtained a[s] rescript from Theodosius, to secure them from persecution, since they made no innovations in the faith. However, they were for some time in several parts of the[t] world; and the authors of the aforesaid request complain particularly, that at Rome,[u] where they had a bishop named Aurelius, Pope[v] Damasus disturbed their assemblies, and did all he could to hinder their worship, whether by day or by night.

Lucifer's works have not yet been published with all the advantage that might be wished. Cotelerius[w] once intended a more exact edition of them, as thinking they both wanted and deserved it. I shall observe a few things in them, and likewise in the request or petition of the presbyters Faustinus and Marcellinus, his admirers and followers, drawn up in 383, or 384.

Lucifer's writings consist very much of passages of the Old and the New Testament, cited one after another, which he quotes with[x] marks of the greatest respect. Particularly he has largely quoted the book of the Acts; he has likewise

[p] Si ecclesiam non habet Christus, aut si in Sardiniâ tantum habet, nimium pauper est. Hieron. adv. Lucifer. T. iv. p. 298.

[q] Rufin. H. E. l. i. cap. 30.

[r] Απεσβη δε και τουτο το δογμα, και παραδοθη τη λησμονη. Theod. H. E. l. iii. c. 5. p. 128. D.

[s] Ap. Bib. PP. T. p. v. 661.

[t] Sed hæc fraus, hæc atrocitas, adversus fideles in Hispaniâ, et apud Treviros, et Romæ agitur, et in diversis Italiæ regionibus. F. et M. Libr. Prec. p. 658. G.

[u] Ibid. p. 657. G. H.

[v] Eodem tempore gravis adversus nos persecutio inhorruerat, infestante Damaso egregio archiepiscopo, ita ut fidelibus sacerdotibus per dies sacros plebis cœtus ad deserviendum Christo Deo convocare libere non liceret. Sed quia pro conditione rerum quolibet tempore, vel clam salutis nostræ sacramenta facienda sunt, idem sanctus presbyter Macarius dat vigilias in quâdam domo convocare fraternitatem, ut vel noctu divinis lectionibus fidem plebs sancta roboraret———Denique tendunt insidias clerici Damasi, et ubi cognoverunt, quod sacras vigilias celebraret cum plebe presbyter Macarius, irruunt cum officialibus in illam domum, &c. Ibid. p. 658. A.

[w] Vid. Coteler. Annot. ad Constit. Apost. l. ii. c. 7.

[x] Quod ita esse, Dominus in sacris evangeliis manifestat dicens. De non conveniendo cum hæreticis. Ap. Bib. PP. T. iv. p. 226. E.

largely quoted the[y] epistle to the Hebrews, the[z] second epistle of John, and the[a] epistle of Jude.

Lucifer has quoted almost the whole of the epistle of St. Jude. Undoubtedly he used the ancient Latin version; and there are in him two readings, which deserve our notice.

Jude, ver. 4, "Denying[b] the only Lord God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ." He omits the word "God," saying, "the only Lord:" as do[c] many Greek manuscripts.

Jude, ver. 7, "And going after strange flesh, are set forth an example." He reads thus: "And[d] going after the flesh, have been set forth an example by ashes."

Both these readings are mightily confirmed by 2 Pet. ii. 6, 10. For at ver. 10, the expression is, "But chiefly them that walk after the flesh:" without the word "strange." And at ver. 6, "And turning the cities of Sodom and Gomorrha into ashes." Upon these readings should be consulted Mr. Beausobre's notes upon Jude, ver. 4, 7. and a Latin letter in the third volume of Mr. La Roche's Literary Journal, p. 192, 193.

II. Faustinus and Marcellinus, in their request to the emperors Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius, say, that[e] one thing for which Lucifer was eminent, was the study of the sacred scriptures: that[f] Athanasius commended his writings for the many passages therein collected out of the prophetical, evangelical, and apostolical scriptures. They continually speak with[g] the highest veneration for the writings of

[y] Beatus apostolus Paulus dicit ad Hebræos: 'Et Moyses quidem fidelis erat in totâ domo ejus tanquam servus,' &c. [ad Hebr. cap. iii. et iv.] Ibid. p. 424. E. F. G.

[z] Idcirco etenim etiam apostolus in hac dicit secundâ epistolâ: 'Omnis qui recedit, et non manet in doctrinâ Christi, Deum non habet. Qui autem manet in doctrinâ ejus, ille et Patrem et Filium habet.' Ib. p. 226. F. Vid. et ib. B. [a] Cum exhortetur Judas, gloriosus apostolus, frater Jacobi apostoli—'Judas, Jesu Christi servus, frater autem Jacobi,' &c. [Jud. ver. 1—8. ver. 10—13, 18, 20.] Ibid. p. 227. C—E.

[b] ———et qui est dominator noster et Dominus, Jesus Christus, eum negantes. Ib. p. 227. D. [c] Vid. Mill, in loc.

[d] ———cum adulterium fecissent, et carnem secutæ essent, cinis [cineris] propositæ sunt exemplum, ignis æterni pœnam sustinentes. Ibid.

[e] Sed et apostolicus vir Lucifer de Sardiniâ Caralitanæ urbis episcopus, ob hoc, quod bene esset agnitus per contemptum seculi, per studium sacrarum literarum, per vitæ puritatem. A Romanâ ecclesiâ missus est legatus ad Constantium. Lib. Prec ap. Bib. PP. T. v. p. 654. C.

[f] Idem Athanasius eosdem libros prædicat, ut prophetarum, et evangelistarum, atque apostolorum doctrinis, et piâ confessione contextos. Ib. p. 658. E.

[g] ———illam fidem sine dolo vindicant, quæ apud Nicæam evangelicâ atque apostolicâ ratione conscripta est. p. 653. F.

Si quidem, dicentibus divinis scripturis, doctrina dæmoniorum hæresis est. p. 654. F.

the prophets, evangelists, and apostles: and[h] they blame those who practise any thing contrary to their authority. The epistle to the Hebrews[i] is quoted here very respectfully. Finally, they complain that[k] they were called Luciferians. They say, that Christ is their master, and his doctrine they follow: they ought therefore to be called by no other than the sacred name of christians, as they hold nothing but what Christ taught by his apostles.

III. Beside that request, there[l] is a book ascribed to Faustinus, Concerning the Trinity, against the Arians, in seven chapters, addressed to the empress Flaccilla, first wife of Theodosius, who died in 385.

I now transcribe below[m] a chapter of Gennadius, giving an account of Faustinus and Marcellinus. And I shall observe a few things in this book of Faustinus.

The writer expresseth[n] the highest respect for the divine scriptures, from which alone all doctrines of religion ought to be proved. Here are quoted[o] the Acts of the Apostles, epistle[p] to the Hebrews, and[q] the Revelation of the apostle John. Moreover Jerom, in his book against the Luciferians, quotes[r] the Revelation by way of proof very freely; which shows that it was received by them.

[h] ——evertentes illa forte statuta, quæ prius adversus eos propheticâ atque apostolicâ auctoritate decreverant. p. 656. C. Vid. et p. 658. F.

Annon scripturæ Divinæ impugnantur, quando cum episcopis, Filii Dei negatoribus, pax ecclesiæ copulatur? p. 656. H.

[i] Credite, religiosissimi Imperatores, beatum Heraclidem unum esse de illo numero sanctorum, de quibus refert scriptura Divina, dicens: 'Circuierunt in melotis et caprinis pellibus.'—Hebr. xi. 37, 38. p. 658. C.

[k] Nam et hoc ipsum necessarium est, ut falsi cognomenti discutiamus invidiam, quâ nos jactant esse Luciferianos——Sed nobis Christus magister est, cujus doctrinam sequimur, atque ideo cognomenti illius sacra appellatione censemur; ut non aliud jure dici debeamus, quam christiani, qui nec aliud sequimur, quam quod Christus per apostolos docuit. p. 858. D.

[l] De Trinitate, seu de Fide, adv. Arrian. Ap. Bib. PP. T. v. p. 637—651.

[m] Faustinus presbyter scripsit ad personam Flaccillæ reginæ adversum Arianos et Macedonianos libros septem: his eos maxime sanctarum scripturarum testimoniis arguens et convincens, quibus illi pravo sensu abutuntur ad blasphemiam. Scripsit et librum, quem Valentiniano et Arcadio Imperatoribus, pro defensione suorum, cum Marcellino quodam presbytero, obtulit. Ex quo ostenditur, Luciferiano schismati consensisse, quia Hilarium Pictaviensem, et Damasum urbis Romanæ, episcopos in eodem libro culpat, quasi male consuluerint ecclesiæ, quod prevaricatores episcopos in communionem et sacerdotium recepissent. Quod Luciferianis ita displicuit, recipere episcopos, qui in Ariminensi Concilio Arianis communicaverant, quo modo Novatianis apostatas pœnitentes. Gennad. De V. I. cap. xvi.

[n] Inspice potius divinos libros, et de divinâ fide divinis utere sermonibus. De Trinit. adv. Arian. cap. i. ib. p. 639. G.

[o] Cap. v. p. 647. H.

[p] Cap. ii. p. 645. A. et passim.

[q] Sed et apostolus Johannes in Apocalypsi hæc dicit. Cap. iii. p. 645.

[r] Contr. Lucifer. T. iv. p. 290. f. et 304. infr. m.

CHAP. XCII.

GREGORY, BISHOP OF ELVIRA.

1. As he is in Jerom's Catalogue, I add here Gregory, bishop of Illiberis or Elvira, in the province of Bætica in Spain, Jerom[a] says that Gregory was still living in 392, when he wrote his Catalogue; but was of a great age. He had written several treatises in a plain style, and a good book Concerning the Faith, esteemed more polite than his other works.

2. Gregory is placed by[b] Cave, as flourishing about the year 370; but Tillemont,[c] from a story told in the Request of Faustinus and Marcellinus, concludes he was bishop before the year 357. And indeed, if their authority may be relied upon, I should think him to have been bishop in 355; I therefore place him next after Eusebius of Vercelli, and Lucifer. Du Pin[d] says, he flourished from 357, to the end of that age.

3. It is very probable, that this Gregory was a Luciferian. In the fore-cited Request he is spoken of as[e] a man of remarkable firmness: he[f] alone of those who would not comply with the Arians in the time of Constantius was not banished. Again, he[g] is spoken of as an admirable man: and he is honourably mentioned in[h] the Rescript of Theodosius. Moreover, in[i] Jerom's Chronicle he is joined with others, who never complied with the Arians.

4. Whether the book Concerning the Faith, mentioned by Jerom, be now extant, is somewhat doubtful. There is a tract with a like title, called[k] Gregory Nazianzen's 49th

[a] Gregorius Bæticus, Iliberi episcopus, usque ad extremam senectutem diversos mediocri sermone tractatus composuit, et de Fide elegantem librum, qui hodieque superesse dicitur. De V. L. cap. 105. [b] H. L. T. i. p. 235.

[c] Lucifer de Cagliari. Art. viii. Mem. T. vii.

[d] Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 106. [e] Vid. Libr. Pr. p. 654. H. et 655. A. [f] Inde est, quod solus Gregorius ex numero vindicantium integram fidem, nec in fugam versus, nec passus exilium, cum unusquisque timeret de illo ulterius vindicare. Ibid. p. 655. E.

[g] Jam quantus vir Lucifer fuerit, cum illum admiretur et Gregorius, qui apud cunctos admirabilis est. p. 658. F. Vid. et p. 657. E.

[h] Ibid. p. 661. D. [i] Lucifer, Caralitanus episcopus, moritur, qui, cum Gregorio episcopo Hispaniarum, et Philone Libyæ, nunquam se Arianæ miscuit pravitati. Chr. p. 186. [k] Ap. Greg. Naz. Opp. T. i. p. 726—736.

Oration, and usually joined also[l] with the works of St. Ambrose; which[m] Quesnell thinks to be the work of Gregory of Illiberis: others[n] say, it is not his. It is however the work of some ancient writer. Concerning this point several moderns may[o] be consulted.

5. I scarce need make any extracts out of this treatise. I only observe that the scriptures of the Old and New Testament are here quoted with great respect. The[p] book of the Acts is here quoted; and here occurs the phrase, which we have sometimes observed formerly, of[q] the Lord's scriptures; meaning thereby, more particularly, the scriptures of the New Testament.

CHAP. XCIII.

PHŒBADIUS, BISHOP OF AGEN.

1. SAYS Jerom in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers: 'Phœbadius[a] bishop of Agen in Gaul, has published a book against the Arians. He is said to have written some other small pieces, which I have not yet seen. He is still living, at a great age.'

2. There is honourable mention made of Phœbadius by Sulpicius Severus[b] in his Sacred History. The book against the Arians is still[c] extant. The author is placed by Cave[d] at the year 359, the supposed time of writing that work.

[l] De Fide Orthodoxâ contra Arianos. In Append. Opp. S. Ambros. T. i. p. 346—359. ed. Bened.

[m] Vid. Diss. xiv. in S. Leon. M. opp. sect. vii.

[n] Vid. Benedictin. Monitum. p. 346.

[o] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 235. in Greg. Bæt. Fabr. ad Hieron. de V. I. cap. 105. et Bib. Lat. T. iii. p. 429. Tillem. Mem. T. vii. Lucif. de Cagl. Art. 8.

[p] Et Spiritum sicut ignem esse, Apostolorum Acta declarant. Apud Greg. Naz. T. i. p. 735. in.

[q] Sed ego probo, Deum de Deo—in scripturis Dominicis contineri. Ibid. p. 730. fin.

[a] Phœbadius, Agenni Galliarum episcopus, edidit contra Arianos librum. Dicuntur et ejus alia esse opuscula, quæ necdum vidi. Vivit usque hodie decrepitâ senectute. De V. I. cap. 108.

[b] L. ii. cap. 44. al. 59.

[c] Phœbadii episcopi liber contra Arianos. Ap. Bib. PP. T. iv. p. 300—305.

[d] Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 217. Conf. Fabr. ad Hieron. de V. I. c. 108. et Bib. Lat. T. iii. p. 420. Du Pin, Bib. T. ii. p. 107. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. vi. Les Ariens, art. 72.

3. I need say nothing more of it, than that the author quotes very frequently the generally received books of scripture. There is supposed to be a reference to[e] the epistle to the Hebrews, but it is not clear: a reference to[f] the Revelation may be reckoned undoubted.

4. Throughout the whole work Phœbadius shows great respect for the holy scriptures. The[g] bishops of the Nicene council, he says, first consulted the sacred volumes, and then declared their faith. He himself[h] professeth a strong resolution, not to forsake the doctrine taught by the prophets, the gospels, and the apostles.

CHAP. XCIV.

CAIUS MARIUS VICTORINUS AFER.

1. 'CAIUS MARIUS VICTORINUS,[a] born in Africa,' says Jerom,[b] in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, 'taught 'rhetoric at Rome in the time of the emperor Constantius. 'And in his old age embracing the Christian religion, he 'wrote some books against the Arians, which are so obscure, 'that they are understood by the learned only. He like-'wise wrote Commentaries upon the apostle Paul's epis-'tles.'

2. Victorinus is mentioned by Jerom several times elsewhere. In[c] his Chronicle he says, that Victorinus had

[e] Vid. p. 304. F. Bib. PP. 74. T. iv.

[f] Quod Johannes in Filio recognoscens: 'Qui est,' inquit, 'et qui erat, et qui venturus est, Omnipotens.' Ibid. p. 303. D.

[g] Quid egistis, o beatæ memoriæ viri, qui, ex omnibus orbis partibus Nicæam congregati, et sacris voluminibus pertractatis, perfectam fidei catholicæ regulam circumspecto sermone fecistis? Ib. p. 301. C.

[h] Hoc credimus, hoc tenemus, quia hoc accepimus a prophetis. Hoc nobis evangelia locuta sunt, hoc apostoli tradiderunt, hoc martyres passione confessi sunt. Ib. p. 305. B.

[a] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 228. Fabr. ad Hieron. de V. I. c. 101. et Bib. Lat. T. iii. p. 421. et seqq. Du Pin, Bib. T. ii. p. 100. Tillem. Mem. T. x. dans S. Simplicien.

[b] Victorinus, natione Afer, Romæ sub Constantio Principe rhetoricam docuit. Et in extremâ senectute Christi se tradens fidei, scripsit adversus Arium libros more dialectico valde obscuros, qui nisi ab eruditis non intelliguntur, et commentarios in apostolum. De V. I. c. 101.

[c] Victorinus Rhetor, et Donatus Grammaticus, Præceptor meus, Romæ insignes habentur. E quibus Victorinus etiam statuam in Foro Trajani meruit. Chr. p. 184.

taught rhetoric at Rome with so much reputation, that he had the honour of a public statue, set up in Trajan's forum. In[d] the preface to his Commentary upon the epistle to the Galatians, Jerom again speaks of the above-mentioned Commentary upon the apostle Paul; and he represents Victorinus as a very indifferent interpreter of scripture.

3. Some have thought that Jerom studied rhetoric under Victorinus; but as Jerom says nothing of it, though he had a fair occasion, when he mentions Victorinus in his Chronicle, it is more probable, that[e] he never was his scholar.

4. I choose to place at the bottom of the page a part of what Augustine writes concerning this illustrious convert: That[f] after having long been an idolater, and taught rhetoric at Rome with great applause, and had his statue erected in the Roman forum, he in his old age embraced, and made open profession of, the christian religion, at a time when the greatest part of the Roman nobility were heathens. He particularly observes, that by reading the scriptures Victorinus had been convinced of the truth of the christian religion. He moreover says, that[g] when the emperor Julian published his edict forbidding christians to teach grammar and rhetoric, and other branches of polite literature, Victo-

[d] Non quod ignorem Caium Marium Victorinum, qui Romæ pueros rhetoricam docuit, edidisse commentarios in apostolum; sed quod occupatus ille eruditione secularium literarum scripturas omnino sanctas ignoraverit. Et nemo potest, quamvis eloquens, de eo bene disputare quod nesciat. Pr. in Galat. T. iv. p. 222.

[e] Vid. Fabr. not. (*c*) ad Hieron. de. V. I. c. 101.

[f] Ubi autem commemoravi legisse me quosdam libros Platonicorum, quos Victorinus quondam Rhetor urbis Romæ quem christianum defunctum esse audieram, in Latinam linguam transtulisset, gratulatus est mihi. [Simplicianus.] —Deinde, ut me exhortaretur ad humilitatem Christi.——Victorinum ipsum recordatus est, quem, Romæ cum esset, familiarissime noverat. Deque illo mihi narravit, quod non silebo.———Quemadmodum ille doctissimus senex, et omnium liberalium doctrinarum peritissimus: quippe philosophorum tam multa legerat, et dijudicaverat et dilucidaverat, doctor tot nobilium senatorum, qui etiam ob insigne præclari magisterii, quod cives hujus mundi eximium putant, statuam in Romano foro meruerat et acceperat, usque ad illam ætatem venerator idolorum, sacrorumque sacrilegorum particeps, quibus tunc tota fere Romana nobilitas inflata, inspirabat populo jam et omnigenûm deum dcorum monstra,———quæ iste senex Victorinus tot annos ore terricrepo defensitaverat, non erubuerit esse puer Christi tui.———Legebat, sicut ait Simplicianus, sanctam scripturam, omnesque christianas literas investigabat studiosissime et perscrutabatur. Et dicebat Simpliciano, non palam, sed secretius et familiarius: Noveris me esse christianum, &c. Aug. Confess. l. viii. c. 2. n. 1. et 2. T. i.

[g] Postea quam vero et illud addidit, quod imperatoris Juliani temporibus lege datâ prohibiti sunt christiani docere literaturam et oratoriam; quam legem ille amplexus loquacem scholam deserere maluit, quam verbum tuum quo linguas infantum facis disertas. Ibid. c. 4. n. 10.

rinus shut up his school, rather than purchase a liberty of teaching by compliances unbecoming a christian. All which Augustine had been informed of by Simplician, bishop of Milan, who was well acquainted with Victorinus, and had often seen him at Rome, and was a principal instrument of persuading him to an open profession of the christian religion, if not of his conversion.

5. The books against the Arians, mentioned by Jerom, are still[h] extant. Beside which, we have also a letter or treatise against the Manichees, and some other small tracts, written in the same style, and generally reckoned works of Victorinus. And his Commentaries upon St. Paul's epistles, upon some of them at least, are supposed to be still in being in manuscript, in some libraries; but they have not been yet published.

6. I shall now observe a few things, chiefly taken out of the books against the Arians, which, as we now have them, are four in number.

7. Most of the books of the New Testament are here frequently quoted, particularly the[i] Acts of the Apostles, the[k] epistle to the Hebrews, and[l] the Revelation.

8. He several times quotes[m] the epistle to the Ephesians, with that title.

9. He says, that[n] Paul in all his epistles does nothing else but bear testimony to Christ; and that to him alone Christ appeared after his ascension.

10. He says, that[o] the Holy Ghost may be not unfitly styled the mother of Jesus. He has divers[p] other expressions relating to the doctrine of the Trinity, which are not agreeable to the apprehensions of learned divines of late

[h] Apud Bib. PP. T. iv. p. 253, &c.

[i] Et in Actis Apostolorum et ipse [Petrus] et Lucas, qui scripsit de iis. Adv. Arian. l. iii. p. 280. B.

[k] Lectum apud Paulum ad Hebræos de Christo. Adv. Ar. l. ii. p. 272. G. et passim.

[l] Item in Apocalypsi ipse dixit: 'Et habeo claves mortis et inferi.' l. iii. p. 280. C.

[m] Paulus ad Ephesios. l. i. p. 254. H. Item ipse ad Ephesios. l. iii. p. 280. C.

[n] Paulus tamen in omnibus epistolis suis quid aliud agit, nisi de Christo testimonium dicit? Et post abscessum Christi solus Christum vidit, et soli apparuit. L. iii. p. 280. A.

[o] Natus est Filius, Λογος qui sit, hoc est vita virtute patriâ, generante intelligentiâ, hoc est quod esse omnium quæ sunt veluti æternum fontem. Non fallatur ergo, si quis subintellexerit Sanctum Spiritum matrem esse Jesu. L. i. p 270. B.

[p] Pater ergo, Filius, Spiritus Sanctus Deus, Λογος Παρακλητος, unum sunt, quod substantialitas, vitalitas, beatitudo, silentium: sed apud se loquens silentium, verbum, verbi verbum. Quid etiam est voluntas Patris, nisi silens Verbum? Hoc ergo modo cum Verbum Pater sit, et Filius Verbum, id est, sonans Verbum. atque operans. L. iii. p. 278. A.

times. Nor indeed is he very intelligible: but he seems to say that the Word silent is the Father, or, the will of the Father; and the word speaking, or operating, is the Son. Which may induce some to recollect what was said formerly[q] of Sabellianism, in the chapter of Dionysius bishop of Alexandria.

CHAP. XCV.

APOLLINARIUS, BISHOP OF LAODICEA.

I. *His time and history.* II. *His works, particularly his Commentaries upon the scripture, and his writings in the defence of the christian religion.* III. *His peculiar opinions in the latter part of his life.* IV. *His works relating to those opinions.* V. *Scriptures received by him.* VI. *His character.*

I. SAYS Jerom, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers: 'Apollinarius,[a] bishop of Laodicea in Syria, son of a presbyter of the same name, in his younger days employed himself chiefly in grammatical studies. Afterwards he published innumerable volumes upon the holy scriptures, and died in the time of the emperor Theodosius. His thirty books against Porphyry are still extant, and are esteemed the most valuable of all his works.'

Apollinarius is placed by Cave as [b]flourishing about the year 370; but[c] Tillemont thinks he was bishop of Laodicea in 362, at the latest. For certain, I think, he may be reckoned to have flourished in the time of the emperor Julian, and afterwards.

It has been questioned whether Apollinarius ever was bishop; but[d] Tillemont, [e] Basnage, and[f] some others, are

[q] See Vol. ii. ch. xliii. num. vii.

[a] Apollinarius, Laodicenus Syriæ episcopus, patre presbytero, magis grammaticis in adolescentiâ operam dedit. Et postea in sanctas scripturas innumerabilia scribens sub Theodosio Imperatore obiit. Exstant ejus adversus Porphyrium triginta libri, qui inter cætera ejus opera vel maxime probantur. De V. I. cap. 104.

[b] H. L. T. i. p. 250.

[c] Les Appollinaristes. Art v. Mem. T. vii.

[d] Ubi supra.

[e] Ann. 364. n. xi.

[f] Vid. Cav. ubi supr. Du Pin, Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 125 and 127.

clear that he obtained that dignity in the church: as is said by Jerom in the chapter just transcribed, and also[g] in his Chronicle, and by[h] Rufinus in his Ecclesiastical History. He died in the reign of Theodosius, as Jerom said just now; and probably not long after the beginning of it, in 382, or soon after. For Epiphanius, in 376 or 377, calls him[i] an old man, and a venerable old man: and Suidas says,[k] that he lived in the time of Constantius, and Julian the apostate, to the reign of Theodosius the great, being contemporary with Basil and Gregory, those admirable men of Cappadocia, with whom also he was acquainted.

Apollinarius the father, as we learn from[l] Socrates, was an Alexandrian. From thence he went to Berytus, where he taught Greek learning: after that he removed to Laodicea, and married, still continuing to teach grammar. Here likewise he was made presbyter, and his son reader; who, as we suppose, was at length ordained bishop of that city. And moreover, it is observed[m] by ecclesiastical writers, that the elder Apollinarius and his son were both intimate with Epiphanius, an heathen sophist at Laodicea; and[n] the son studied under him. Suidas adds, that[o] he was acquainted with Libanius.

II. As Jerom in the chapter already transcribed says, that Apollinarius, bishop of Laodicea, published many volumes upon the scriptures, and in another place reckons him among those who[p] had left monuments of their diligence in studying the scriptures; I am led, agreeably to my design, to give an account of his works. Moreover, we perceive, that[q] Jerom, when young, often heard Apollinarius preach at Antioch; and he seems to have been then well pleased with his explications of the scriptures, though he did not

[g] Chr. p. 186. [h] Ruf. H. E. l. ii. cap. 20.

[i] Ὁ πρεσβυτης, και σεμνοπρεπης, κ. λ. H. 77. n. ii. p. 996.——τον γεροντα. Ib. n. xxvi. p. 1031.

[k] ——γεγονως εν ημεραις Κωνσταντιυ και Ιυλιανυ τυ παραβατυ, και ἑως της αρχης Θεοδοσιυ τυ μεγιλυ, συνχρονος Βασιλειυ και Γρηγοριυ, των εκ Καππαδοκιας θαυμαζομενων. Εγενετο δε γνωριμος αμφοτερων, και Λιβανιυ, και αλλων τινων. Suid. V. Απολλιναριος.

[l] Socr. l. ii. cap. 46.

[m] Socr. ibid. Sozom. l. vi. cap. 25. [n] Διδασκαλῳ δε αυτῳ χρωμενος Απολλιναριος, οτι γαρ νεος ην. Soz. ib. p. 672. A.

[o] See before, note. [k] [p] Quod e contrario de Theodoro, Acacio, Apollinario possumus dicere. Et tamen omnes in explanationibus scripturarum sudoris sui nobis memoriam reliquerunt. Ad Minerv. et Alex. ep. 152. Vid. T. iv. P. i. p. 220.

[q] Dum essem juvenis, miro discendi ferebar ardore—Apollinarium Laodicenum audivi Antiochiæ frequenter, et colui. Et quum me in sanctis scripturis eruditet, nunquam illius contentiosum dogma suscepi. Ep. 40. al. 64. Ad Pamm. et Ocean. T. iv. P. 2. p. 342.

approve of every thing said by him. His Apology for the Christian Religion against Porphyry affords another reason, why I should give a more distinct account of this author's works, than I do of most others of so late an age.

1. The emperor Julian,[r] in the year 362, published an edict forbidding the christians to teach the Greek learning, or read their authors. At[s] this time, says Socrates, the two Apollinarii before mentioned were very useful to the christians: the elder wrote a grammar in a christian form, and put the books of Moses into heroic verse, and all the other books of the Old Testament into various kinds of metre, used by the Greek poets. The[t] younger, who was an excellent writer, put the gospels and the apostolical doctrine into dialogues, after the manner of Plato.

2. Sozomen, without ascribing any works to the father, says of Apollinarius of Syria, that[u] employing his extensive learning and happy genius suitably to the occasion, for supplying to christians the want of Homer, he wrote the Jewish Antiquities to the reign of Saul, in four and twenty books, giving to each book the name of a Greek letter, as Homer had done. He also wrote comedies in imitation of Menander, tragedies in imitation of Euripides, and lyric poems after the manner of Pindar, still taking his subjects from the sacred scriptures. To these works, as well as to some other, Jerom may be supposed to refer, when he says in his Chronicle; at[v] this time Apollinarius bishop of Laodicea, composes many writings relating to our religion. Among the poems of Gregory Nazianzen[w] is a tragedy, entitled Χριστος πασχων, Christ suffering: which[x] some supposed to have been written by Apollinarius. Others[y] think that opinion to be without foundation, and that it is neither Gregory's nor Apollinarius's.

3. Beside these, we can trace out from ancient writers, particularly from Jerom, commentaries of Apollinarius upon most parts of scripture.

4. He wrote, as we learn from Jerom, a[z] Commentary upon

[r] Vid. Pagi Ann. 362. n. xxxix. [s] Socr. l. iii. c. 16.

[t] Ὁ δε νεωτερος Απολλιναριος, ευ προς το λεγειν παρεσκευασμενος, τα ευαγγελια, και τα αποστολικα δογματα, εν τοπῳ δια λογων εξεθετο, καθα και Πλατων παρ' Ἑλλησιν. κ. λ. Ib. p. 187. [u] Soz. l. v. c. 18. p. 623.

[v] Apollinarius, Laodicenus episcopus, multimoda religionis nostræ scripta componit. Chr. p. 186. [w] Ap. Gregor. Naz. Opp. T. ii. p. 253—298.

[x] Basnag. Ann. 390. n. x. Cav. H. L. p. 248. De Greg. Naz.

[y] S. Greg. Naz. art. 110. Tillem. Mem. T. ix.

[z] —et maxime in explanatione Psalmorum, quos apud Græcos interpretati sunt multis voluminibus, primus Origenes, secundus Eusebius Cæsariensis, tertius Theodorus Heracleotes, quartus Asterius Scythopolitanus, quintus Apollinarius

the whole book of Psalms: I place the whole passage below, though it contains more than we now immediately want. But it will be acceptable to some of my readers, Jerom there mentioning together six ancient Greek writers, who had commented upon the whole book of Psalms, beside what had been done by others, who had explained some psalms only.

5. There is still extant[a] a Paraphrase of the Psalms, in hexameter verse, generally ascribed to our Apollinarius, and generally well esteemed, and the only entire work of his remaining: and I suppose it may be different from the commentary just mentioned in Jerom.

6. In his Commentary upon the book of Ecclesiastes Jerom several times[b] mentions explications that had been given by Apollinarius.

7. In the preface to his Commentaries upon Isaiah, Jerom gives a character of Apollinarius's commentaries, representing them[c] to be exceeding short, quite passing over some things, and touching only upon others.

8. In the preface to his Commentaries upon the book of Daniel, Jerom says, that[d] Apollinarius, in the 26th book of his work against Porphyry, which was a very long book, considered the objections which Porphyry had made to the book of Daniel. Here likewise Jerom says, that[e] Eusebius of Cæsarea, and Apollinarius, and divers others of the Greek catholic writers, rejected the stories of Susanna, Bel and

Laodicenus, sextus Didymus Alexandrinus. Feruntur et diversorum in paucos psalmos opuscula. Sed nunc de integro psalmorum corpore dicimus. Ad Augustin. ep. 74. [al. 89.] T. iv. P. 2. p. 627. in.

[a] Psalmorum Davidicorum Metaphrasis. De quâ Vid. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 666, 667. Exstant Græce et Latine in Bib. Patr. Morell. Par. 1644. T. xiv. p. 162—298. Et alibi.

[b] Laodicenus Interpres res magnas brevi sermone exprimere contendens, more sibi solito etiam hic loquutus est. In Ec. cap. iv. T. 2. p. 741. Vid. et in cap. xii. 5. Ibid. p. 785. in.

[c] Apollinarius autem more suo sic exponit omnia, ut universa transcurrat, et punctis quibusdam atque intervallis, immo compendiis, grandis viæ spatia prætervolet; ut non tam Commentarios quam Indices capitulorum nos legere credamus. Pr. in Is. T. iii. p. 6.

[d] Cui solertissime responderunt Eusebius Cæsariensis,—Appollinarius quoque uno grandi libro, hoc est vicesimo sexto,—Pr. in Dan. T. iii. p. 1071.

[e] Cui et Eusebius et Apollinarius pari sententiâ responderunt: Susannæ, Belisque ac Draconis fabulas non contineri in Hebraïco.—Unde et nos ante annos plurimos, quum verteremus Danielem, has visiones obelo prænotavimus, significantes eos in Hebraïco non haberi. Et miror quosdam μεμψιμοιρους indignari mihi, quasi ego decurtaverim librum; quum et Origenes, et Eusebius, et Appollinarius, aliique ecclesiastici viri et doctores Græciæ, has, ut dixi, visiones non haberi apud Hebræos fateantur: nec se debere respondere Porphyrio pro his quæ nullam scripturæ sanctæ auctoritatem præbeant. Pr. in Dan. T. iii. p. 1074.

the Dragon, as not extant in Hebrew; and therefore Eusebius and Apollinarius in their answers to Porphyry insisted, that they were not obliged to take notice of his objections against Daniel, founded upon a supposition, that they were a part of his book, when indeed they were of no authority, nor a part of sacred scripture.

9. It seems probable, that beside what Apollinarius wrote in favour of Daniel's prophecies in his work against Porphyry, he also wrote a commentary upon that prophet. For Jerom[f] makes remarks upon his explication of Dan. ix. 27, and quotes a long passage from him. From whence (if I may observe it by the way) it appears, that Apollinarius computed our Lord's ministry to have lasted somewhat more than two years, there being in it, according to St. John's gospel, three passovers, as he says.

10. In the preface to his Commentaries upon Hosea, Jerom says, that[g] Apollinarius in his younger days, wrote short commentaries upon the prophets; that afterwards he was desired by his friends to write more fully upon Hosea. But still, even in this latter work, Jerom finds the fault of too great brevity.

11. Some learned men have been of opinion that Apollinarius published a new Greek translation of the books of the Old Testament, composed out of the several Greek versions that had been made before. This supposition is chiefly built upon two passages of Jerom, which[h] I tran-

[f] Apollinarius autem Laodicenus, omni præteritorum temporum se liberans quæstione, vota extendit in futurum, et periculose de incertis profert sententiam. Quæ si forte hi qui post nos victuri sunt statuto tempore completa non viderint, aliam solutionem quærere compellentur, et magistrum erroris arguere. Dicit ergo, ut verbum verbo interpreter, ne calumniam videar facere non dicenti.—Tricesimo enim, juxta evangelistam Lucam, anno ætatis suæ cœpit in carne Dominus evangelium prædicare; et juxta Johannem evangelistam per tria paschata duos postea implevit annos. In Dan. ix. T. iii. p. 1114.

[g] ———Apud Græcos reperi Apollinarium Laodicenum, qui quum in adolescentiâ suâ breves et in hunc et in alios prophetas commentariolos reliquisset, tangens magis sensus quam explicans, rogatus est postea, ut in Osee plenius scriberet; qui liber venit in nostras manus. Sed et ipse nimiâ brevitate ad perfectam intelligentiam lectorem ducere non potest. Præf. in Osee. T. iii. p. 1235.

[h] Origenes in omnibus libris suis, post Septuaginta Interpretes, Judæorum translationes explanat et edisserit. Eusebius quoque et Didymus idem faciunt. Prætermitto Apollinarium, qui bono quidem studio, sed non secundum scientiam, de omnium translationibus in unum vestimentum pannos assuere conatus est, et consequentiam scripturarum non ex regulâ veritatis, sed ex suo judicio texere. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. T. iv. p. 433.

Cujus [Symmachi] interpretationem Laodicenus sequutus nec Judæis placere potest, nec christianis: dum et ab Hebræis procul est, et sequi Septuaginta Interpretes dedignatur. In Eccles. xii. 5. T. ii. p. 785. in.

scribe below. But it seems to me, that Humphry Hody has shown, that[i] nothing more is intended, than that in his commentaries upon the scriptures, and his explications of them, Apollinarius, without good judgment, mingled all the former translations of the Old Testament. Nevertheless Fabricius, either not attending to what Hody has said, or not being convinced by it, in his enumeration of the works of our author, reckons[k] this for one, A Greek Translation of the Books of the Old Testament: and refers to[l] R. Simon, as of the same opinion.

12. Here I would take a part of Suidas's article concerning Apollinarius. He says, he[m] put the whole Jewish scripture into heroic verse; he also wrote epistles, and many commentaries upon the sacred scriptures. After which, Suidas quotes a long passage of Philostorgius, which is also briefly taken notice of by Photius, in his extracts[n] out of Philostorgius's Ecclesiastical History. Comparing Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, and Apollinarius, and speaking of them all as eminent writers in their way, he observes to the advantage of Apollinarius, that[o] his style was best for a commentator of scripture, and that he understood Hebrew.

13. There is however a passage of Jerom, where he is supposed to refer to[p] Apollinarius; which may occasion a doubt, whether he had any, or at least a thorough knowledge of the Hebrew. And[q] as it has some respect to the point just now spoken of, his making a new Greek version of the Old Testament, I have transcribed it at large.

We now proceed.

[i] Apollinarium, Appollinarii F. episcopum Laodicæ, editionem quandam mixtam Bibliorum ex Interpretum omnium Versionibus conflatam elaborâsse existimant eruditi.—Sed falluntur omnes. Loquitur enim Hieronymus non de ullâ Bibliorum editione ab Apollinario confectâ, sed de illius tantum scripturarum explanationibus, in quibus sine ullo judicio translationes omnes commiscuerat, secutusque fuerat. Hod. de Bib. Text. Origen. l. iv. c. 3. p. 631. Conf. l. iii. p. 318.

[k] Versio Græca librorum V. T. contexta ex variis interpretationibus, præcipue Symmachi. Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 664.

[l] Hist. Cr. du V. T. l. ii. ch. 10. p. 242.

[m] Οὐτος εγραψε——και δι' ἡρῳων επων πασαν την Ἑβραιων γραφην. Εγραψε δε και επιστολας, και αλλα πολλα εις την γραφην ὑπομνηματα. Suid. V. Απολλιναριος.

[n] Philost. H. E. l. viii. c. 11.

[o] Οὐτος γαρ δη και της Ἑβραϊδος διαλεκτου επαϊειν οἱος τε ην. κ. λ. Ap. Suid. ib.

[p] Vid. Hod. ubi supra, p. 631.

[q] Primum enim magnorum sumtuum est et infinitæ difficultatis, exemplaria posse habere omnia: deinde etiam qui habuerint, et Hebræi sermonis ignari sunt, magis errabunt, ignorantes quis e multis verius dixerit: quod etiam sapientissimo cuidam nuper apud Græcos accidit, ut, interdum scripturæ sensum relinquens, uniuscujusque interpretis sequeretur errorem. Prol. in libr. Ezr. ex Hebr. convers. T. i. p. 1107. Et Conf. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. p. 427. infr. m.

14. In the[r] preface to his Commentary upon St. Matthew, Jerom speaks of a commentary of Apollinarius upon that gospel; and he refers to it[s] in his own comment.

15. Apollinarius[t] is mentioned by him together with others, who had explained the first epistle to the Corinthians.

16. He wrote also upon[u] the whole, or a part of the epistle to the Galatians.

17. His commentary[v] upon the epistle to the Ephesians is mentioned by Jerom several times.

18. He also wrote[w] upon the whole, or a part, of the first epistle to the Thessalonians.

19. In the chapter of the Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, transcribed above, Jerom mentions and commends our author's work against Porphyry; as he does also in[x] several other places. This work is particularly mentioned by Suidas: and we took some notice of it[y] formerly.

20. Sozomen, speaking of the works of Apollinarius, says: There[z] is also a valuable work of his addressed to the emperor himself and the Greek philosophers, entitled, Of the Truth; in which, by reason alone, without alleging the divine scriptures, he showed that they did not think rightly of

[r] Legisse me fateor———Apollinarisque Laodiceni, ac Didymi Alexandrini. Pr. in Matt. T. iv. P. i. p. 3. [s] Vid. in Matt. ib. p. 115. f.

[t] Origenes,———Eusebius Cæsariensis, Didymus, Apollinarius, latissime hanc epistolam interpretati sunt. Ad Pamm. ep. 31. [al. 52.] T. iv. p. 243. f.

[u] Prætermitto Didymum videntem meum, et Laodicenum, de ecclesiâ nuper egressum, qui et ipsi nonnullos super hac re commentariolos reliquerunt. Pr. in Gal. T. iv. P. i. p. 222. Conf. ad August. ep. 74. [al. 89.] T. iv. P. ii. p. 619.

[v] Ego enim in Commentariis ad Ephesios sic Origenem, et Didymum, et Apollinarium sequutus sum, ———ut fidei meæ non amitterem veritatem. Adv. Ruf. l. i. T. iv. p. 365.

In epistolam Pauli ad Ephesios tria Origenes scripsit volumina. Didymus quoque et Apollinarius propria opuscula edidere. Quos ego, vel transferens vel imitans, quid in prologo ejusdem operis scripserim, subjiciam, &c. Adv. Ruf. ib. p. 373. Conf. Pr. in ep. ad Eph. T. iv. P. i. p. 322. f.

[w] Ad Minerv. et Alex. de eo quod omnes quidem dormiemus, &c. Vid. T. iv. P. i. p. 216. et conf. ib. p. 211, et 220.

[x] Apollinarius contra Porphyrium egregia scripsit volumina. Ad Pamm. et Ocean. ep. 41. [al. 65.] T. iv. P. ii. p. 345. Vid. ib. p. 342. Vid. et Pro. libr. adv. Jovinian. Apol. ep. 30. [al. ep. 50.] p. 236. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. T. iv. p. 433. in. Ad Magn. ep. 43. p. 655. Pr. Com. in Dan. T. iii.

[y] See p. 74.

[z] *Ουκ αγεννης δε και προς αυτον τον βασιλεα ητοι τȣ παρ' Ἑλλησι φιλοσοφȣ εστιν αυτȣ ὁ λογος, ὀν ὑπερ αληθειας επεγραψεν· εν ᾧ και δειχα της των ἱερων λογων μαρτυριας εδειξεν αυτȣ αποβȣκοληθεντας τȣ δεοντος περι Θεȣ φρονειν. Τα δε γαρ επιτωθαζων ὁ βασιλευς τοις τοτε διαπρεπȣσιν επισκοποις επεξειλεν· Ανεγνων, εγνων, και κατεγνων———αγεσθαι δικαιον ανδρειας και παιδευσεως τον γραψαντα.* Soz. l. γ. c. 18. p. 624.

the Deity. And it was said, that upon occasion of this book, Julian wrote a letter to some christian bishops to this purpose: 'I have read, understood, and condemned.' To which he received this answer, 'You have read, but you did 'not understand; if you had understood, you would not 'have condemned.' Some[a] ascribe this work to Basil of Cappadocia: but however that be, says Sozomen, the writer deserves to be admired both for his courage and learning.

Whether this be the same as the work against Porphyry, or different from it, is not clear. Fabricius[b] thinks it to be a different work, and written before the other. He imagines, that Apollinarius, provoked at Julian's remark, was induced after this short performance to write the large work against Porphyry.

21. Beside all these, Apollinarius wrote divers books against those called heretics.

Vincent of Lerins[c] supposeth him to have written against many heresies; who at the same time mentions and commends his noble work against Porphyry. Epiphanius[d] mentions Apollinarius together with others who had written against the Manichees. Philostorgius[e] says he wrote against Eunomius. By Theophilus bishop of Alexandria, who flourished about the year 385, he is said to[f] have written against the Arians, Eunomians, and other heretics.

III. There are some other works of Apollinarius spoken of by ancient writers, which I may take some notice of by and by. But I would first of all give an account of the wrong opinions which he is said to have advanced in the latter part of his life: this I could willingly have declined, if it had not been a necessary part of his history. Of these

[a] Others understand Sozomen differently, after this manner: that some ascribed that saying or answer to Basil. Hanc responsionem Basilio M. non Apollinari plerosque tribuisse, Sozomen. narrat. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 662.

[b] Videtur autem inde Apollinaris permotus esse, ut post brevem istum libellum editum, justo deinde opere libros, quorum maxima erat apud ethnicos auctoritas, Tyrii philosophi Porphyrii adversus christianos confutaret. Ægre enim assentior viris doctis, qui libros xxx. contra Porphyrium cum λογῳ confundunt. Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 662.

[c] Quam multas ille hæreses multis voluminibus oppresserit, quot inimicos fidei confutaverit errores, indicio est opus illud triginta non minus librorum nobilissimum ac maximum, quo insanas Porphyrii calumnias magnâ probationum mole confudit. V. E. Adv. Hær. cap. 16.

[d] Hær. 66. n. xxi.

[e] Hist. Ec. l. viii. c. 12.

[f] Cessent Apollinaris discipuli ea quæ contra ecclesiasticas regulas est locutus, propter alia ejus scripta defendere. Licet enim adversus Arianos, et Eunomianos scripserit, et Origenem, aliosque hæreticos, suâ disputatione subverterit, &c. Theoph. lib. Pasch. i. ap. Hieron. T. iv. P. ii. p. 694.

errors, accounts may be seen in many[g] ancient and[h] modern writers, to whom I refer; some of which, especially the ancient, I shall quote.

1. Epiphanius, who speaks of Apollinarius with great respect, and says, that he had been long highly esteemed by Athanasius, and all the catholics in general, represents his opinion in this manner: that[i] when the Son of God became incarnate, he took a human body, and animal or sensitive soul, but not mind, or an intelligent soul, and thereby denied him to have taken upon him perfect man. The[k] doctrine concerning the thousand years to be spent on this earth by raised saints and martyrs, appeared to Epiphanius so absurd, that he could not believe it of him, though he had been assured of it by several.

2. Basil speaks as if Apollinarius had in some of his writings endeavoured[l] to revive the Sabellian doctrine concerning the Deity. In another letter[m] he mentions some obscure expressions concerning the Trinity, which perhaps were not his; and are not, I think, delivered by Basil, as certainly known to be his. His[n] opinion concerning the person of Christ, or his incarnation, Basil says, had occasioned great disturbances. That letter is supposed to have

[g] Athanas. Ep. ad Epictet. T. i. p. 901, &c. [et ap. Epiphan. H. 77. n. iii.—xiii. p. 997, &c.] Contr. Apollin. l. i. et ii. p. 921—925. Greg. Naz. Ep. ad Nectar. seu Or. 46. T. i. p. 721. Ep. 1. et 2. ad Cledon. sive Or. 51. et 52. p. 737—749. Greg. Nyss. Antirrhet. adv. Apollinar. ap. Zacagn. Monum. Vet. p. 123—287. Basil Ep. 129. al. 59. T. iii. p. 220. Ep. 131. al. 382. p. 223. et alibi.———Epiph. H. 77. Socrat. l. ii. c. 46. Sozom. l. vi. cap. 28. Theodoret. H. E. l. v. cap. 3, 4. Hær. Fab. l. iv. c. 8. et 9. l. v. cap. xi. Rufin. H. E. l. ii. c. 20. Aug. de Hær. cap. 55. Leont. Byzant. adv. fraudes Apollinarist. ap. B. PP. Lugdun. T. ix. p. 707.

[h] Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 250. and Lives of the Fathers, (in English,) in the Life of Greg. Naz. sect. v. p. 312. Pearson upon the Creed, Art. v. p. 237, &c. Lond. 1676. Mr. Bower's History of the Popes, Vol. i. p. 203—211. S. Basnag. ann. 364. n. xi. xii. Fr. Spanheim. T. i. p. 890.

[i] Εδοξε γαρ τισι—παραβαλλειν τον νεν απο της τε Χριστε ενσαρκε παρεσιας, και λεγειν, ὁτι σαρκα ελαβεν ὁ Χριστος ελθων ὁ Κυριος ἡμων και ψυχην, νεν δε εκ ελαβεν, τετ' εστι τελεον ανθρωπον. H. 77. n. i. p. 996. Vid. et n. ii.

[k] Αλλοι δε εφασαν τον γεροντα ειρηκεναι, ὁτι εν τη πρωτη αναστασει χιλιονταετηριδα τινα επιτελεμεν, τοις αυτοις εμπολιτευομενοι, ὁποιοις και νυν, ὡς και νομον, και αλλα φυλαττοντες, και παντα της χρησεως της εν τω κοσμω, γαμε τε και περιτομης, και των αλλων μετεχοντες, ὁπερ ε πανυ περι αυτε πεπιστευκαμεν, ως δε τινες διεβεβαιωσαντο, τετο εφησαν αυτον ειρηκεναι. H. 77. n. xxvi. p. 1031.

[l] Ουχι οἱ περι τε Θεε λογοι πληρεις παρ' αυτω εισιν ασεβων δογματων της παλαιας ασεβειας τε ματαιοφρονος Σαβελλιε δι' αυτε ανανεωθεισης εν τοις συνταγμασιν. Basil. ep. 265. [al. 293.] T. iii. p. 409. D.

[m] Vid. ep. 129. al. 59. T. iii. p. 220. Conf. ep. 265. p. 409. D. E.

[n] Ειτα και τα περι σαρκωσεως τοσαυτην εποιησε τη αδελφοτητι την ταραχην, ὡστε ολιγοι λοιπον των εντετυχηκοτων τον αρχαιον της ευσεβειας διαζωσασι χαρακτηρα. κ. λ. ep. 263. al. 74. p. 407. A.

been written in 377, or thereabout. The doctrine of Apollinarius concerning the Millennium, as represented by[o] Basil in the same letter, is a very crude notion: and yet is agreeable to that which Epiphanius had been informed of; and is also much the same with what Jerom not seldom ascribes to[p] our people, meaning catholics. I have put down below several of his passages, to be added to some others, transcribed[q] formerly. Well might Basil and Jerom call it a Jewish doctrine, and they who held it judaizers; if indeed they expected that good men should be raised up again to spend a thousand years in the land of Judea, and that the law of Moses should again be set up with circumcision, sacrifices at the temple in Jerusalem, and other usages of that institution.

3. Gregory Nazianzen, in his letter to Nectarius of Constantinople, represents Apollinarius to teach in his writings, that Christ[r] brought his body from heaven: this he argued from John iii. 13; 1 Cor. xv. 47. Next, that this man from heaven was not endowed with mind, but that the only-begotten of the Father supplied the place of mind, being joined to an animal, sensitive soul, and a body: and that he likewise taught, that God the Word, or the only-begotten, suffered in his Deity. In another place[s] Gregory takes notice of Apollinarius's notion concerning the Millennium: but undoubtedly, the particulars just mentioned were the most offensive. However, Gregory does also charge him with teaching, that[t] there are degrees in the Trinity.

4. Theodoret, in his Heretical Fables, says, that[u] in some

[o] Ετι δε αυτω και το περι αναστασεως μυθικως συγκειμενα, μαλλον δε ιουδαϊκως. Εν οις φησι παλιν ημας προς την νομικην υποστρεφειν λατρειαν· και παλιν ημας περιτμηθησεσθαι, και σαββατιζειν, και βρωματων απεχεσθαι, και θυσιας προσοισειν θεω και προσκυνησιν εν Ιεροσολυμοις, επι τω ναω, και ολως απο χριστιανων Ιουδαιους γενησεσθαι. ep. 263. p. 406. E.

[p] Respondeant amatores tantum occidentis literæ, et in mille annos exquisitos cibos gulæ ac luxuriæ præparantes———qui post secundum in gloriâ Salvatoris adventum sperant nuptias et parvulos centum annorum, et circumcisionis injuriam, et victimarum sanguinem, et perpetuum sabbatum. In Is. cap. lix. T. iii. P. i. p. 396.

Hæc illi et nostri judaïzantes, qui mille annorum regnum in Judææ sibi finibus pollicentur, et auream Jerusalem, et victimarum sanguinem, et filios ac nepotes, et delicias incredibiles. In Joel. cap. iii. T. 3. P. ii. p. 1364. Vid. ibid. p. 1367.

Hæc omnia———Judæi et judaïzantes nostri, immo non nostri, qui judaïzantes, sperant futura corporaliter utique et circumcisionem sibi, et conjugia in mille annorum imperio promittentes. In Zach. xiv. T. iii. p. 1803.

[q] See Vol. ii. ch. xliii. num. xv. 6.

[r] Ad Nectar. Or. 46. p. 722.

[s] Ad Cledon. ep. 2. al. Or. 52. p. 747. C.

[t] Ad Cledon. ep. 1. seu Or. 51. p. 744. C. D.

[u] Αλλ' ομοιως ημιν και την μιαν της θεοτητος θειαν, και τας τρεις υποστα-

of his writings Apollinarius made no innovations in the doctrine of the Trinity, but appears to agree with us, teaching one substance of the Deity, and three persons. But in some of his writings he speaks of degrees in the Trinity, saying, that the Spirit is great, the Son greater, the Father greatest of all. In other writings he confounds the properties of the Divine Persons, and for that reason has been charged with Sabellianism. Moreover he says, that when God the Word took flesh, he took a body and soul, not a rational, but an irrational soul, which some call sensitive and animal: and the Divine nature supplied the place of a soul. In another place Theodoret expresseth himself after this manner: Arius[v] and Eunomius said that Christ had an human body, and that the Divinity was in the place of a soul. Apollinarius said, that Christ had an animated [or living] body, but not a reasonable soul: for the mind was superfluous, where God the Word was present. Again in his Ecclesiastical History also, Theodoret speaks distinctly of Apollinarius's several opinions, and there slightly mentions also[w] his opinion concerning the divine promises, or the retributions to be hereafter given to good men.

5. Jerom sometimes speaks of Apollinarius's opinions concerning the incarnation, or[x] his defective notion of the person of Christ, not allowing him to be perfect man; and[y] the Millenarian doctrine. He also speaks of an opinion of[z] his concerning the soul: which, however, was not reckoned a part of his heresy.

σεις εκηρυξεν· εν ενιοις δε βαθμους αξιωματων ὡρισατο, ἑαυτον διανομεα της Θειας χειροτονησας νομης. Αυτη γαρ εστιν, ευρεμα, το μεγα, μειζον, μεγιστον—Εν ενιοις τοινυν παλιν ετος συγγραμμασι τας των ὑποστασεων συνεχεεν ιδιοτητας—Ὁθεν και την τε Σαβελλιανισμε κατηγοριαν εδεξατο. Σαρκωθηναι τε τον Θεον εφησε λογον, σωμα και ψυχην ανειληφοτα, ε την λογικην, αλλα την αλογον, ἡν φυσικην ηγεν ζωτικην τινες ονομαζεσι. H. F. l. iv. c. 8. p. 240.

[v] *Αρειος δε και Ευνομιος σωμα μεν αυτον ειληφεναι, την Θεοτητα δε της ψυχης ενηργηκεναι την χρειαν· ὁ δε Απολλιναριος εμψυχον μεν εφησε ειναι τε σωτηρος σωμα, ε μην την λογικην εσχηκεναι ψυχην· περιττος γαρ ην, φησι, ὁ νους, τε Θεε λογε παροντος.* Hær. Fab. l. v. c. 11. p. 278. Conf. ad Flavian. ep. 104. T. iii. p. 975. D.

[w] *Και ἑτερας δε μυθους και ληρους ταις θειαις εναγγελειαις συνεζευξεν.* H. E. l. v. c. 3. p. 200. D.

[x] ——dimidiatam Christi introduxit œconomiam. Ad Pamm. ep. 41. [al. 65.] T. iv. p. 342.

[y] Hic [Papias] dicitur, mille annorum Judaïcam edidisse *δευτερωσιν*, quem secuti Irenæus, et Apollinarius, et cæteri, qui post resurrectionem aiunt in carne cum sanctis Dominum regnaturum. De Papiâ, cap. 18. V. I. Vid. et Procem. in Is. Comm. l. xviii. T. 3. p. 478. et in Ezech. c. 36. p. 952. m.

[z] ———an certe ex traduce; ut Tertullianus, Apollinarius, et maxima pars Occidentalium. Ad Marcell. et Anaps. ep. 78. [al. 82.] T. iv. p. 642.

6. I put below what[a] Rufinus and[b] Vincent of Lerins say of Apollinarius's doctrine concerning the incarnation.

7. I transcribe below[c] at length Augustine's article of the Apollinarists. He speaks of them in several other places; from one of which we perceive, that[d] they argued in favour of their doctrine concerning the incarnation from John i. 14. I transcribe in the margin[e] a passage or two more, to be observed by my readers at leisure. And I refer also to[f] other places of Augustine, where he treats somewhat largely of the opinions of these people.

8. Socrates entirely agrees with Rufinus, whom probably he copied, in the account of their doctrine concerning the incarnation: but he adds, the[g] Apollinarians said, in this

[a] ——asserens solum corpus, non etiam animam a Domino in dispensatione susceptam——Post——ait, eum quidem habuisse animam, sed non ex eâ quæ rationabilis est, sed ex eâ solum quæ vivificabat corpus: ad supplementum vero rationabilis partis, ipsum Verbum Dei fuisse perhibebat. Ruf. H. E. l. ii. c. 20.

[b] Apollinaris vero in unitatem quidem Trinitatis quasi consentire se jactat, et hoc ipsum plenâ fidei sanctitate. Sed in Domini incarnatione apertâ professione blasphemat. Dicit enim, in ipsâ Salvatoris nostri carne aut animam humanam penitus non fuisse, aut certe talem fuisse, cui mens et ratio non esset. Sed et ipsam Domini carnem non de sanctæ virginis Mariæ carne susceptam, sed de cœlo in virginem descendisse dicebat: eamque nutabundus semper et dubius modo coæternam Deo Verbo, modo de Verbi Divinitate factam prædicabat. Vincent. Lirin. Comm. cap. 17.

[c] Apollinaristas Apollinaris instituit, qui de animâ Christi a catholicis dissenserunt, dicentes, sicut Ariani, Deum Christum carnem sine animâ suscepisse. In quâ quæstione testimoniis evangelicis victi, mentem, quæ rationalis est anima hominis, defuisse animæ Christi, sed pro hac ipsum Verbum in eo fuisse dixerunt. De ipsâ vero ejus carne sic a rectâ fide dissensisse prohibentur, ut dicerent, carnem illam et Verbum unius ejusdemque substantiæ; contentiosissime asseverantes, Verbum carnem factum, hoc est, Verbi aliquid in carnem fuisse conversum atque mutatum, non autem carnem de Mariæ carne fuisse susceptam. De Hær. cap. 55. T. viii.

[d] ———quemadmodum argumentantur Apollinaristæ, vel quicumque sunt alii, adversus animam Domini: quam propterea negant, quia scriptum legunt, "Verbum caro factum est." Si enim et anima, inquiunt, ibi est, debuit dici: Verbum homo factum est. De Animâ et ejus Origine. l. i. c. 18. p. 31. T. x.

[e] Nec ita hominem, [dicimus Christum,] ut aliquid minus habeat quod ad humanam certum est pertinere naturam sive animam, sive in ipsâ animâ mentem rationalem, sive carnem, non de feminâ sumtam, sed factam de Verbo in carnem converso atque mutato. Quæ omnia tria falsa et vana, hæreticorum Apollinaristarum tres partes varias diversasque fecerunt. De Dono Perseverantiæ. cap. 24. T. x. P. i.

Fuerunt enim quidam hæretici, et pulsi sunt ab ecclesiâ, qui putarent, non habere mentem rationalem corpus Christi, sed quasi animam belluinam. In Joan. Evang. Tr. 23. n. 6. T. iii. Ps. 2. Vid. ib. Tr. 47. n. 9.

[f] Vid. Enarr. in Ps. 29. n. 2. in Ps. 85. n. 4. T. iv.

[g] *Περι τουτω μονω δη λεγουσι διαφερεσθαι. οἱ νυν εξ εκεινων την προσωνυμιαν εχοντες· την γαρ τριαδα ὁμοουσιον ειναι φασι.* Socr. l. ii. c. 46. p. 161. B.

only did they differ from the catholics, for they believed a consubstantial Trinity. Vincent also, transcribed not long ago, has somewhat to the like purpose. And it must be owned to be in favour of Apollinarius in this respect, that[h] Philostorgius, a learned Arian, reckons Apollinarius, together with Basil and Gregory Nazianzen, one of the best defenders of the Homoüsian doctrine. And that he and his followers still professed to retain the Nicene faith, may be inferred from[i] Athanasius's arguments with them. And Leontius of Byzantium, who was no friend to Apollinarius, allows[k] him to be orthodox upon the Trinity; and imputes to him only an erroneous doctrine concerning the incarnation: for though Gregory and some others charge him with advancing degrees in the Trinity, he did not use the word *created* of the Son or the Spirit. Concerning this point, may be seen a note of the Benedictine editors[l] of St. Ambrose's works.

9. S. Basnage[m] allows the truth of what is generally said of Apollinarius, that he supposed the Word to supply in the man Jesus the place of a rational soul: and as what he says may illustrate the point, I have transcribed him somewhat largely in the margin. But he thinks, that the opinions ascribed to Apollinarius by Gregory Nazianzen, in the letter to Nectarius before quoted, written about the year 385, not to have been held by him; as that our Saviour brought his body from heaven, and that his dignity suffered. Though

[h] Vid. Suid. V. Απολλιναριος. [i] Ep. ad Epictet. p. 903. E. p. 904. A. B. et alibi.

[k] Ὁ δε Απολλιναριος περι μεν την θεολογιαν ϗ φαινεται ἁμαρτανων, πλην διελεγχθσι και τϗτον οἱ Γρηγοριοι περι ταυτην αμαρτανοντα· Κτισμα μεν γαρ, φασιν, ϗ λεγει· ὑποβασιν δε μικραν λεγει τϗ Υἱϗ και τϗ Πνευματος, προς τον Πατερα· Περι δε την οικονομιαν φανερως διεβαλλετο. Ελεγε γαρ, το σωμα, ὁ ενεδυσατο ὁ Θεος λογος, ψυχην μεν εχειν, νϗν δε ϗδαμως· αλλ' ὡσπερ αλογον ψυχην, ϗτως ελεγεν εχειν. De Sectis. Act. iv. Ap. B. PP. Morell. T. xi. p. 507. et Latine ap. B. PP. Lugd. T. ix. p. 666.

[l] Ad Ambr. de Incarnat. Domini Sacram. c. 2. T. ii. p. 705.

[m] Id etiam luculentissime demonstrat ipse Apollinarius, epistolâ episcopis Diocæsareæ scriptâ, quam ab oblivione Leontius vindicavit. Confitemur, non ad hominem sanctum venisse Verbum Dei, quod erat in prophetis, sed ipsum Verbum carnem factum esse, non assumptâ mente humanâ, mente mutabili, quæ turpibus cogitationibus captiva ducitur, sed divinâ mente immutabili et cœlesti. Leont. adv. Fraudes Apollinarist. ap. Bib. PP. Lugdun. T. ix. p. 712. Mentem itaque, non animam, a Christo abjudicabat.———Ex fontibus porro Platonis videtur errorem deduxisse suum. Quod et asserit Nemesius de Nat. Hom. cap. i. Quidam, e quibus est Plotinus, aliud esse animam, et aliud mentem statuentes, ex tribus constare volunt hominem, e corpore, animâ, et mente. Hos secutus est Apollinaris Laodiceæ episcopus. His enim jactis fundamentis sententiæ suæ, reliqua dogmati suo consentanea superstruxit. S. Basn. ann. 364. n. xii. p. 6.

Gregory quotes, as a voucher, a work of Apollinarius himself; he says, it[n] could not be his, but rather a work of one of his disciples. He moreover argues, that Theodoret in his Heretical Fables does not ascribe the opinion of the descent of Christ's body from heaven to Apollinarius, but to some of his followers.

10. To which I would answer, that there appears not any good reason to deny the genuineness of the book alleged by Gregory Nazianzen. To do so is an arbitrary proceeding: for what account can be given of Gregory's mistaking the author? Secondly, Theodoret in his work of Heretical Fables does, indeed, make two chapters, one of Apollinarius, another of the Polemians, and others his disciples. And in this last chapter he says, that[o] some of these were of opinion, that the Lord's body came down from heaven. Nevertheless, in his Ecclesiastical History, Theodoret speaking of Apollinarius says: Sometimes[p] he said, that our Lord took flesh, or his body, of the holy virgin: at other times, that his flesh came down from heaven, together with God the Word. Sometimes he said, that the Word was made flesh, without taking any thing from us. Which diversity of sentiments is hinted also in the just cited chapter of the Heretical Fables. Yea, he there expressly says, that[q] those of his followers, who said, that the Lord's body came down from heaven, supported themselves by his writings. Thirdly, all the sentiments ascribed to Apollinarius by Gregory, in his letter to Nectarius, appear in other authors of the same time, who wrote against him. That[r] the body of Christ came down from heaven; that[s] his flesh and divinity were homoüsian; that[t] his deity suffered; are all opinions of Apollinarius, or his disciples, taken notice of by Athanasius in his books against the Apollinarists in 372, or thereabout. The same things are observable in the letter of Athanasius to Epictetus bishop of Corinth, written about the year 371, particularly those offensive notions, that the body of Jesus

[n] Librum tamen Apollinaristæ potius, quam Apollinaris ipsius esse existimamus—Librum ea impia continentem subditum esse existimamus. Ib. p. 7. a.

[o] Και αλλοι δε τινες εκ της Απολλιναριε συναγωγης, εκ των ερανων εφασαν κατεληλυθεναι τε Κυριε σωμα. Διαφορα δε ευροντες εν τοις εκεινε συγγραμμασι δογματα, οἱ μεν τετοις, οἱ δε εκεινοις ηρεσθησαν. H. F. l. iv. cap. 9.

[p] Ποτε μεν γαρ συνωμολογει και αυτος εκ της ἁγιας παρθενε προσειληφθηναι την σαρκα· ποτε δε ερανοθεν ταυτην τω Θειῳ Λογῳ συγκατεληλυθεναι φησιν· αλλοτε δε αυτον γεγενησθαι σαρκα, εδεν εξ ἡμων ειληφοτα. H. E. l. v. c. 3. p. 200. D.

[q] See note [o].

[r] Πως ὑμεις παλιν λεγετε εξ ερανε το σωμα: Athanas. contra Apollinarist. l. i. n. 7. T. i. p. 927. B.

[s] Και γαρ και ὁμοσιον την σαρκα της Θεοτητος λεγειν επιχειρειτε. Ib. p. 929. B. Vid. et E.

[t] Ματαιοι εν οἱ τῃ Θεοτητι αυτε παθος προσαγοντες. l. ii. p. 955. C.

was[u] consubstantial and[v] coeternal with his deity. The like things are taken notice of by Epiphanius[w] in his article concerning them, written in 377. As Apollinarius was then living, it seems to me to make little difference, whether they were his notions, or his disciples'. I might refer likewise to Gregory Nyssen's long work against them published by Zacagni, where all the same sentiments are disputed: as[x] the mortality of the Deity in Christ, the[y] pre-existence of his body and[z] its being brought down from heaven, as well[a] as the Word's supplying the place of a rational soul in Christ. And Gregory Nyssen supposeth all along that he argued with Apollinarius himself, as he had expressed his notions in his own work. Indeed some of these things are very strange; which may make us doubt, whether Apollinarius be not misrepresented, and whether some of the opinions ascribed to him are not consequences which he did not own: but I apprehend, that they are as much his, as his disciples'.

11. The principal doctrine, by which Apollinarius and his followers were distinguished, was, that Christ had no rational soul, and that the Word supplied the office of it. With respect to that opinion, Epiphanius[b] gave them the denomination of Dimœritæ, and so entitled his article concerning them: denoting persons who maimed the person of Christ, and made him consist of two parts only, animated flesh, and Divinity:

[u] Ποιος αδης ηρευξατο, ὁμοουσιον ειπειν το εκ Μαριας σωμα της τυ λογυ θεοτητος; Ad Epict. p. 902. B.

Ποθεν ὑμιν επηλθεν ειπειν, ω ουτοι, ὁμοουσιον ειναι το σωμα της τυ λογυ θεοτητος; Απο γαρ τουτου καλον εστιν αρξασθαι. Ib. p. 903. E.

[v] ——ὡστε ειπειν μη νεωτερον ειναι το σωμα της τυ Θευ Λογυ θεοτητος, αλλα συναϊδιον αυτῳ διαπαντος γεγενησθαι, επειδε εκ της ουσιας της σοφιας συνεστη. p. 902. D. [w] Vid. H. 77. n. ii. p. 997, 998.

[x] Απας γαρ αυτῳ της λογογραφιας ὁ σκοπος προς τουτο βλεπει, το θνητην τυ μονογενους Θευ την θεοτητα. Gr. Nyss. adv. Apoll. ap. Zacagn. Monum. Vet. p. 132. in.

Ει γαρ αυτη τεθνηκεν τυ μονογενους θεοτης, συναπεθανε ταυτῃ παντως και ἡ ζωη. κ. λ. Ibid. infr. Vid. et p. 133, 134. [y] Ib. p. 150, 151. et alibi.

[z] Ib. p. 205. [a] Ib. p. 220, &c. et alibi.

[b] Dimœritarum porro nomine Apollinaristas insectatur Epiphanius, Hær. 77. Cujus appellationis causam aperit Gregorius Nazianz. cum ait, Orat. 46. p. 722. corpus et animam esse in Christo *το τριτημοριον*, tertiam partem. Apollinaristæ quippe aiebant, in Christo partem unam hominis, *νουν* scilicet, seu mentem, a Verbo suppleri, solumque Verbum junctum corpori et animæ, [nempe sensitivæ, ut dictitabant illi,] totum constituere Christum. Quamobrem, cum ex catholicorum sententiâ tribus, constaret Christus, Verbo scilicet, mente humanâ, et corpore animato, qui unam ex illis demerent partem, mentem scilicet, a duabus aliis *διμοιριται* audiebant. Nam *διμοιρον* Græcis est duæ tertiæ partes, &c. Benedictin. in ep. ad Epictet. Admon. ap. Athan. p. 900.

whereas the catholics supposed him to have a human soul, or mind, and a human body, with the Word.

IV. I now proceed to observe some of his works, which have not yet been taken notice of.

1. Basil, in a letter written in 376, mentions[c] a book concerning the Holy Spirit, which he had not seen. Whether this book regarded any of his peculiar notions, I cannot certainly say. Here Basil says, he had heard, that Apollinarius was become the most voluminous of writers: but he had seen few of his works. In another letter, written in 377, he says, that[d] Apollinarius, being endowed with a great facility of writing, had filled the whole world with his books, neglecting the advice of Solomon in Ecc. xii. 12.

2. When Basil[e] gives an account of Apollinarius's doctrine concerning the incarnation, he may be supposed to refer to some writing of his. When Gregory Nazianzen speaks of the same matter, he appears[f] to have had a volume of Apollinarius before him, though he does not mention the title. Gregory Nyssen[g] expressly names the book confuted by him.

3. When Basil gives an account of Apollinarius's notion concerning the Millennium, he seems also to refer[h] to some book: whether he means the work against Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, mentioned by[i] Jerom, I cannot say.

4. Apollinarius wrote verse easily, and agreeably: and[k] accordingly composed short psalms and hymns, fitted for festivals, and for all seasons, and upon a great variety of subjects, all tending to the praise and glory of God. The men sung them at their work, and at their entertainments;

[c] *Ου μην περι τε Πνευματος τε ἁγιε η αιτησας αυτον οιδα βιβλιον, η αποσταλεν ὑποδεξαμενος. Αλλα πολυφωνοτατον μεν αυτον ακωω παντων συγγραφεων γεγενησθαι. κ. λ.* Ep. 244. [al. 82.] T. iii. p. 378.

[d] Ep. 263. [al. 74.] p. 404.

[e] Ep. 263. p. 407. A. Vid. supra, p. 266. note [o].

[f] ——*ὁτι μοι πυκτιον εν χερσι τε Απολλιναριε, εν ὡ κατασκηναζομενα πασαν αἱρετικην κακιαν περιερχεται.* Or. 46. p. 722. A.

[g] *Ὡς δ' αν μη δοκοιη λοιδορια το λεγομενον ειναι, ἑνα των παρ' αυτε περιφερομενων λογων προσθησομεν, ε ἡ επιγραφη εστιν αυτη· Αποδειξις, φησι, περι της Θειας σαρκωσεως της καθ' ὁμοιωσιν ανθρωπε.* Gr. Nyss. Antirrhet. adv. Apol. ap. Zacagn. p. 125, 126.

[h] Ep. 263. p. 406. Vid. supr. p. 266. not. [o].

[i] Cui duobus voluminibus respondit Apollinarius, quem non solum suæ sectæ homines, sed et nostrorum in hac parte duntaxat plurima sequitur multitudo. Comm. in Is. T. iii. p. 478. M.

[k] ——*παρα τας νενομισμενας ἱερας ωδας, εμμετρα τινα μελυδρια ψαλλοντες, παρ' αυτε Απολλιναριε ἑυρημενα—Ανδρες τε παρα τες ποτες και εν εργοις, και γυναικες παρα τες ἱστες τα αυτε μελη εψαλλον. Σπεδης γαρ και ανεσεως, και ἑορτων, και των αλλων, προς τον ἑκαστε καιρον εἰδυλλια αυτω πεπονητο, παντα εις ευλογιαν Θεε τεινοντα.* Soz. l. vi. c. 25. p. 671. B. C.

the women sung them at the spindle: and some were sung by his followers in their religious assemblies, in the room of those which were generally used. So says Sozomen in his Ecclesiastical History. Gregory Nazianzen, referring to these poems, speaks as[l] if they had a new Psalter, but dissonant from that of David; and as if his writings were made by his followers a third Testament, or a part of sacred scripture: in which he may be supposed to aggravate more than a little.

5. There is a collection of small poems,[m] fifty-three in number, called Homerici Centones de Christo. The subjects are taken out of the Old and New Testament, chiefly the latter: They are such as these, our Saviour's conception and birth, the presents brought by the Magi, the slaughter of the infants at Bethlehem, John the Baptist, the wedding at Cana, the woman of Samaria, the raising of Lazarus from the dead, and several other of our Saviour's miracles; our Lord's crucifixion, burial, resurrection, and ascension. But these are not generally ascribed to Apollinarius.

6. I hope I have now given a sufficient account of the works and opinions of Apollinarius; not thinking it needful to enter farther into the history of his followers, or the sentences of condemnation pronounced by councils upon him, or them. They who desire a more particular account of those things may consult the writings of the learned moderns formerly[n] referred to.

V. It is almost needless to observe, that Apollinarius received all the scriptures of the Old and New Testament which we do, without adding to them any other, so far as we know. His firm belief of the christian religion appears in the books written in the defence of it, and in the various compositions designed for the benefit of christians in the troublesome time of Julian's reign. His respect for the scriptures is manifest to all, from his numerous commentaries upon them, which have been particularly taken notice of in this chapter.

VI. I never intended to draw the character of Apollinarius. Shall I, nevertheless, present the reader with that given by Tillemont? but without adopting it. 'He seems,' says[o] that laborious writer, 'to have preserved always the

[l] Ει δε οἱ μακροι λογοι, και νεα ψαλτηρια, και αντιφωνα τῳ Δαβιδ, και ἡ των μετρων χαρις, ἡ τριτη διαθηκη νομιζεται· και ἡμεις ψαλμολογησομεν, και πολλα γραψομεν, και μετρησομεν. Greg. Naz. ad Cledon. ep. 1. p. 745. B. C.

[m] Ap. Bib. PP. Morell. T. xiv. p. 95—152.

[n] See p. 265, note [n].

[o] Il semble avoir toujours conservé l' extérieur d' une vie sainte et exemplaire. Les Apollinaristes. Art. 13. Mem. T. vii.

'outside of a holy and exemplary life; of which nevertheless Gregory of Nyssa seems not to have been fully persuaded. But he also maintained to the end his impiety, and died in his heresy. So[p] that we cannot admit the hope of any other lot for him, but the condemnation of hell. Such has been the unhappy condition of this great man, who had received so extraordinary talents of nature, and so great gifts of grace, who had combated with so much courage, and so much glory, for the true faith against the enemies of it. But because he trusted in his own wisdom, because he would solve those difficulties, which human reason cannot clear up, because he gave way to the desires of a vain curiosity; all the advantages which he had became unprofitable to him, and he has deserved to be regarded, by all the church, as a schismatic and a heretic.'

It must be owned, that the notions advanced by him in the latter part of his life have greatly diminished his credit: but yet, I would hope, they need not to be understood to have obliterated the merit of his past services for the christian religion. And I believe, that all my readers in general may concur in a wish, that we still had his confutation of Porphyry, which has been highly recommended by learned christians of different sentiments in former times.

Du Pin,[q] having mentioned Apollinarius's Paraphrase of the Psalms, adds: 'All the other works of this author are lost, except some fragments. His error, in all probability, occasioned this loss: the catholics had such a dread of the books of heretics, that they have not preserved so much as those which had no relation to their heresy, and which might have been useful to the church; for which reason we have scarce any books of heretics left. And the Eutychians were obliged to put out the works of Apollinarius with the names of catholic authors.'

If that be so, we must acknowledge, that the catholics were to blame; it is like rooting up tares and good corn all together. And we may hence receive this instruction; to be upon our guard, that we admit not too great an aversion for men on account of difference of sentiment, in things of a speculative nature; lest by violence in opposing error we should obstruct the progress of knowledge, and the cause of truth, which we are desirous to serve.

I have written the name of this author Apollinarius. I shall here transcribe a note of Du Pin, as it may serve for my justification with those who are but little acquainted

[p] De sorte qu' on ne peut espérer d' autre sort pour lui que la condamnation d' enfer. Ibid.

[q] Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 127.

with such things. 'The [p] Greeks,' says he, 'always call 'him Απολιναριος. St. Basil alone writes his name with two 'λλ, ll. St. Jerom calls him Apollinarius. The generality 'of the Latin writers give him the name of Apollinaris, as 'more soft.' I have chosen to follow the Greeks and Jerom, in the termination of his name: unless I might have dropped the harsh ending, and written his name Apollinaire, as the French do. I shall only add, that in L. Kuster's edition of Suidas, a Greek author, the name is written with a double l. His name is written in the like manner in [q] the Paschal Chronicle.

CHAP. XCVI.

DAMASUS, BISHOP OF ROME.

1. DAMASUS, though not without a warm contest with Ursinus, or Ursicinus, his competitor, succeeded Liberius, bishop of Rome, who died in September, 366. The disturbances in the city, occasioned by that competition, are taken notice of by Jerom in his [a] Chronicle, and by Ammianus Marcellinus, [b] a heathen author, as well as by [c] our ecclesiastical historians. Socrates says, 'There [d] was at 'that time a great disturbance among the citizens of Rome. 'Nor was it owing to a contention about any doctrine of the 'faith, or about any heresy, but only who should have the 'episcopal chair.' Damasus sat in that see above eighteen

[p] Bib. des Aut. Ec. ii. p. 127. not. [a].

[q] P. 237. C. Paris. 1688.

[a] Romanæ ecclesiæ tricesimus quintus ordinatur episcopus Damasus. Et non post multum temporis intervallum Ursinus a quibusdam episcopus constitutus Sicinnium cum suis invadit. Quo Damasianæ partis populo confluente, crudelissimæ interfectiones diversi sexûs perpetratæ. Chr. p. 186.

[b] Damasus et Ursinus, supra humanum modum ad rapiendam episcopatûs sedem ardentes, scissis studiis asperrime conflictabantur, ad usque mortis vulnerumque discrimina adjumentis utriusque progressis.—Et in concertatione superaverat Damasus, parte quæ ei favebat instante. Constatque, in basilicâ Sicinini, ubi ritûs christiani est conventiculum, uno die centum triginta septem reperta cadavera peremptorum: efferatamque plebem ægre postea delenitam. Ammian. l. xxvii. c. 3.

[c] Vid. Socr. l. iv. c. 29. Soz. l. vi. c. 23. Ruf. l. ii. c. 10. Faustin. et Marcellin. Lib. pr. in Præf. ap. Bib. PP. T. V. p. 652.

[d] Εξασιαζον αν προς ἑαυτους, ει δια τινα πιστιν η αἱρεσιν, αλλα περι του μονου τις οφειλει του επισκοπικου θρονου εγκρατης γενεσθαι. l. iv. c. 29.

years, and died in 384, being then almost eighty years of age.

2. Damasus is in Jerom's Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers: and I transcribe the article [e] below. What he says of him is chiefly this: That he had a good talent for poetry, and wrote several small pieces in verse. In another place he says, that [f] Damasus had written in praise of virginity, both in prose and verse. There [g] are still extant several small poems, which are ascribed to him, but not allowed by all to be genuine, which have been published, together with his epistles, and a history of his life, and numerous testimonies to him, collected out of ancient and later writers.

3. Damasus had a great regard for Jerom, on account of his learning and knowledge of the scriptures. Jerom [h] whilst in the east wrote to Damasus, asking his advice concerning his own conduct. When [i] Jerom came to Rome in 382, Damasus employed him as his secretary, to write letters for him upon ecclesiastical affairs, in answer to councils or bishops in foreign parts. Here [k] Jerom stayed three years, that is, till some time after the death of Damasus, and returned into the East in 385.

4. At the desire of Damasus, Jerom [l] corrected the edition of the Latin version of the New Testament, or of the gospels at least. At his request it is also said [m] that Jerom revised the Latin version of the Psalms, which had been made from the Greek of the Seventy: and it is certain that [n] this was

[e] Damasus, Romanæ urbis episcopus, elegans in versibus componendis ingenium habuit, multaque et brevia metro edidit, et prope octogenarius sub Theodosio principe mortuus est. De V. I. cap. 103.

[f] Legas—beati Cypriani volumen egregium, et papæ Damasi super hac re, versu prosâque composita. Ad Eustochium, ep. 18. [al. 22.] T. iv. p. 37. m.

[g] S. Damasi Papæ Opera quæ exstant, et Vita ex Cod. MSS. cum notis M. S. Sarazanii. Romæ. 1638. Paris. 1672. et ap. Bib. PP. Max. T. xxvii. p. 55—97. Vid. et Baron. ann. 384. n. xxxi. &c.

[h] Vid. Hieron. ep. 14. [al. 17.] T. iv. P. 2. p. 19. ep. 16. [al. 58.] p. 22.

[i] Ante annos plurimos, quum in chartis ecclesiasticis juvarem Damasum Romanæ urbis episcopum, et Orientis atque Occidentis synodicis consultationibus responderem. Ad Agerach. ep. 91. T. iv. p. 744. f.

[k] Pene certe triennium cum eis vixi. Ad Asell. ep. 28. [al. 94.] T. iv. p. 66. in.

[l] Vid. Hieron. ep. 142. seu Præf. in. iv. Evangelia. T. i. p. 1426. edit. Bened.

[m] Vid. Baron. ann. 382. n. 27. et Tillem. S. Damase. art. 13. Mem. T. 8.

[n] Psalterium Romæ dudum positus emendâram, et juxta Septuaginta Interpretes, licet cursim, magnâ illud ex parte correxeram. Pr. in libr. Psalm. T. i. p. 1222.

Psalterium quoque, quod certe emendatissimum juxta Septuaginta Interpretes nostro labore dudum Roma suscepit, rursus juxta Hebraïcum vertens, præfatione munivi. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. T. 4. p. 429.

done by him when at Rome. Damasus[o] put Jerom upon translating Didymus's Treatise upon the Spirit out of Greek into Latin: but it was not finished until after his death.

5. Damasus often wrote to Jerom letters containing questions concerning difficult texts of scripture. To him is addressed[p] Jerom's explication of the vision of the Seraphim in the sixth chapter of Isaiah. In a letter[q] still extant, Damasus desires Jerom to give him a clear explication of the word Hosanna found in the New Testament, he having met with very different interpretations of it in the Greek and Latin Commentaries of catholic writers, which he had read. This occasioned Jerom to write a letter[r] upon that subject, which we still have. At his request likewise Jerom explained the parable of the Prodigal Son. I shall transcribe below[s] a part of Damasus's letter, which is inserted in Jerom's answer: whereby it appears that there were then two common interpretations of that parable: some by the elder and younger sons understanding the Jewish people and the Gentiles, others righteous men and sinners.

6. These[t] three epistles or discourses upon the Seraphim, Hosanna, and the Prodigal Son, are mentioned by Jerom in the last chapter of his Catalogue, where he enumerates his own works. To his discourse upon the Hebrew word Hosanna, he refers likewise in[u] his Commentary upon St. Matthew, and to that upon the Seraphim in[v] a letter, written about the year 398 or 399.

[o] Cum in Babylone versarer, et purpuratæ meretricis essem colonus, et jure Quiritum viverem, volui garrire aliquid de Spiritu Sancto, et cœptum opusculum ejusdem urbis Pontifici dedicare.—Itaque, mi Pauliane frater, quia supradictus Pontifex Damasus, qui me ad hoc opus primus impulerat, jam dormit in Christo.—Pr. in libr. Didym. de Sp. S. T. iv. P. i. p. 494.

[p] Ep. 142. T. iii. p. 515. ed. Bened. [q] Commentaria quum legerem Græco Latinoque sermone in evangeliorum interpretatione a nostris, id est, orthodoxis viris, olim ac nuper scripta de eo quod legitur Osanna Filio David (Matt. xxi. 9.) non solum diversa, sed etiam contraria sibi proferunt. Dilectionis tuæ est, ut ardenti et illo strenuitatis ingenio—quid se habeant apud Hebræos vivo sensu scribas. Ep. 144. ap. Hieron. T. iv. P. i. p. 145. [r] Ep. 145. ib. p. 145, &c.

[s] Ais: 'Quis est iste in evangelio Pater, qui duobus filiis substantiam di-'vidit? Qui duo filii? Qui major, quive minor?—Addis insuper: Scio mul-'tos in hac lectione diversa dixisse: et fratrem majorem Judæum, minorem 'existimâsse Gentilem populum. Sed quæro, quomodo Judaico populo possit 'aptari· 'Ecce tot annis servivi tibi, et nunquam mandatum tuum præterii.' —Si autem, ut ais, de justo et peccatore voluerimus esse parabolam, justo 'non potuit convenire, ut de salute alterius, et maxime fratris, contristetur.' Ad Damas. ep. 146. Vid. T. iv. P. i. p. 149.

[t] De Seraphim, et Osanna, et de frugi et luxurioso filiis. De V. I. cap. ult. [u] In Matth. T. iv. P. i. p. 95, 96.

[v] In lectione Isaiæ, in quâ duo Seraphim clamantia describuntur.—Habetur

7. There is also still extant another letter of Damasus, written in the last year of his life: in which he says, there [w] could be no higher entertainment, than to confer together upon the holy scriptures: and he desires, that he may propound questions, whilst Jerom makes answers. Here he proposes several difficult texts to Jerom, which [x] he afterwards explained. In the same letter Damasus passeth that judgment upon Lactantius, which was formerly [y] taken notice of.

8. Finally, Jerom [z] calls Damasus a great man, and says, he was well acquainted with the scriptures.

9. For a fuller history of Damasus and his works, I refer to [zz] several.

CHAP. XCVII.

BASIL, BISHOP OF CÆSAREA IN CAPPADOCIA.

I. *His time, and works.* II. *Books of scripture received by him.* III. *A passage relating to the epistle to the Ephesians considered.* IV. *Respect for the scriptures.*

I. AS St. Basil is in Jerom's Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, and the chapter is not long, I place it entire at the bottom of the [a] page.

liber in manibus, ante viginti annos editus. Ad Pamm. et Ocean. ep. 41. [al. 65.] T. iv. p. ii. p. 243. in.

[w] Neque vero ullam puto digniorem disputationis nostræ confabulationem fore, quam si de scripturis sermocinemur inter nos: id est, ut ego interrogem, tu respondeas. Quâ vitâ nihil puto in hac luce jucundius, quo animæ pabulo mella omnia superantur, &c. Ep. 124. Vid. T. ii. p. 561.

[x] Ep. 125. p. 262, &c. ib. [y] See Vol. iii. p. 488, 490.

[z] Dum adhuc viveret sanctæ memoriæ Damasus, librum contra Helvidium de beatæ Mariæ virginitate perpetuâ scripsimus. Num vir egregius, et eruditus in scripturis, et virgo, et ecclesiæ virginis doctor, aliquid in illo sermone reprehendit? Ad Pamm. ep. 30. [al. 50.] T. iv. P. 2. p. 240. f.

[zz] Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 230, and his Life of Damasus, in the Appendix to the Lives of the Primitive Fathers, Vol. ii. p. 30. Du Pin, Bib. T. ii. p. 151. Tillem. Mem. T. viii. Pagi ann. 384. n. ii. iii. and Mr. Bower's History of the Bishops of Rome, Vol. i. p. 179—233.

[a] Basilius, Cæsareæ Cappadociæ, quæ prius Mazaca vocabatur, episcopus, egregios contra Eunomium elaboravit libros, et de Spiritu Sancto volumen, et in Hexaëmeron homilias novem, et Ασκητικον, et breves variosque tractatus. Montur imperante Gratiano. De V. I. cap. 116.

It is generally supposed, that Basil, commonly called the Great, was born in Cappadocia, in the year 328 or 329. And according to[b] the different apprehensions of learned men, he was ordained bishop of Cæsarea, the capital city of his native country, in 369, or 370, or 371, and died in the very beginning of 378, or 379, or 380, having been bishop eight years, and somewhat more.

Many writings have been ascribed to Basil without ground. For which reason divers learned moderns[c] have taken commendable pains in distinguishing the spurious from the genuine. In which service none I think have excelled Julian Garner, the Benedictine editor of St. Basil's works. I wish, however, that he had been able to reduce his observations into less compass.

II. I know of no reason to doubt, that Basil received all the books of the New Testament that we do; but I cannot say, that he has quoted them all. He has quoted all St. Paul's epistles, particularly that to the Hebrews, as his. He does not much quote the catholic epistles: however, he has several times quoted the first epistle of St. Peter, and the first epistle of St. John. The second epistle of St. Peter is once quoted[d] in the fifth book against Eunomius, not allowed by all to be genuine. The epistle of St. James is very seldom quoted, the epistle of St. Jude, and the first and second epistle of St. John, not at all that I remember. Though there be very little notice taken of the book of the Revelation in his writings, I presume it cannot be said to have been rejected by him; for in his second book against Eunomius, having before quoted St. John's gospel, i. 1, he adds: 'And[e] the same evangelist in another book says: "Which is," and "Which was, even the Almighty." [Rev. i. 8.] The same text is also[f] quoted in the fourth book against Eunomius. But that book is not universally allowed to be genuine, some thinking, that Basil wrote no more than three books against Eunomius. I would add, that[g] Basil is named by Arethas among those who received the book of the Revelation as inspired scripture.

[b] Vid. Cav. H. L. Pagi, ann. 369. xvi. 370. ix. x. xxiii. 378. ii. Basnag. A. 370. n. vi. &c. 380. n. viii. ix. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 60. Du Pin, T. ii. p. 154. Tillem. Mem. T. ix.

[c] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 69, &c. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. ix. Du Pin, Bib. T. ii. p. 154, &c.

[d] Adv. Eunom. l. v. in. T. i. p. 296, D.

[e] Αλλ' αυτος ἡμιν ὁ ευαγγελιστης εν ἑτερῳ λογῳ τȣ τοιȣτȣ—ὁ ων, και ὁ ην, και ὁ παντοκρατωρ. Adv. Eunom. l. ii. T. i. p. 249. E.

[f] Και εν τῃ Αποκαλυψει' ὁ ων, και ὁ ην, και ὁ ερχομενος. Adv. Eunom. l. iv. p. 282. A.

[g] Vid. Areth. p. 640. ad calcem Commentar Œcumenii. T. ii.

III. In St. Basil's second book against Eunomius is a very singular passage to this purpose. 'And[h] writing to the Ephesians, as truly united to him "who is," through knowledge, he called them in a peculiar sense "such who are," saying: "To the saints who are, and" [or even] "the faithful in Christ Jesus." For so those before us have transmitted it, and we have found it in ancient copies.'

It is well known, that there is a question agitated of late among the learned, concerning the persons to whom the epistle, called to the Ephesians, was written. But I do not now concern myself about that question: I am at present only desirous to settle, as far as I am able, the meaning of this passage of Basil; in which he has been supposed by some to say, that he had seen copies, in which the words εν Εφεσῳ, 'at Ephesus' were wanting. So particularly Dr.[i] Mill. But Mr. L'Enfant in his remarks[k] upon Mill's New Testament, soon after its publication at Oxford, argues, that Basil does not say, those words, 'at Ephesus,' were wanting in any copies. Ludolph Kuster, in the preface to his edition of Mill's New Testament, justifies Mill, and condemns L'Enfant. But this learned author soon replied in a Latin[l] letter, vindicating the interpretation he had given of St. Basil. Mr. Wolff,[m] who approved Mr. L'Enfant's opinion, has given a very good account of his argument, with some additional observations of his own in support of it. And I must own, it seems to me likewise, that Mr. L'Enfant's interpretation is the truest.

Says that ingenious writer, 'The[n] various reading consists in the emphatical particle τοις, and not εν Εφεσῳ, as may appear from these several considerations: 1. St. Basil moves not the question, whether that epistle be written to the Ephesians or others. 2. At the beginning of the passage, he supposeth that it was written to the Ephesians, without saying that there was any contest about it. 3. The design of Basil is to show, that the Ephesians are justly and properly called οντες, 'such who are,' because of their union with him 'who is.' 4. The word ιδιαζοντως,

[h] Αλλα και τοις Εφεσιοις επιστελλων, ὡς γνησιως ἡνωμενοις τῳ οντι δι' επιγνωσεως, οντας αυτους ιδιαζοντως ωνομασεν, ειπων· Τοις ἁγιοις τοις ουσι, και πιστοις εν Χριστῳ Ιησου. Ουτω γαρ και οἱ προ ἡμων παραδεδωκασι, και ἡμεις εν τοις παλαιοις των αντιγραφων ευρηκαμεν. Adv. Eunom. l. ii. p. 254. E.

[i] Εν Εφεσῳ.] Omittit Basil. l. ii. adv. Eunomium, fide patrum, quod dicit, ac veterum exemplarium. Mill. ad Eph. i. 1. Vid. et ejusdem Prolegom. n. 89.

[k] Bib. Choisie. T. xvi. p. 301, &c.

[l] Bib. Choisie. T. xxi. p. 96, &c.

[m] Vid Prolegom. in ep. ad Eph. et in cap. i. p. 10—13. ap. cur. Philol. T. iv.

[n] See, as before, Bib. Ch. T. xvi. p. 301, &c.

'peculiarly,' must relate to the emphatical article τοις, 'which is necessary to answer to ὁ ων, 'him who is,' and 'which, according to Mill's own account, is wanting in one 'MS. at least. This is the point: Τοις was wanting in the 'common copies in the time of St. Basil, but he had read it 'in ancient MSS. and he avails himself of it, to authorize 'his speculation. It is true, that in his quotation he does 'not put the words, 'at Ephesus,' because that was not the 'thing in contest, and he had mentioned it before, and he 'had no occasion to mention it again. Moreover, he might 'be disposed to omit those words, 'at Ephesus,' the [o] more 'to favour his speculation upon τοις ουσι, 'such who are,' 'taken in an absolute sense. 5. St. Jerom, who refutes this 'speculation of St. Basil, makes it turn upon the particle 'τοις, and mentions not any various reading upon the 'place.'

Let me enlarge a little farther, and agreeably, as I apprehend, to L'Enfant's mind, though without transcribing him.

The passage of Jerom, just referred to, which is usually alleged, as illustrating the passage of Basil, in my opinion greatly favours L'Enfant. Jerom [p] in his comment upon the epistle to the Ephesians mentions Basil's speculation, or forced interpretation, which we have seen, and rejects it. Not a few learned men think, that [q] Jerom has a particular reference to Basil; but I see no ground for that supposition. He might find perhaps that observation [r] in Origen, or Apollinarius, or Didymus, whose commentaries upon the epistle to the Ephesians he mentions in his preface, or in some others. In Basil this interpretation is produced as an argument against the Arians; but nothing of that kind appears

[o] Omisit potius eas, quod ex alterâ parte satis ipsi erat, articulum τοις ex antiquis exemplaribus tanquam necessarium vindicare; ex alterâ vero intelligebat expositionem suam pro nullâ facile habitum iri, si voces εν Εφεσῳ voci ουσι subjectæ legerentur. Wolf. Curæ, T. iv. p. 12. m.

[p] 'Sanctis omnibus qui sunt Ephesi.'] Quidam curiosius quam necesse est, putant ex eo quod Moysi dictum sit: 'Hæc dices filiis Israel: Qui est, misit me?' [Exod. iii. 14.] etiam eos qui Ephesi sunt sancti et fideles, essentiæ vocabulo nuncupatos. Ut quomodo a sancto sancti, a justo justi, a sapientiâ sapientes: ita ab eo, 'qui est,' hi 'qui sunt' appellentur, et juxta eundem apostolum elegisse Deum ea quæ non erant, ut destrueret ea quæ erant.—Alii vero simpliciter, non ad eos qui sunt, sed qui Ephesi sancti et fideles sint, scriptum arbitrantur. Hieron. in Eph. cap. i. T. iv. P. i. p. 323.

[q] Vid. Benedictin. Annot. ad Basil. loc. T. i. p. 254. not. [l].

[r] Denique Basilium hic tantum de articulo τοις ante ουσιν cogitâsse, ut suam posterioris vocis interpretationem ingeniose potius, quam vere stabiliret, ex Hieronymi, expositionem illam (sive apud Basilium, sive Origenem, Apollinarem, et Dydimum legerit) aversantis, loco manifestum est.—Wolff. Curæ in ep. ad Eph. i. ver. 1.

in Jerom's account of it: however, Jerom's passage, as I said, favours L'Enfant's opinion, that Basil does not say those words, 'at Ephesus,' were wanting in his copies: because Jerom, mentioning the same interpretation, takes no notice of any various reading. On the contrary, he again and again supposeth the common reading. And he says, that some thought 'the saints and faithful at Ephesus were said to be such as are.' But others, he says, without stopping at the expression, 'such who are,' or without laying a stress upon that expression, understood the inscription in a plain manner and continued sense, 'to the saints and faithful who are at Ephesus.'

One thing more to be observed here, and not omitted by L'Enfant[s] in his second letter upon this subject, is, that for two hundred years last past, and more, many manuscripts of the New Testament have been discovered, and the various readings have been diligently collected; but as yet there has not been one copy found to support Basil's account; supposing him to say, that the words εν Εφεσῳ where wanting in his time, in the ancient copies, and that it had been so transmitted by those of former times: nor is there any version to confirm that supposition. In a word, it appears to be incredible, that such a various reading, supposing it to have been in many copies in St. Basil's time, should have been totally lost. To which might be added, that there would have been notice taken of it by many remaining ancient writers, beside Basil.

If it should be said, that there are scarce any copies, that bear witness to our supposed various reading: I think, it may fitly be answered, that our various reading is a trifling thing; but a various reading in the words εν Εφεσῳ, is very remarkable, and must have appeared in some remaining copies, if there had been many such in Basil's time.

I should not forget to observe, that[t] elsewhere also Basil quotes this epistle with the title of the epistle to the Ephesians, without hesitation.

Upon the whole, it seems to me, that there is no reason to understand St. Basil to say, that εν Εφεσῳ, 'at Ephesus,' was wanting in any copies in his time.

And I imagine, that there were two ways in use among those, who fancied the forced interpretation, which we have seen in Basil. Some understood it thus, 'To the saints who are, even the faithful in Christ Jesus at Ephesus:'

[s] See Bib. Ch. T. xxi. p. 112.

[t] Γραφων ὁ αποστολος προς Εφεσιους φησιν· Αληθευοντες δε εν αγαπῃ. κ. λ. [cap. iv. 15.] De Sp. Sto. cap. v. n. 9. T. iii. p. 8. A.

others after this manner, 'To the saints and faithful in Christ Jesus at Ephesus, who are.' The former seems to have been Basil's method, and the latter that of the persons mentioned by Jerom.

IV. I now proceed. St. Basil bears witness to the respect which was all along paid by christians to the sacred scriptures.

1. Upon Ps. lx. otherwise lix. 'If[u] any should say, this psalm was written to us, he would not say amiss: for the divine oracles are ours, and they are proposed to the church of God in every assembly, as gifts sent from God, containing nourishment for the soul, afforded by the Spirit.'

2. In a homily, containing an exhortation to baptism, having[v] quoted a text of Isaiah, of the Psalms, the Acts, and St. Matthew, he says, 'For all these were in to-day's reading.'

3. The usefulness of the divine scriptures is shown by him in a homily upon the first Psalm: 'All[w] scripture given by inspiration of God, is profitable, and for that end was written by the Spirit, that[x] as in a common treasury of medicines for souls, all might find what is proper for the healing of their several maladies. The prophets teach some things, the historical books other things, the law others: and the Proverbs have instructions for regulating our manners. The book of Psalms contains whatever is useful in all the rest.'

4. In a letter to Gregory Nazianzen: 'The[y] best way to know our duty is to meditate on the divinely-inspired scriptures: here are instructions concerning our conduct; and the examples of good men recorded therein, are as it were living patterns, set before us for our imitation. And whatever malady any man labours under, if he acquaints himself with the scriptures, he will there find a medicine suited to his case.'

5. In a letter to a woman of condition who was a widow, and had sought to him for counsel, he says, 'If[z] you attend to the consolations of the divine scriptures, you will neither need my advice, nor the advice of any other, the directions of the Holy Ghost being sufficient to lead you into a right conduct.'

[u] Hom. in Ps. lix. T. i. p. 190. E.

[v] *Συ δε, δια προφητων διδιασκομενος——δια ψαλμων νεθετημενος——δι' αποστολων εναγγελιζομενος—υπ' αυτε τε Κυριε προσλαμβανομενος, λεγοντος—Ταυτα γαρ παντα σημερον συνεδραμε προς την αναγνωσιν.* Hom. in Sanct. Bapt. T. ii. p. 114. B. C.

[w] In Ps. i. p. 90. A. B.

[x] *—ωσπερ εν κοινῳ των ψυχων ιατρειῳ. κ. λ.*

[y] Ad Gregor. Ep. ii. [al. 1.] T. iii. p. 72,.73.

[z] Ep. 283. [al. 284.] p. 424. D. E.

6. To another widow of quality he writes: 'And by[a] you I salute your good daughter, and I exhort her to live in the meditation of the oracles of the Lord, that by their excellent institution her mind may be nourished, and improve more than her body does according to the course of nature.'

According to Basil therefore, the scriptures might be profitably read by all sorts of people.

7. I might add other passages, where he says, all[b] things are to be proved by the scriptures. And[c] whatever appears agreeable to the divinely-inspired scriptures, let that be received by us as true. He likewise says, that[d] hearers well acquainted with the scriptures, ought to examine what is said by their teachers; and to embrace what is agreeable to the scriptures, and to reject what is otherwise. If any should say that Basil speaks only of such as are 'well acquainted with the scriptures,' I think it may be justly answered, that Basil's rule is general. All ought to be well acquainted with the scriptures, and may be so, if they will but seriously endeavour it.

CHAP. XCVIII.

GREGORY NAZIANZEN.

I. *His time.* II. *A catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament, with remarks.* III. *General titles and division of scripture.* IV. *Select passages.*

THOUGH Jerom's chapter concerning Gregory Nazianzen be somewhat long, I cannot forbear to transcribe[a] the great-

[a] Ep. 296. [al. 285.] T. iii. p. 434. B.

[b] Ὅτι δει παν ῥημα η πραγμα πιστευεσθαι τῃ μαρτυριᾳ της Θεοπνευστου γραφης. κ. λ. Moral. Reg. 26. T. ii. p. 256. B. C.

[c] Ὅυκουν ἡ Θεοπνευστος, ἡμιν διαιτησατω γραφη· και παρ᾽ οἱς αν εὑρεθη τα δογματα συνῳδα τοις Θειοις λογοις, επι τουτοις παντως της αληθειας ἡ ψηφος. Ep. 189. [al. 80.] T. iii. p. 277. E. Vid. et Moral. Reg. 80. c. 22.

[d] Ὅτι δει των ακροατων τους πεπαιδευμενους τας γραφας δοκιμαζειν τα παρα των διδασκαλων λεγομενα· και τα μεν συμφωνα ταις γραφαις δεχεσθαι, τα δε αλλοτρια αποβαλλειν. κ. λ. Moral. Reg. 72. cap. 1.

[a] Gregorius, primum Sasimorum, deinde Nazianzenus episcopus, vir eloquentissimus, præceptor meus, quo scripturas explanante didici, ad triginta

est part of it: but I shall not translate it. In the general, I observe, that Jerom celebrates Gregory's eloquence, and calls him his master, whom he had heard interpreting the scriptures: of which he likewise speaks [b] elsewhere. He also mentions several of his works, and says, he had died about three years before. For fuller accounts of Gregory's life and works, I refer to [c] several.

It is, I think, generally allowed, that Gregory flourished about the year 370, and afterwards. But learned men are not agreed about the time of his birth, and the age at which he died. Cave says he was born about the time of the Nicene council, and died in 389, and about the 65th year of his age. With whom Basnage [d] agrees, supposing, that Gregory might be born in 326. But Suidas expressly says, that [e] Gregory died in the 13th of the emperor Theodosius, [or the year of our Lord 391,] when he was above 90 years of age. This has induced Pagi to argue, and with some appearance of truth, that [f] Gregory was born in 301, and died in 391: nor does Jerom, as he thinks, contradict, but confirm this account, when he says, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, that Gregory had died three years before. For he says, that Jerom did not publish that work till the 15th year of Theodosius, the year of our Lord 393; and understanding those three years to be incomplete on both sides, Gregory died

millia versuum omnia opera sua composuit. E quibus illa sunt: De Morte Fratris Cæsarii. Περι Φιλοπτωχιας. Laudes Maccabæorum. Laudes Cypriani. Laudes Athanasii———et liber, hexametro versu, Virginitatis et Nuptiarum contra se disserentium. Adversum Eunomium liber unus. De Spiritu Sancto liber unus. Contra Julianum Imperatorem libri duo. Sequutus est autem Polemonem dicendi charactere. Vivoque se episcopum in loco suo ordinans, ruri vitam monachi exercuit. Decessitque ante hoc ferme triennium sub Theodosio principe. De V. I. cap. 117.

[b] ———sine caussâ Gregorium Nazianzenum et Didymum in scripturis sanctis catechistas habui. Ad Domnion. ep. 32. [al. 51.] T. iv. p. 245. in.

Numquid in illâ epistolâ Gregorium virum eloquentissimum non potui nominare? Quis apud Latinos par sui est? Quo ego magistro glorior et exulto. Adv. Ruf. l. i. p. 363. m.

Præceptor quondam meus Gregorius Nazianzenus, rogatus a me ut exponeret, quid sibi vellet in Lucâ sabbatum δευτεροπρωτον, id est, secundoprimum, eleganter lusit: Docebo te, inquiens, super hac re in ecclesiâ, in quâ mihi omni populo acclamante, cogeris invitus scire quod nescis, &c. Ad Nepotian. ep. 34. [al. 2.] p. 262.

Et præceptor meus Gregorius Nazienzenus virginitatem et nuptias disserens Græcis versibus explicavit. Adv. Jovin. l. i. p. 157.

[c] Cav. H. L. P. i. p. 246. Du Pin, Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 201, &c. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. ix. Basnag. ann. 373. xvi.—xix. et alibi. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 507, &c.

[d] Ann. 373. n. xvi.

[e] Ελασας δε περι τα εννενηκοντα ετη και επεκεινα, Θεοδοσιω τριτον και δεκατον ετος αγοντος, καταλυει τον βιον. Suid. V. Γρηγοριος.

[f] Vid. Ann. 354. xi.—xiii. 389. n. iv. v.

according to him in 391. This opinion has been embraced by[g] I. A. Fabricius: and in his notes upon the 117th chapter of Jerom's fore-cited work, seems to suppose[h] it the general opinion of learned men at present. And indeed I observe, that[i] the late Mr. Le Clerc readily followed Pagi therein. But all do not: S. Basnage[k] argues strongly against Pagi, and supposeth that he confutes him. Tillemont,[l] after weighing arguments on both sides, still inclines to the other opinion as most probable, and thinks, that Gregory was born in 329, or thereabout.

Indeed, the opinion of Pagi is attended with several great difficulties: first, he is obliged to allow, that[m] Gregory was thirty years at Athens, and did not leave it before the 55th or 56th year of his age; which is, very strange. Secondly, the intimate friendship of Gregory and Basil seems to imply their being near the same age: it is, I think, generally allowed, that[n] Basil was born in 328 or 329, or thereabout; if Gregory was a little older than Basil, and survived him some years, that will make little difference. Thirdly, Jerom mentions the time of Gregory's death; if he had reached to the age of ninety years, that being a remarkable circumstance, he could not have avoided mentioning that also. Fourthly, if Gregory had been ninety years of age when he died, it would have been taken notice of by many writers before Suidas.

II. Among the poems of Gregory Nazianzen, there is one, which contains a catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament, and is to this purpose:

'Meditate[o] and discourse much on the word of God.—But as there are many falsely ascribed writings, tending to deceive, accept, my friend, this certain number. There are twelve historical books of the most ancient Hebrew wisdom: the first Genesis, then Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; the next Joshua, the Judges, Ruth the eighth, the ninth and tenth the Acts of the Kings, and then the Remains, and Esdras the last. Then the five books in verse, the first Job, next David, then the three books of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, the Song, and the Proverbs. The prophetic books are five: the twelve prophets are one book, Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Jonah,

[g] Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 508. [h] Cum Hieronymus A. 392 hunc librum scripserit, putavit is Nazianzenum exstinctum A. 389. Sed viri docti malunt assentiri Suidæ, qui ait obiisse anno xiii. Theodosii Magni, hoc est, Christi 391, ætatis 90. Ad Hieron. cap. 117. ap. Bib. Ecc.

[i] Bibl. Univ. T. 18. p. 2, 3. [k] Ann. 373. n. xvi. et 390. n. ix.

[l] S. Greg. de Naz. art. i. viii. et note iv. Mem. T. ix.

[m] Ann. 354. n. xii. [n] See S. Basile. Du Pin, T. ii. p. 154. and S. Basile, art. i. et note 1. Tillem. M. ix. [o] Carm. 33. T. ii. p. 98.

Obadiah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi; all these make one book: the second is Isaiah, then Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. Which[p] make twenty-two books, according to the number of the Hebrew letters. The[q] books of the New Testament are as follows: Matthew wrote for the Hebrews, Mark for the Italians, Luke for the Greeks, for all that great herald John, enlightened with the heavenly mysteries. Next the Acts of the Apostles; fourteen epistles of Paul; seven catholic epistles, which are these, one of James, two of Peter, three of John, one of Jude, which is the seventh. If[r] there are any besides, they are not among the genuine.'

1. I scarce need to make remarks upon any parts of this catalogue. The reader is able to do it of himself.

2. The number of the books of the Old Testament is exactly according to the Hebrews: but the book of Esther is not particularly mentioned. The catalogue of the books of the New Testament contains all those, which are now commonly received, except the book of the Revelation. And there is no notice taken of any later books as having the least title to make a part of the christian canon.

3. I would not deny, that Gregory supposed Matthew to have written his gospel in Hebrew; though his manner of expression does not necessarily imply it: for he says, that Mark 'wrote for the Italians;' and yet undoubtedly, he allowed him to have written in Greek: he seems therefore only to intimate that Matthew published his gospel in Judea, Mark his in Italy, and Luke his in Achaia, or Greece. There[s] is another passage of Gregory, in which he speaks of the places where several of Christ's apostles preached, that will countenance this supposition.

4. Whether Gregory Nazianzen received the book of the Revelation, is doubted: if this poem be his, as is generally supposed, it may be argued, that he did not receive it. Baronius[t] gives him up, and reckons him with Basil, Nyssen,

[p] Αρχαιας μεν εθηκα δυω και εικοσι βιβλȣς.

[q] Ματθαιος μεν εγραψεν Ἑβραιοις θαυματα Χριςȣ,
Μαρκος δ' Ιταλιᾳ, Λȣκας Αχαϊαδι.
Πασι δ' Ιωαννης κηρυξ μεγας ȣρανοφοιτης.

[r] Ει τι δε τȣτων εκτος, ȣκ εν γνησιοις.

[s] Εςω Πετρȣ ἡ Ιȣδαια, τι Παυλῳ κοινον προς τα εθνη, Λȣκᾳ προς Αχαιαν, Ανδρεᾳ προς Ηπειρον, Ιωαννῃ προς Εφεσον,—Μαρκῳ προς Ιταλιαν.—Orat. 25. T. i. p. 438. A. B.

[t] Quod vero idem auctor [Hieronymus] affirmat suis temporibus Græcorum ecclesias non recipere Joannis Apocalypsin.—Certe inter Græcos scriptores ecclesiasticos, eosdemque catholicos, qui Hieronymi ætate vixere, Epiphanius —non huic veritati adstipulatur, sed non ab aliis quam hæreticis Alogis tradit impugnatam esse Joannis Apocalypsim. Cæterum nequâquam putandum

and other Greeks, whom he supposes not to have received it. Andrew of Cæsarea, in his Commentary upon the book of the Revelation, names Gregory among others, by whom it was received: as does Arethas likewise. But James Basnage thinks[u] this poem to be of greater value for showing Gregory's opinion, than the testimony of Andrew: nevertheless, I think, Andrew's testimony ought not to be quite neglected. Moreover, we find the Revelation twice quoted in[v] Gregory's remaining works.

5. I do not intend to translate or transcribe any more of Gregory's poems; but it may not be amiss to put down here the titles of some of[w] them: Of the twelve apostles; Of Christ's genealogy [as in Matthew and Luke]; The miracles of Christ according to Matthew; Christ's parables and similitudes according to Matthew; Christ's miracles according to John; Christ's miracles according to Luke; Christ's parables according to Luke; Christ's miracles according to Mark; The[x] parables of the four evangelists.

III. General titles and divisions of books of scripture, in Gregory, are such as these: The[y] Law, Prophets, Christ.

Hieronymum ea temere effutisse, aut Græcorum ecclesias calumniatum esse. Sed eâ in re visus est habuisse respectum ad sanctum Basilium, Amphilochium, Gregorium Nazianzenum, atque Nyssenum, qui visi sunt ab eâ interdum abstinuisse. Nam ipse Gregorius Nazianzenus, dum texuit catalogum librorum canonicorum, nullam penitus de Apocalypsi Joannis habuit mentionem, sicut nec Concilium Laodicenum—Et Amphilochius, æqualis Basilii atque Gregorii, in carmine ad Seleucum, quo texit catalogum canonicorum librorum, hæc in fine habet.

Ast Apocalypsim Joannis aliqui
Iis inserunt. Rursus sed longe plurimi
Adulterinam dicunt. Baron. ann. 97. n. vi.

[u] Gregoire de Nazianze, qui dressa dans ce tems là un canon des Ecritures, passoit l'Apocalypse sous silence: ce qu'il n'auroit pas fait, s'il avoit reçuë dans le canon des Ecritures. Sixte de Sienne [Bib. sacr. l. viii. c. x.] et plusieurs autres, éblouis par l'authoritè d'André de Césarée, comptent toujours Grégoire de Nazianze entre les defenseurs de l'Apocalypse. Mais il est inutile de chercher son sentiment dans les écrits d' autrui, puisque son ouvrage est entre les mains de tout le monde, par lequel on puet juger plus sûrement. Et puisque Grégoire finit son canon des Ecritures à la lettre de S. Jude, et qu'il declare, que tous les livres, dont il ne parle point, sont suspects et douteux, il faut qu' il ait mis l'Apocalypse, dont il ne parle pas, au rang des livres qui n'avoient point de caractères sensibiles de leur divinité. Bilius attribuë à Grégoire de Nazianze des vers iambes, qui sont plutôt d'Amphilochius, evêque d'Icone. Car il n' y a point d'apparance, que Grégoire eut fait deux fois le canon des Ecritures dans ses vers. Ja. Basn. Hist. de l'Egl. l. viii. ch. 7. p. 435.

[v] *Προς δε τους εφεξωτας αγγελους· Πειθομαι γαρ αλλους αλλης προστατειν εκκλησιας, ως Ιωαννης διδασκει με δια της Αποκαλυψεως.* Or. 32. T. i. p. 516. C. *Και ὁ ων, και ὁ ην, και ὁ ερχομενος, και ὁ παντοκρατωρ.* [Apoc. cap. i. 8.] Or. 35. p. 573. D.

[w] Carm. xxxvi.—xlv. T. ii. p. 99—105.

[x] *Παραβολαι των τεσσαρων ευαγγελιστων.* Carm. xlv. p. 103—105.

[y] Or. 1. p. 11. C

We are[z] taught by reason, the Law, Prophets, and Apostles. The Law[a] and Grace, Prophets, Apostles, and Evangelists. Prophetical[b] and apostolical books.

IV. I shall observe a few select passages.

1. He[c] calls Christ the first martyr.

2. He has a criticism[d] upon Acts ii. 8. It seems, that some questioned, whether the miracle of the gift of tongues was in the speaker or the hearers.

3. The[e] apostle says, [Eph. ii. 3,] "And we were by nature children of wrath;" not meaning, as Gregory says, on account of our nature, but that sinners are really liable to wrath. So Judas was "the son of perdition," on account of those evil actions which bring perdition upon men.

4. Gregory[f] quotes 1 John v. 7, without the heavenly witnesses, mentioning only these three witnesses, "the Spirit, water, and blood."

5. The christians,[g] he says, when in power, did not persecute the heathens, as the heathens had persecuted them. In another place he says, that[h] religion ought to be free, and that the christian law compels none, and that violence is not suited to promote the true interest of religion.

6. Nevertheless, Gregory seems not to have understood the genuine principles of reasonable and christian moderation toward men of different sentiments; for in a letter written to Nectarius bishop of Constantinople, in the year 385, or soon after, he speaks of it as[i] the greatest calamity to the church, that the Apollinarists (whose errors were purely speculative) were permitted to assemble together as freely as the catholics. To[k] suffer this, and let them teach and

[z] Or. 18. p. 276. A. [a] Or. 3. p. 76. B. C. [b] Αἱ προφητικαι δε και αποστολικαι βιβλοι μοναι ανελιττεσθων. Or. 4. p. 127. A.

[c] ———αυτων των Χριστω παθηματων, τω πρωτω μαρτυρος επι τον σταυρον ανελθοντος. Or. 18. p. 276. A. [d] Or. 4. p. 715. D.

[e] Και ἡμην φυσει τεκνα οργῆς, ω κατα φυσιν λεγων· αλλ' ὁτι εν αληθειᾳ ὑπευθυνοι οργης τυγχανωσιν οἱ ἁμαρτανοντες. Και περι τω Ιωδα γεγραπται, ὁτι υἱος απωλειας; Απωλειας δε υἱον αυτον ειπε, τῳ τα της απωλειας πεπραχεναι. Or. 47. T. i. p. 724. C. [f] Τι και ὁ Ιωαννης; τρεις εἰναι τως μαρτυρωντας λεγων εν ταις καθολικαις, το πνευμα, το ὑδωρ, αρα λῃρειν φαινεται; Or. 36. p. 603. D. [g] Or. 3. p. 95. B. C.

[h] Επειδαν μη προς βιαν αγειν, τω ἡμετερω νομω, μηδε αναγκαστως, αλλ' ἑκουσιως———την δε ἡμετεραν, ως αρχην, αλλα παιδαγωγιαν, και παντων μαλιστα συντηρει το ἑκουσιον. Βουλομενων γαρ, ω τυραννουμενων, το της ευσεβειας μυστηριον. Or. 8. p. 148. D. 145. A.

[i] Το δε παντων χαλεπωτατον εν ταις εκκλησιαστικαις συμφοραις, ἡ των Απολλιναριστων εστι παῤῥησια, ως ως οιδα πως παρειδε σω ἡ ὁσιοτης πορισαμενως ἑαυτοις τω συναγειν ὁμοτιμως ἡμιν εξουσιαν. Ad Nectar. Or. 46. T. i. p. 721. D.

[k] ———το λαβειν αυτως εξουσιαν συναξεως, ουδεν ἑτερον εστιν, ἡ αληθεστερως τω καθ' ἡμας δογματος νομισθηναι. Εν γαρ ὡς ευσεβουντες εκεινοι διδασκειν ὡς φρονουσι, και κηρυττειν εν παῤῥησιᾳ το καθ' ἑαυτως επιτρεπονται δογμα, δηλον ὁτι

preach their doctrines freely, he says, is equivalent to an approbation of their errors, and a condemnation of the truth. And[l] he earnestly desires Nectarius to admonish the emperor, [Theodosius,] and let him know, that all he had hitherto done for the churches would avail nothing, if this evil were suffered. A large part of this letter is inserted by Sozomen[m] in his Ecclesiastical History.

7. Gregory[n] asserts the doctrine of free-will.

8. He speaks as if[o] many miracles were then wrought by the reliques of martyrs.

9. Gregory in several places[p] speaks with great freedom of the synods of bishops. As those places have been often taken notice of by learned men, I have thought it best to refer to them.

CHAP. XCIX.

AMPHILOCHIUS, BISHOP OF ICONIUM.

I. *His history, and works.* II. *A catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament.* III. *A law of Theodosius against heretics, procured by him, with remarks.*

I. AMPHILOCHIUS, bishop of Iconium, the chief city of Lycaonia, is[a] in Jerom's Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers: where, however, he mentions but one book of his, concerning the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, not now extant.

Amphilochius was a native of Cappadocia. The exact time of his being constituted bishop of Iconium is not[b] known: Cave[c] says in 370, or somewhat later: Tillemont[d]

κατεγνωσται ὁ της εκκλησιας λογος, ὡς της αληθειας παρ' αυτοις εσης. Ib. p. 722. D.

[l] ——και διδαξατω τον ευσεβεστατον βασιλεα, ὁτι ὠδεν κερδος εσται της λοιπης αυτω περι τας εκκλησιας σπουδης, ει το τοιουτον κακον επικαθαιρεσει της ὑγιαινουσης πιστεως δια της παῤῥησιας αυτων κατισχυνει. Ibid. p. 723. A.

[m] L. vi. cap. 26. [n] Or. 1. p. 9. A.

[o] Or. 3. p. 77. A. Vid. et Or. 1. p. 35. B.

[p] Vid. Ep. 55. et Carm. x. Conf. Ep. 65, 71, 72.

[a] Amphilochius, Iconii episcopus, nuper mihi librum legit de Spiritu Sancto, quod Deus est, et quod adorandus, quodque omnipotens sit. De V. I. cap. 133. [b] Quo anno Iconiensi ecclesiæ sit, 371, vel 375, non satis liquet. S. Basnag. ann. 394. n. ix. [c] Circa annum 370, vel forsan paulo serius, Iconii, Lycaoniæ metropolis, episcopus constituitur Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 251. [d] S. Amphiloque, Art. iii. Mem. T. ix.

about the year 374. He[e] was alive in 394; and it is supposed that he died not long after.

His[f] eminence is collected from the several letters written to him by Basil, from the character given of him by[g] Theodoret, and others. And Jerom in his letter to Magnus joins[h] him with Basil, Gregory, and others, who were equally skilful in secular learning and the sacred scriptures.

Accounts of his works may be seen in divers writers, referred to at the bottom of the pages of this chapter; but very few of his works[i] remain: I take particular notice of but one only.

II. It is an iambic poem of considerable length, addressed to Seleucus, in which is inserted a catalogue of the books of the Old and the New Testament. It has been ascribed by many to Amphilochius; but some learned men are of opinion, that it was written by Gregory Nazianzen: they say the style is his: and that we have no knowledge that Amphilochius ever wrote verse. Cave[k] and [l]Du Pin therefore say it is Gregory's. On the other hand, Combefis[m] and [n]Tillemont still maintain the right of Amphilochius, to whom it is ascribed in manuscript copies, and by some ancient authors: moreover, they observe several differences in this catalogue from the preceding. Bishop Beveridge[o]

[e] Vid. Tillem. ubi supr. Art. vi. et Pagi ann. 394. n. vii.

[f] See Tillem. as above, Art. i. [g] H. E. l. iv. c. 30. l. v. c. 8, et 16. Socrat. l. v. cap. 8. Sozom. l. vii. c. 6, et 9.

[h] ———Cappadocumque Basilii, Gregorii, Amphilochii. Qui omnes in tantum philosophorum doctrinis atque sententiis suos infarciunt libros: ut nescias, quid in illis primum admirari debeas, eruditionem seculi, an scientiam scripturarum. Ep. 83. al. 84. [i] Præter fragmenta quædam veterum monumentis disseminata, unum forte Amphilochii genuinum opus superest, Epistola Synodica, quam Cotelerius edidit. [Ap. Monum. Gr. T. ii. p. 99—104.] Basnag. ann. 394. n. ix. Conf. Cav. H. L.

Il suffit de dire, que tout ce que nous avons aujourdhui d'entier de ce Saint, est la lettre aux Evêques Macedoniens—et un poëme qu'il adressa à Seleuque neveu de Sainte Olympiede, &c. Tillem. Mem. T. ix. St. Amphiloque, art. vi.

[k] Ad Seleucum Iambi Gregorio Naz. a Billio adjudicati, nec invitâ quidem veritate. Cav. H. L. in Amphiloch.

[l] Le poëme à Seleucus, quoiqu' en dise le Père Combefis, est du stile de saint Gregoire; et il y a bien de l'apparence, qu'il a ete compose par ce Père sous le nom d'Amphiloque. Du Pin, Bib. T. ii. p. 234.

[m] ———Sunt nihilominus hæc leviora, quam ut fidem codicum vindicantium Amphilochio nostro elevent. Primum enim, minus quadrant hic posita de libris canonicis, cum iis quæ habet Theologus carmine de iisdem, p. 98. ed. Par. ubi absolute pronuntiat de Pauli epistolis, et septem Catholicis, nullâ mentione libri Esther, aut Apocalypsis.—Etiam Balsamon habet ut Amphilochii, p. 1080. ed. Paris. passimque Damascenus in elementis in codice Eminentiss. Rupifucaldii. Combef. not. ad. Amphil. p. 254.

[n] See Mem. Ecc. T. ix. S. Greg. de Naz. sect. 110. Amphiloque, sect. 6. et note 6. [o] Synodicon. T. ii. p. 178, 179.

puts down both these poems distinctly, calling one, that of Gregory the divine, and the other, that of Amphilochius from his iambics to Seleucus: and some others are of[p] the same opinion. Whether it belongs to one or the other, it is a different performance from the foregoing, and therefore deserves to be put down here.

'The author of this poem recommends[q] the reading of the 'scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as fitted to teach 'men virtue, and the right worship of God. Then[r] he 'cautions his friend against spurious, and falsely ascribed 'writings, even though they have in them some appearance 'of truth. After[s] which he enumerates the divinely-inspired 'books, and in the first place those of the Old Testa-'ment, which are these: The Pentateuch, containing first 'Genesis, then Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy. 'Then Joshua, and the Judges, and Ruth, four books 'of the Kingdoms, two of the Remains, the first and 'second of Esdras. After them five books in verse, Job, 'the book of Psalms, three books of Solomon, the Proverbs, 'Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs. To these add the 'Twelve Prophets, Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, 'Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, 'Malachi. After whom are the four prophets, Isaiah, Jere-'miah, Ezekiel, Daniel. To these some add Esther. The 'books of the New Testament to be received by you are 'these: Four Evangelists only; Matthew, then Mark, the third 'Luke, and John,[t] the fourth in time, but first in the subli-'mity of his doctrine. Next[u] receive a second book of Luke, 'the book of the Acts of all the Apostles. Then fourteen 'epistles of the apostle Paul, one to the Romans, two to the 'Corinthians, to the Galatians, to the Ephesians, to the Phi-'lippians, to the Colossians, two to the Thessalonians, two 'to Timothy, and to Titus and Philemon, to each one, and

[p] See the opinions of Baronius and Basnage, in the preceding chapter, notes [t] and [u]. And see Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 503, 504.

[q] Amphil. ad Seleuc. p. 126. ed. Combef. Paris. 1644. et ap. Greg. Naz. T. ii. p. 194, 195.

[r] Εισιν γαρ, εισιν εσθ' ὁτε ψευδωνυμοι
Βιβλοι τινες μεν εμμεσοι, και γειτονες,
Ὡς αντις ειποι, των αληθειας λογων.
P. 130. Gr. 194.

[s] Τωτων χαριν σοι των θεοπνευστων ερω
Βιβλων ἑκαστην.—Ib.

[t] ———αριθμει τον Ιωαννην χρονῳ
Τεταρτον· αλλα πρωτον ὑψει δογματων.—p. 132.

[u] Δεχθ δε βιβλον Λθκα, και την δευτεραν,
Την των καθολικων Πραξεων Αποστολων.—Ib.

'one to the Hebrews. But[v] some say, the epistle to the 'Hebrews is spurious; not speaking rightly, for it is a ge- 'nuine work. Then the catholic epistles: Of which some 'receive seven, others three only: one of James, one of 'Peter, one of John: whilst others receive three of John, 'and two of Peter, and Jude's, the seventh. The[w] Revela- 'tion of John is approved by some; but many [or the most] 'say it is spurious. Let this be the most certain canon of 'the divinely-inspired scriptures.'

I shall make but one remark upon this poem, and what has been transcribed from it: That it affords a new proof of the care and caution of the ancient christians concerning books received as a part of sacred scripture, and the rule of their faith.

III. As very little of Amphilochius remains, I have no select passages to present the reader with at the end of this chapter. I shall therefore put down here a story told by[x] Theodoret; which is also in [y]Sozomen and [z]Nicephorus, with only some variations. Amphilochius, as Theodoret says, presented a petition to Theodosius, desiring him to prohibit Arian assemblies, without obtaining it. He therefore thought of a method to gain his point. And being in the palace with other bishops, he paid his respects to Theodosius, as usual, taking little or no notice of Arcadius, who stood by, and had been lately declared Augustus. The emperor supposing the omission might have proceeded from forgetfulness, called to Amphilochius, and put him in mind to salute his son also: Amphilochius answered, he had paid respect to him and that was enough. The emperor displeased with that answer said, a slight put upon his son was an indignity to himself. Whereupon Amphilochius replied; You see, sir, that you cannot endure a slight to be put upon your son, and are angry with those who are guilty of it: persuade yourself, then, that the God of the whole world is offended with those who blaspheme his only-begotten Son, and hates them as ungrateful to their Saviour and benefactor. The emperor perceiving the bishop's design, soon after this forbade the assemblies of heretics. Intending, it is likely, a law of[a] Theodosius still extant, dated July 25, of the

[v] *Τινες δε φασι την προς Ἑβραιους νοθον·*
Ουκ ευ λεγοντες, γνησια γαρ ἡ χαρις.—ib.

[w] *Την δ' Αποκαλυψιν την Ιωαννε παλιν*
Τινες μεν εγκρινουσι, και πλειους δε γε
Νοθον λεγουσιν. Ουτος αψευδεστατος
Κανων ων ειη των Θεοπνευστων γραφων.——p. 134.

[x] L. v. c. 16. p. 218. [y] Soz. l. vii. c. 6.

[z] Nic. l. xii. c. 9. [a] Cod. Theod. 16. Tit. 5. L. xi.

year 383, prohibiting all heretics, particularly Eunomians, Arians, and Macedonians, to hold any assemblies of worship in public places, or private houses.

This affair has been taken notice of by several[b] moderns; and seems to be rightly placed in the year 383, it happening after that Arcadius had been declared Augustus, and joined with his father in the empire; which was done in the beginning of that year.

Amphilochius showed his dislike of heretics several ways. He wrote a book against the Massalians, mentioned by[c] Theodoret; and another work, entitled,[d] Of Pseudepigraphal Books composed by Heretics; both which are lost: if they had been extant, I suppose they would have given me more satisfaction than the law of Theodosius, which affords not any argument. Indeed, I do not think that Amphilochius is to be commended for procuring that law; I rather think that he therein acted contrary to the doctrine taught by our Saviour, which inculcates mutual equity and forbearance, and to many apostolical precepts, requiring bishops, and all christians in general, "to be gentle, showing all meekness unto all men: to be gentle unto all men, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves, if peradventure God will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth." The catholics had suffered many hardships in the late reign of Valens: afterwards in the reigns of Gratian and Theodosius they came into power. If they had more truth on their side than the Arians, I wish they had also excelled in moderation and equity; which are shining virtues, highly becoming weak and fallible creatures one toward another, perfectly consistent with a zeal for truth, and better suited to promote its interests, than force and violence.

[b] See Cave's Lives of the Primitive Fathers. Vol. ii. in Gregory Naz. sect. vii. p. 327, 328. H. L. T. i. p. 251. Basnag. ann. 383. n. vii. Tillem. Les Ariens. art. 139. Mem. Tom. vi.

[c] Hær. Fab. l. iv. cap. xi.

[d] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. ii. p. 253. et Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 505.

CHAP. C.

GREGORY, BISHOP OF NYSSA IN CAPPADOCIA.

I. *His time and history.* II. *His testimony to the scriptures.* III. *Select passages.*

I. GREGORY, younger brother of Basil, was ordained bishop of Nyssa in Cappadocia in the[a] latter part of the year 370, or in[b] 371, or[c] the beginning of 372. Being a zealous homoüsian, he[d] felt the heavy hands of the Arian administration under Valens: and some time after his ordination was obliged to live in exile, in an unsettled condition, till, upon the death of Valens, he and others were restored to their sees by an edict of Gratian in 378. He[e] is in Jerom's Catalogue; I place the chapter, which is short, below. He was alive[f] in 394; the year of his death is not certainly known. I formerly[g] made large extracts out of our Gregory's oration upon the life of Gregory Thaumaturgus, to which the reader is referred: I now proceed to take his testimony to the scriptures of the Old and the New Testament.

II. 1. He speaks[h] of the five divisions of the book of Psalms.

2. He takes notice of[i] the ancient versions of the Old Testament, of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, beside that of the Seventy: in[k] one place he consults the Hebrew.

3. 'A[l] greater than Solomon made use of him as an instrument, and by him speaks to us, first in the Proverbs, then in the Ecclesiastes, and after that in the philosophy of the Canticles now before us.' So speaks Gregory in the first of his fifteen homilies upon the book of Canticles: who

[a] Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 244. [b] Vid. Benedictin. Vid. S. Basil. c. xix. [c] Vid. Pagi ann. 369. n. xvii. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 144. Tillem. Gr. Nyss. art. iii.

[d] Vid. Cav. ib. p. 244. in Tillem. Mem. T. ix. S. Greg. de Nysse, art. iv.

[e] Gregorius Nyssenus episcopus, frater Basilii Cæsariensis, ante paucos annos mihi et Gregorio Nazianzeno contra Eunomium legit libros, qui et multa alia scripsisse et scribere dicitur. De. V. I. cap. 128.

[f] Vid. Pagi ann. 394. n. vi. [g] Vol. ii. p. 611—617.

[h] In Psalm. Tr. 1. cap. ix. T. i. p. 287. D. [i] In Hexaëm. T. i. p. 7. B. p. 13. B. C. [k] In Cant. hom. 9. T. i. p. 610. C.

[l] Οὐτος οργανῳ τῳ Σολομωντι τουτῳ χρησαμενος δι' εκεινου ἡμιν διαλεγεται, προτερον εν Παροιμιαις, ειτα εν τῳ Εκκλησιαστῃ, και μετα ταυτα εν τῃ προκειμενῃ του Ασματος των Ασματων φιλοσοφιᾳ. κ. λ. In Cant. hom. 1. T. i. p. 475. D.

has also a preface to that book, and eight homilies upon the book of Ecclesiastes; and he here plainly shows us, what were generally esteemed by understanding christians the genuine writings of Solomon.

4. I need not take any notice of quotations of the gospels. He gives[m] the title of the great John to the evangelist, quoting the beginning of his first epistle, soon after he had quoted the beginning of his gospel.

5. The book of the Acts is very often quoted by him, and ascribed to[n] Luke. Moreover he says, that[o] Luke was as much a physician of souls, as of the body: from whence we can conclude, that he took the evangelist to be the same who is mentioned, Col. iv. 14.

6. Gregory[p] quotes the epistle to the Ephesians with that title.

7. He often expressly quotes the epistle to the Hebrews, and as[q] Paul's.

8. Gregory seldom quotes the book of the Revelation: yea, I think he sometimes declines to quote it, when there are fair occasions for so doing; however, he[r] has expressly quoted it in one of his orations; and though he there calls it apocryphal, perhaps he needs not be supposed to intend to detract from it, for he calls it the evangelist John's.

9. There is a passage[s] in Gregory's book against Apollinarius published by Laurence Zacagni, where it may be questioned, whether Gregory refers to Rev. i. 8, or[t] John viii. 25, according to a very uncommon reading indeed, but which seems to be that followed by the author of the Gothic version. For clearing this I put below[u] a part of the note of the learned Latin translator upon the place.

[m] Ὅπερ δη και ὁ μεγας Ιωαννης πεποιηκεν. In Cant. hom. 13. T. i. p. 664. C. [n] Ἡ φησιν εν αρχῃ τȣ βιβλιȣ των Πραξεων ὁ Λȣκας. κ.λ. In Christ. Resurr. Or. 2. T. iii. p. 415. C.

[o] Ὁ τοινυν Λȣκας, ὁ πλεον των ψυχων η των σωματων ιατρος, εγραψε το εν χερσι διηγημα. De Pœnit. in Luc. vii. 36, &c. T. ii. p. 165. D.

[p] Σαφεστερον δε τοις Εφεσιοις. Orat. in 1 Cor. xv. 28. T. ii. p. 15. C. Vid. et Catechet. Or. cap. 32. T. iii. p. 94. A. In Chr. Res. Or. i. T. 3. p. 396. C. et alibi. [q] Διο και Παυλος Ἑβραιοις επιστελλων ελεγεν. In Chr. Res. Or. ii. T. 3. p. 408. B. et passim.

[r] Ηκȣσα τȣ ευαγγελιστȣ Ιωαννȣ εν αποκρυφοις προς τȣς τοιȣτȣς δι' αινιγματος λεγοντος—Ωφελον γαρ ησθα, φησι, ψυχρος, η ζεστος. In suam Ordinat. T. ii. p. 44. A. [s] ———καθως φησι πȣ της γραφης ὁ λογος· ὁτι εγω ειμι ἡ αρχη. Adv. Apoll. cap. 37. p. 219. Zacagn. Monum. Vet.

[t] 'Ideo dixerunt ei: Tu quis es? Et dixit eis Jesus: Principium, ceu quoque dico vobis.' Sacr. Evang. Vers. Goth. cum Interpret. Lat. Eric. Benzel. Oxon. 1750. [u] 'Principium.'] Legit ergo, quamvis nullo qui nunc superest codice MSS. consentiente, ἡ αρχη, ὁτι και λεγω ὑμιν. Nam religiosus interpres, si casum quartum invenisset, utique scripsisset.—Benzel. in loc.

10. Titles and divisions, and marks of respect for the scriptures, are such as these: the[v] sacred writers of the gospels; the[w] divine gospels; apostles[x] and prophets; one[y] and the same God speaks in the prophets, and the New Testament; Paul[z] the herald or preacher of grace, the chief conductor of the church's marriage, and the mouth of Christ. I refer to[a] another place very honourable to that apostle. He says, it[b] is one of the Lord's commands, that we should study the scriptures. See John v. 39. He reckons it to the advantage of Ephrem the Syrian, that[c] from early age he had been instructed in the sacred scriptures. I omit many other like things, not needful to be transcribed. He proves[d] what he advances by texts of scripture. Again, 'Where[e] did Apollinarius learn, that the Spirit became incarnate? What scripture says this? We have not learned any such thing from the gospels: but that the Word became flesh, as the great apostle says.'

III. I shall now take some select passages, partly relating to the scriptures, partly to other matters.

1. There[f] are five orations of Gregory upon the Lord's prayer, but no notice taken of any doxology at the end.

2. Gregory says, that[g] in the most exact copies, St. Mark's gospel concluded with those words, ch. xvi. 8, "For they were afraid." But in some copies it was added, "Now when Jesus was risen early the first day of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene;" and what follows: In which he says, there seemed to be some things different from

[v] Οἱ των ευαγγελιστων ἱεροι συγγραφεις. In Chr. Res. Or. ii. T. 3. p. 400. D.

[w] Encom. Ephr. Syr. T. 3. p. 595. B.

[x] Ἡ των αποστολικων τε και προφητικων διδαγματων. De Occurs. Dom. T. 3. p. 446. D.

Δια τουτο ηλθον αἱ των προφητων και αποστολων σαλπιγγες. In Natal. Chr. T. 3. p. 340. A.

[y] Δεικνυσι——ἑνα και τον αυτον Θεον τε και νομοθετην εν τε προφηταις και τῃ καινῃ διαθηκῃ λελαληκεναι. De Oc. Dom. T. 3. p. 460. B.

[z] Ὁ ῥητωρ της χαριτος, ὁ νυμφοστολος της εκκλησιας, το τε Χριστε στομα. Vit. S. Ephr. T. 3. p. 596. C. [a] In 1 Cor. xv. 28. T. 2. p. 6. B.

[b] Και τουτο των δεσποτικων παραγγελματων εστι, το δειν ερευναν τας γραφας. In. Eccles. hom. i. T. i. p. 374. C. [c] Ὁ τραφεις μεν εκ πρωτης ἡλικιας, και ανῃθεις εν τῃ των θειων μελετῃ γραφων, ποτισθεις δε τοις της χαριτος αεννασις οχετοις. κ. λ. De Vit. S. Ephr. T. 3. p. 598. C.

[d] Και μυριας εστι περι τουτε της ἁγιας γραφης παραθεσθαι φωνας. In Hexaëm. T. i. 14. D. Conf. ib. p. 28. D.

[e] Τις γραφη ταυτα λεγει;——Ουχ ουτως παρα των ευαγγελιων ηκουσαμεν. Ουχ ουτως παρα της μεγαλης τε αποστολε φωνης εδιδαχθημεν· αλλ' ὁτι μεν ὁ λογος σαρξ εγενετο. κ. λ. Adv. Apoll. cap. 10. ubi supr. p. 148.

[f] T. i. p. 712—761. [g] Εν μεν τοις ακριβεστεροις αντιγραφοις το κατα Μαρκον ευαγγελιον, μεχρι τε εφοβηντο γαρ, εχει το τελος. Εν δε τισι προκειται και ταυτα. κ. λ. In Chr. Res. Or. ii. T. 3. p. 411. B.

the accounts given of our Lord's resurrection by the other evangelists. He therefore reconciles them, and compares together all the four evangelists, Matthew, John, Luke, and Mark. Which shows, there were no other authentic histories of Christ, except these four; and that there were no other, for which the church had any regard.

Mill says, that[h] Gregory Nyssen is the first, who has taken any notice of this various reading at the conclusion of St. Mark's gospel.

3. He says, there[i] are three Marys mentioned as standing at the foot of the cross of Jesus, Mary our Lord's mother, Mary wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene, John xix. 25. For Mary mother of James, or mother of James and Joses, as mentioned by the other evangelists, he cannot but think to be the same with our Lord's mother; James and Joses he supposes to be the children of Joseph, whom he had by a former marriage. He moreover says, that[k] James, called "the less," in Mark xv. 40, was not an apostle, being different from James the son of Alpheus, who was one of the twelve apostles.

4. 'That[l] we might be satisfied Christ had a real body, and was not a man in appearance, the scriptures have recorded without reserve every thing peculiar to our nature, his eating, and drinking, and sleeping, weariness, refreshment by food, growing in bodily stature, and in wisdom. But he had no sickness, nor decays, as he had no sin.'

5. He[m] speaks of the advantage which redounds to us from Thomas's slowness to believe; we have thereby fuller assurance, he says, that Christ rose with the same body that had died.

6. Gregory[n] observes some things in St. John's gospel, as proofs of the reality of our Lord's resurrection, and that the body was not stolen out of the sepulchre. 'Says John, "Then took they the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes," ch. xix. 40. Which linen clothes were not taken away, but "were seen lying by John and Peter," ch. xx. 5, 6. But how should thieves have had time to pull off the linen bandages, [or wrappers,] which being spicy would cling to the body, and could not be pulled off but in some time, by

[h] E codicibus istius ævi memorat primus jam (quod sciam) Gregorius Nyssenus nonnullos, in quibus evangelium Marci finitum erat ad capitis xvi. ver. 8. verba ista, *εφοβηντο γαρ.* Prolegom. n. 812.

[i] Vid. ibid. p. 412. C. D. 413. A.

[k] Ib. p. 413. B. C.

[l] Ep. ad Eustath. &c. T. 3. p. 658. C. D.

[m] *Και δια της εκεινε πολυπραγμονος απιστιας και επαφης, ἡμεις εις την πιστιν εβεβαιωθημεν, εν ῳ σωματι πεπονθεν, εν αυτῳ και εγηγερθαι πιστευσαντες τον Εμμανηλ. κ. λ.* Ibid. p. 204. C.

[n] Ib. p. 405.

persons who had leisure? Moreover, says [o] he, how should thieves have leisure and assurance, to put "the napkin that was about his head, not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by itself," ver. 7. Here are no signs of the horror or hurry of thieves.' Perhaps such observations as these may satisfy some people that the ancient christians had a small share of good sense.

7. There is a letter of Gregory to a friend concerning those who go to Jerusalem, or other places near it. 'Some[p] there are,' he says, 'who think it a branch of piety to go to Jerusalem, to see the places which the Lord had honoured with his presence, when in the body. But[q] here, first, it may be well to look to the rule: and if the Lord has not commanded it, nor among the beatitudes pronounced them blessed that go to Jerusalem, it may be let alone.' He mentions divers inconveniences of this journey, and the temptations to which people are exposed therein. Besides, Christ is not now at Jerusalem; nor is there any reason to think the fulness of the Spirit so confined to Jerusalem, but that it may reach us at home. Moreover, he says, 'that Jerusalem was then a very wicked place; and that there were better helps for piety in Cappadocia.' They who please may compare Gregory with[r] Jerom, who seems little better affected to these pilgrimages than our author.

8. He[s] entirely disclaims the expectation of a voluptuous Millennium, the renewal of Jewish sacrifices, and a terrestrial Jerusalem adorned with precious stones.

9. There[t] are in Gregory several passages, asserting free-will in strong terms; to which I refer.

[o] Πθ γαρ σχολην ειχον οἱ κλεπται και τοιαυτην αδειαν, ὡς και το της κεφαλης καλυμμα κατα ταξιν εἱλειν και τιθεναι χωρις; Ibid. 405. C. D.

[p] T. iii. p. 651—658.

[q] ——καλως αν εχοι προς τον κανονα βλεπειν. p. 652. A.

[r] Ad Paulin. ep. 49. [al. 13.] T. iv. p. 564.

[s] Ad Eust. et Ambr. T. iii. p. 658. C. D.

[t] De Hominis Opificio, cap. iv. T. 1. p. 526. E. De Vitâ Mosis, p. 200. C. D. 203. A. B. De Animâ, T. ii. p. 107. B. Catechet. Or. cap. 31. T. iii. p. 91. et cap. 39. p. 105.

CHAP. CI.

DIDYMUS OF ALEXANDRIA.

I. *His history and character, his commentaries upon the scriptures, and other works.* II. *His testimony to the scriptures farther shown.* III. *Select passages.*

I. 1. DIDYMUS, master[a] of the catechetical school at Alexandria, flourished[b] about the year 370. He[c] lost his sight by a distemper, when very young, in the fourth or fifth year of his age, before he had learned to read, or whilst he was learning letters. He attained nevertheless to great learning; beside grammar and rhetoric, he understood logic, music, geometry, astronomy, the most abstruse problems of the mathematicians, and all the opinions of the philosophers; as we are assured by divers ancient ecclesiastical writers, who cannot forbear to call him a wonderful man. They also say, that[d] he had great acquaintance with the divine oracles of the Old and New Testament, so as to write many commentaries upon them. As Sozomen says: 'Many[e] ex-'cited by his great fame, came from far to Alexandria, some 'to hear him, others only to see him. And it was no small 'grief to the Arians that he maintained the Nicene doctrine.' He adds, 'that he persuaded men not so much by the force 'of his reasons, as by the agreeable manner of proposing

[a] ——προϊσαμενος εν Αλεξανδρειᾳ τȣ ἱερȣ διδασκαλειȣ των ἱερων μαθηματων. Soz. l. iii. c. 15. in.

[b] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 253.

[c] Didymus Alexandrinus multa de nostro dogmate per notarios commentatur; qui, post quintum navitatis annum luminibus orbatus, elementorum quoque ignarus fuit. Hieron. Chr. ad A. 372. p. 187. Et vid. infr. not. [l].

Is namque in parvâ ætate, cum adhuc etiam prima literarum ignoraret elementa, luminibus orbatus. Ruf. H. E. l. ii. c. 7.

Ουτος κομιδῃ νεος ων, και τα πρωτα των γραμματων στοιχεια μαθων. Socr. l. iv. c. 25.

———τυφλος εγενετο εν τῃ πρωτῃ πειρᾳ της μαθησεως των στοιχειων. Soz. l. iii. c. 15.

———ὡς αυτος μοι διηγησατο, τετραετης τας οψεις αποβαλων, μητε γραμματων μεμαθηκως. Pallad. Hist. Laus. cap. 3. Ap. Bib. PP. Morell. T. xiii. p. 904.

[d] Ου μην αλλα και τα θεια λογια παλαιας και καινης διαθηκης ȣτως ακριβως εγνωκει, ὡστε πολλα μεν εκδȣναι βιβλια. Socr. l. iv. c. 25. p. 241.

[e] Ην δε ȣ το τυχον θαυμα· και πολλοι κατα το κλεος τȣ ανδρος εις Αλεξανδρειαν παρεγινοντο, οἱ μεν αυτȣ ακȣσομενοι, οἱ δε ἱστορησοντες μονον, κ. λ. Soz. l. iii. c. 15. p. 523. C.

'them: for he would make every one to be judge of the 'point in question.' Some account of the character of Didymus was given[f] formerly, when the amiable mildness of his temper, here intimated by Sozomen, was collected from the moderation conspicuous in his writings against the Manichees.

2. In the[g] preface to his own Commentaries upon Hosea, Jerom styles Didymus the most learned man of his time. Palladius[h] says, he surpassed all the ancients in knowledge.

3. Jerom often expresses[i] great affection and esteem for Didymus. And though, when the controversy about Origen's orthodoxy was on foot, he takes notice of his acceding to the peculiar opinions of that eminent ancient, he always[k] allows him to have maintained the catholic doctrine concerning the Trinity; and acknowledges his prodigious memory, great learning, and fine manner of writing.

4. Jerom who has placed Didymus in his Catalogue of Illustrious Men, there says, that[l] he wrote commentaries

[f] Vol. iii. p. 275.

[g] ———quum essem Alexandriæ, vidi Didymum, et eum frequenter audivi, virum sui temporis eruditissimum. Rogavique eum, ut, quod Origenes non fecerat, ipse compleret, et scriberet in Osee commentarios. Qui tres libros, me petente, dictavit, quinque quoque alios in Zachariam. Pr. in Osee. T. iii. p. 1238.

[h] ———ὡς παντας ὑπερβεβηκεναι τες αρχαιες εν γνωσει. Hist. Laus. cap. iii. ubi supra.

[i] Prætermitto Didymum videntem meum. Pr. in ep. ad Gal. T. iv. P. i. p. 222.

Et Didymus, cujus amicitiis nuper usi sumus. Prol. in Is. T. iii. p. 6.

Jam canis spargebatur caput, et magistrum potius quam discipulum decebat. Perrexi tamen Alexandriam; audivi Didymum. In multis ei gratias ago. Quod nescivi, didici: quod sciebam, illo docente, non perdidi. Ad Pamm. et Ocean. ep. 41. [al. 65.] T. iv. p. 342.

[k] In Didymo vero et memoriam prædicamus, et super Trinitate fidei puritatem: sed in cæteris, quæ Origeni male credidit, nos ab eo retrahimus. Adv. Ruf. l. iii. p. 463. f. T. iv. Conf. adv. Ruf. l. i. p. 355. M.

Quid respondebis pro Didymo, qui certe in Trinitate catholicus est? Cujus etiam nos de Spiritu Sancto librum in Latinam linguam vertimus.———Cæterum in aliis dogmatibus et Eusebius et Didymus apertissime in Origenis scita concedunt; et, quod omnes ecclesiæ reprobant, catholice et pie dictum esse defendunt. Adv. Ruf. l. i. p. 407, 409.

Quis prudentior, doctior, eloquentior Eusebio et Didymo, assertoribus Origenis, inveniri potest? Ad Pamm. et Ocean. Ep. 41. [al. 65.] T. iv. p. 347. in.

[l] Didymus Alexandrinus, captus a parvâ ætate oculis, et ob id elementorum ignarus, tantum miraculum sui omnibus præbuit, ut Dialecticam quoque et Geometriam, quæ vel maxime visu indiget, usque ad perfectum didicerit. Hic plura nobiliaque opera conscripsit: Commentarios in evangelium Matthæi et Johannis: et de dogmatibus, et contra Arianos libros duos: et de Spiritu Sancto librum unum, quem ego in Latinum verti: in Isaïam tomos decem et octo: in Osee, ad me scribens, Commentariorum libros tres: et in Zachariam,

upon the whole book of Psalms, and upon the gospels of Matthew and John; a treatise of the Holy Spirit, translated into Latin by Jerom; also commentaries upon Isaiah, Hosea, Zechariah, Job; against the Arians, in three books; and many other works. When Jerom wrote his book of Illustrious Men, in 392, Didymus was living, being then in the 84th year of his age. He died a short time afterwards

5. The[m] commentaries upon Hosea and Zechariah were written at Jerom's request. Many of Jerom's passages, where he speaks distinctly of Didymus's commentaries upon the scripture, are transcribed at length at the bottom of the pages of the chapter of Apollinarius; where they may be read by those who are curious.

6. Beside the commentaries mentioned by Jerom, Didymus wrote also enarrations, or short notes upon the seven catholic epistles, of which we saw a good proof some while[n] ago.

7. They who are desirous to know more of his commentaries upon the scriptures, may consult[o] Fabricius and[p] Tillemont.

8. We still have a book of Didymus[q] against the Manichees, in the original Greek, of which some notice was taken in the history of that[r] sect; the[s] treatise of the Holy Spirit, in Jerom's version; and[t] the Enarrations upon the seven catholic epistles in Latin. And in the Greek Chains are fragments of some of his commentaries. The late excellent Mr. J. C. Wolff, of Hamburg, published[u] a large collection of notes and observations of Didymus upon the Acts of the Apostles, taken from a manuscript Greek Chain at the University of Oxford.

II. In these three works still remaining, Against the Manichees, Of the Holy Spirit, and the Enarrations upon the catholic epistles, many of the books of the New Testament are frequently quoted.

1. The[v] epistle to the Ephesians is quoted with that title.

meo rogatu, libros quinque: et Commentarios in Job: multaque alia, quæ digerere proprii indicis est. Vivit usque hodie, et octogesimum tertium ætatis excessit annum. De V. I. cap. 109.

[m] See note [g].

[n] See Vol. ii. p. 244.

[o] Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 353—357.

[p] Mem. Ec. T. x.

[q] Apud Combefis. Auctar. Noviss. P. ii. p. 21. &c. et ap. Canis. Lection. ex edit. Basnag. p. 204. &c.

[r] See Vol. iii. p. 275.

[s] Ap. S. Hieron. Opp. T. iv. P. i. p. 494, &c.

[t] Ap. Bib. PP. Lugdun. T. iv. p. 319, &c.

[u] Vid. Wolff. Anecdot. Græc. T. iv. p. 1—52. Hamb. 1724.

[v] Beatus quoque apostolus ad Ephesios scribens ait. De Sp. S. ap. Hieron. T. iv. p. 497. in.

2. Didymus received the epistle to the Hebrews, as Paul's. It is quoted in all the three works just mentioned; in [w] the tract concerning the Holy Spirit, against [x] the Manichees, and the [y] Enarrations.

3. He supposeth the [z] first epistle of Peter to be written to Jews scattered abroad in several countries.

4. At the end of his Enarration upon the second epistle of Peter, he either says that [a] it is spurious, or that it has been corrupted and interpolated, and therefore is not in the canon. Nevertheless, I think, it must generally have been in authority with the christians among whom Didymus lived, that is, at Alexandria; otherwise he would not have written notes upon it, together with the other catholic epistles. However, this passage, if rightly represented in the Latin version, may be allowed to be an intimation, that there were some, who had doubts about its genuineness and authority.

5. I suppose, that the book of the Revelation was received by Didymus; it [b] is quoted in the Enarrations.

6. He manifests his respect for the scriptures, calling them the [c] divine scriptures, and continually proving what he asserts from [d] the books of the Old and New Testament, and [e] the writings of the apostles and prophets, in both which speaks the same Spirit.

III. Shall I now add a few select passages, before I conclude this chapter?

1. Eph. ii. 3, "And were by nature children of wrath, as well as others." Didymus says, the [f] meaning of "by

[w] Paulus in epistolâ, quam ad Hebræos scribit. De Sp. S. p. 495. Vid. et p. 502. et passim.

[x] Ὡς γραφει Παυλος τοις πιστοις· Τιμιος ὁ γαμος. κ. λ. Contr. Manich. ap. Combefis. p. 26. in.

[y] Vid. Enarr. in 1 Joan. cap. iv. ap. B. PP. T. iv. p. 333. B.

[z] Positus Petrus circumcisionis apostolus, omniumque Judæorum habens studium, scribit eis qui in totius orbis dispersione morabantur, tanquam advenis civitatum extranearum. In 1 ep. Pet. c. i. in. p. 321. E. Vid. et Enarr. in ep. Jacob. p. 320. A.

[a] Non est igitur ignorandum, præsentem epistolam esse falsatam. Quæ licet publicetur, non tamen in canone est. Enarr. in 2 Pet. iii. ap. B. PP. T. iv. p. 326. G.

[b] ——cujus fit memoria in Apocalypsi per Jezabel. Enarr. in ep. Jud. p. 336. D.

[c] Αἱ θειαι γραφαι. Contr. Manich. p. 22. m. Plena sunt volumina divinarum scripturarum his sermonibus. De Sp. S. p. 495. in.

[d] Veteris quoque Testamenti homo David.—Necnon etiam in Novo Testamento. Ibid.

[e] Possumus quidem testimonia de divinis literis exhibere, quia idem Spiritus et apostolis et prophetis fuit. Ibid. et passim.

[f] Ὁτι ημεν φυσει τεκνα οργης, ὡς και οἱ λοιποι ανθρωποι· οἱ εισετι δευρο εν τῳ ἁμαρτανειν οντες. Προσκειμενον δε το φυσει ε το κατα φυσιν σημαινει, αλλα

nature" is really, truly, indeed; for all sinners are obnoxious to wrath. "We were" once truly, really, "children of wrath, as well as others;" that is, as they who are still in sin.

2. He[g] rejected the common notion of the Millennium, embraced by many at that time.

3. Didymus asserts the personality of the Holy Spirit: and yet he supposeth, that[h] thereby is meant in many texts of scripture a gift, or a fulness of divine gifts.

CHAP. CII.

EPHREM THE SYRIAN.

I. *His time and character.* II. *The editions of his works.* III. *A farther account of his works, for showing what books of the Old and New Testament were received by him.* IV. *General titles and divisions.* V. *Marks of respect for the scriptures.* VI. *Select passages.*

I. EPHREM, or Ephraim, called the Syrian, was born at Nisibis, or near it, in Mesopotamia. But he spent the larger and latter part of his time at Edessa. He lived for a while a monastic kind of life; afterwards he was made deacon, which was the highest ecclesiastical order to which he attained.

το αληθεια—δηλων, ὁτι αληθεια ὑπευθυνοι οργη ὑπαρχουσιν οἱ ἁμαρτανοντες. Contr. Manich. p. 23. A. Ed. Combef.

[g] Si ergo in cœlis fidelibus hæc servatur hæreditas, frivola quædam et tepida proferant aliqui putantes, eam se percipere in terrenâ Jerusalem, &c. Enarr. in 1 ep. Pet. cap. i. ver. 4. p. 321. G. H.

[h] Nam eundem evangelii locum Matthæus Lucasque describens, alter ex his ait: 'Quanto magis Pater cœlestis dabit bona petentibus se?' [Matt. vii. 11.] Alter vero: 'Quanto magis Pater vester cœlestis dabit Spiritum Sanctum petentibus se?' [Luc. xi. 13.] Ex quibus apparet, Spiritum Sanctum plenitudinem esse donorum Dei. De Sp. S. p. 496. in.

Dicimus autem virtutis et disciplinæ quosdam esse plenos: ut illud: 'Repletus est Spiritu Sancto.' Ex. xxxi. 3. non allud significantes, quam plenos esse consummatæ atque perfectæ virtutis. Ib. p. 498. m.

Quia nunc proposuimus ostendere, superintelligi semper in Spiritu Sancto dona virtutum: ita ut qui eum habet, donationibus Dei plenus habeatur. Unde et in Isaïâ,—'Ponam Spiritum meum super semen tuum, et benedictiones meas super filios tuos.' Ib. p. 500. infr. in.

According to Cave, Ephrem flourished about the year 370, and died in 378. I place him likewise at 370, though I think, he must have been an author much sooner. Dr. Asseman supposeth, that[a] he was a disciple of James bishop of Nisibis, and that he accompanied him to the council of Nice in 325. The time of his birth is not known with certainty; though Asseman says, upon the authority of Syrian writers, that[b] he was born under the reign of Constantine; and he thinks, he died before[c] the end of the year 378. Which is agreeable to Jerom's account, who says, that Ephrem died in the time of the emperor Valens. Fabricius thinks, he died in 375. Basnage, not before 380.

For a more particular account of Ephrem, I refer to the learned moderns already named, [d] Cave, [e] Basnage, [f] Fabricius, [g] Asseman, and likewise to [h] Tillemont. As Jerom has an article for him, I put it[i] in the margin. He mentions a book of Ephrem, translated into Greek, which is not now known to be extant.

Ephrem was a man of great fame, and much esteemed among the Greeks, as well as Syrians. Sozomen[k] has a particular account of him, and gives him high commendations. Theodoret speaks of him[l] more than once: he says, he[m] was an excellent man, and a fine writer; though he was not acquainted with the Greek learning. In Photius[n] is an account of several of Ephrem's works, which he had read in Greek. There is an Encomium, or Life of Ephrem, written by[o] Gregory Nyssen, if it be his; for it is[p] doubted of: however, if it is not Gregory's, it was, probably, written by some other not long after his time. That author calls[q] Ephrem the doctor of the whole world: and it is common

[a] Jacobus, cognomento Magnus, natus Nisibi——ad episcopatum Nisibis evectus fuit, ubi sanctum Ephræm auditorem habuit. Anno Alexandri 636, Christi 325, una cum Ephræmo in Bithyniam profectus, concilio Nicæno interfuit, doctrinæ orthodoxæ vindex acerrimus. Jos. Assem. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 17. in. [b] Ib. p. 24. [c] Ib. p. 54. not. 1.
[d] Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 235, &c. [e] Basnag. ann. 375. n. vi. 380. n. x. [f] Bib. Gr. L. v. c. 2. T. v. p. 319, &c.
[g] Bib. Orient. cap. vi. p. 24, &c. [h] Mem. Ecc. T. viii.
[i] Ephræm, Edessenæ ecclesiæ diaconus, multa Syro sermone composuit, et ad tantam venit claritudinem, ut, post lectionem scripturarum, publice in quibusdam ecclesiis ejus scripta recitentur. Legi ejus de Spiritu Sancto Græcum volumen, quod quidam de Syriacâ linguâ verterat, et acumen sublimis ingenii etiam translatione agnovi. Decessit sub Valente principe. De V. I. cap. 115. [k] Soz. H. E. l. iii. c. 16.
[l] Theod. H. E. l. ii. c. 30. l. iv. c. 29. [m] L. ii. c. 30. p. 118. D.
[n] Cod. 196. p. 512. &c. [o] Greg. Nyss. T. iii. p. 597, &c.
[p] See Tillemont, S. Ephrem, Art. i. note 1.
[q] Ὁ ἡμέτερος, μαλλον δε της οικουμενης διδασκαλος Εφραιμ. Gr. N. ibid. p. 601.

with the Syrian writers, to[r] call him the doctor or master of the world, and their prophet.

II. There have been for some time two editions of Ephrem's works; one by Gerard Vossius, in Latin, in three volumes, at Rome, finished in 1597, and since published elsewhere; another in Greek, at Oxford in 1709. Of both these editions accounts may be seen in the fore-mentioned writers, particularly [s] J. A. Fabricius, and [t] Dr. Joseph Asseman, who after having thrown a great deal of new light upon the history and works of Ephrem, in his Bibliotheca Orientalis,[u] has at length, together with other assistance, published at Rome a much more complete edition of his works, in six tomes or volumes; three of which are Syriac and Latin, and the other three Greek and Latin. This edition was begun to be published in 1732, and finished in 1747.

I believe, I shall scarce quote at all the edition of Vossius, which is a translation of a translation. Nor can one quote the Greek with full assurance, which consists of translations, made we know not when, nor by whom.

Cave says, there[v] is reason to suspect the genuineness of many works in the collection of Vossius. Tillemont[w] speaks to the like purpose. A work, called the[x] Confession, is very doubtful: Tillemont defends it; but he is sensible that it[y] was not known to Gregory Nyssen, or whoever was the author of the above-mentioned Encomium. And speaking of a story therein related, he has these expressions: 'These,' says[z] he, 'are indeed extraordinary circumstances; but we see no 'good reason to doubt of their truth, the Confession having 'in it too many marks of sincerity, and also of grandeur, to 'allow us to imagine it to be one of the pretended pious 'romances, too common among the Greeks.' Dr. Asseman

[r] Ephræm Syrus tantum apud suos sanctimoniæ et doctrinæ famam adeptus est, ut orbis Doctor, et Propheta Syrorum ab ipsis passim appelletur. Assem. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 24.

Ephræm magnus, qui appellatus est Syrorum Propheta. Ebedjes. ap. Assem. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 61.

[s] Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 321—331.

[t] Vid. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 60. et p. 159—163. et Prolegom. ad Ephr. opp. T. i. Gr. et Lat.

[u] Tom. i. cap. vi. p. 24, &c.

[v] Quin et non immerito forsan censeri potest plurima in editione Vossianâ opuscula Ephræmum auctorem non habere: quot vero, aut quænam ea sint, ob rationes supra allatas haud ita facile est judicare. Cav. ib. p. 238.

[w] Il est difficile de douter, qu' il n' y ait dans cette édition plusieurs pièces, que ne sont pas du grand S. Ephrem. Ibid. art. 28. sub fin.

[x] Ελεγχος αυτθ και εξομολογησις. Εν πολλοις ὑμιν, αδελφοι, δοκων χρησιμευειν, κ. λ. Oxon. Πβ. seu p. 82. et T. i. Gr. et Lat. p. 119, &c. Romæ.

[y] S. Ephrem, note (4).

[z] S. Ephrem, art. v.

likewise has taken notice of a difficulty, relating[a] to this Confession, which I cannot say he has answered.

The famous piece called Ephrem's Testament, as published in Greek at Oxford, and in Latin by Vossius, is interpolated, as Asseman expressly[b] says. There are also very considerable differences between the[c] Greek and Syriac copies, published in the late edition at Rome. And the same learned Dr. Asseman supposes, that there are interpolations in the[d] Greek, and another large interpolation in[e] the Syriac copy of the same work, even as now published in the new edition at Rome. And may I not be allowed to say, that the whole Testament has an air of fiction? For it is not likely, that a man who was just expiring, should be able to make so long a discourse in the presence of a great number of people.

And there[f] are divers things in Syriac ascribed to Ephrem, which are not his. However, undoubtedly, there are also many works remaining, which may be relied upon as genuine.

III. Having given this account of the editions of Ephrem, and made some general remarks upon his works, I proceed in a farther account of them, chiefly with a view of observing his testimony to the scriptures.

1. The Latin of Vossius, and the Greek at Oxford, have no Commentaries upon the scriptures. Those editions contain only homilies, exhortations, and meditations, and such like things, written in a popular and pathetic manner; but the late edition at Rome, beside those things, affords many of Ephrem's Commentaries upon the Old Testament. The first volume, Syriac and Latin, contains Ephrem's Commentaries upon the five books of Moses, and upon Joshua, the

[a] Vid. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 152.

[b] Prodiit autem Latine per Vossium, et Græce in nuperâ editione Oxoniensi. Utraque tamen versio mendis scatet, quæ ex nostro Syriaco textu corrigi possunt. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 141.

[c] Vid. Testamentum Græce, p. 230, &c. Syriace, p. 395, &c. Apud Ephr. Opp. T. ii. Gr. et Lat.

[d] Præterea multa Græcus interpres de suo adjecit, quæ in textu desiderantur, ut historiam hominis ab immundo spiritu correpti, quem Ephræm morti proximus curâsse dicitur. pag. 293. a lin. 2. usque ad lin. 13. [vid. p. 236. B. C. D. T. ii. Gr. Romæ.] Et historiam Abgari Edessæ regis, qui urbem illam extruxisse perperam narratur, pag. 297. a lin. 42. usque ad lin. 50. [vid. p. 235 F. 236. A. T. ii. Gr.] Asseman. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 141.

[e] Contra, quædam Syriace habentur, quæ in Græcâ versione non extant, ut digressio de Möyse et magis, &c. Asseman. ib. p. 141, 142. Conf. Testam. Syriace, apud T. ii. Gr. et Lat. p. 405—408.

[f] Primus [sermo] ' de Virginis Annuntiatione inscribitur. In quo, Sancti Ephræmi præter nomen et metrum omnia desideres, judicium, ingenium, eruditionem, stilum. Assem. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 139. fin.

Judges, the two books of Samuel, and the two books of the Kings: and in the second volume of the Syriac works, with a Latin translation, are Commentaries upon Job, Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Micah, Zechariah, and Malachi.

2. Ebedjesu, in his catalogue, enumerates [g] Ephrem's Commentaries upon most, or all the books of the Old Testament, particularly upon Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the twelve prophets. He says nothing of any Commentaries of Ephrem upon any book of the Old Testament after those; which makes me think, that Ephrem's canon of the Old Testament was the same with that of the Jews. Moreover, in his Syriac works still remaining, he has several times expressly called [h] Malachi the last of the prophets. And Asseman owns, that[i] in his Commentary upon the book of Daniel, Ephrem takes no notice of the Song of the three Children, or of the stories of Susanna, or Bel and the Dragon. I may add here, that though Ephrem commented upon the book of Jeremiah's Lamentations, there appears not any Commentary of his upon Baruch.

3. Dr. Asseman says, that[k] in his Testament, Ephrem quotes the second book of the Maccabees, as canonical scripture. But that does not appear clear to me: he might quote the books of Maccabees, and of Ecclesiasticus, and Wisdom, as many other of the ancient christians did, without esteeming them canonical. We saw just now, that Ephrem esteemed Malachi the last of the prophets; therefore he admitted no later writings into the canon of the Old Testament. A division of scripture, frequent in Ephrem, and to be taken notice of by and by, confirms what is here said.

4. Before I proceed, I should observe, that Ephrem re-

[g] Apud Assem. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 61, 62. Vid. et T. i. p. 58.

[h] Judæorum sacrificia prophetæ declarant immunda fuisse. Quæ ergo Esaïas hoc loco hominum canumve cadaveribus æquiparat, Malachias, prophetarum ultimus, animalium retrimenta vocat, non offerenda Deo, sed offerentium in ora cum opprobatione rejicienda. [Malach. ii. 3.] Comment. in Es. lxvi. 3. T. ii. Syr. p. 94. C. D.

Malachias, omnium prophetarum postremus, populo commendat legem, et legis coronidem Joannem, quem Eliam cognominat. Comm. in Malach. iv. 4. Ib. p. 315. C.

[i] Quæ D. Hieronymus ex Theodotione transtulit Danielis capita, nimirum Canticum trium puerorum, cap. 3. a ver. 24. ad ver. 91. Historiam Susannæ, cap. 13. Bel idioli, et Draconis, atque in lacum leonis missi cap. 14. ea S. Ephræm, Hebræorum textum sequutus, in hisce commentariis tacitus præteriit. Hæc enim in Vulgatâ Syrorum Versione haud extabant: licet postea ex Græcis exemplaribus in Syriacum a recentioribus interpretibus conversa fuerint, &c. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 71.

[k] Vid. ib. p. 144.

ceived the book of Canticles; it is quoted[l] in his Syriac Commentaries. He also plainly refers to[ll] the book of Ruth.

5. Ebedjesu does not mention any commentaries of Ephrem upon the books of the New Testament. Gregory Nyssen indeed says, that[m] Ephrem not only meditated upon the scriptures, but also particularly explained every part of the Old and New Testament from Genesis to the last book of grace. But that may be in part an oratorical flight, from which some abatements should be made. It is, I think, observable, that Ebedjesu says nothing of any commentaries of Ephrem upon the New Testament. His silence must be reckoned an argument, that there were none upon the New Testament, or that they were not so well known as those upon the Old. However, we are assured by Dr. Asseman, in part quoted[n] formerly, that[o] Dionysius Barsalibæus, and Gregory Barhebræus, in their commentaries upon the gospels, quote the commentaries of Ephrem upon the same gospels. And it may be very proper for my readers to recollect here what was[p] formerly said of Ephrem's writing commentaries upon Tatian's Harmony of the four gospels; but still I see no particular mention of commentaries of Ephrem upon any other books of the New Testament. And when Dr. Asseman published the first volume of his

[l] —quorum meminit etiam sapientissimus Salomon in Canticis Canticorum: 'Ecce,' inquit, 'lectulum Salomonis sexaginta fortes ambiunt:' [Cant. iii. 7.] In Exod. cap. xxxvii. T. i. Syr. p. 229. F.

Christus enim est Rex regum et verus David, id est, dilectus et amabilis—quem laudat ecclesia, gloriosa sponsa, in suis Canticis, dicens: 'Dilectus meus candidus et rubicundus.' [Cant. v. 10.] In 1 Sam. xvi. 13. T. i. Syr. p. 365. E.

Vid. et in Mich. Pr. T. ii. Syr. p. 272. B. et Paræn. 14. T. iii. Syr. p. 436. F.

[ll] In Natal. Domini, Serm. 7. T. ii. Syr. p. 421, 422.

[m] Ηασαν γαρ παλαιαν τε και καινην εκμελετησας γραφην—ὁλην ακριβως προς λεξιν ἡρμηνευσεν απο τε της κοσμογονειας, και μεχρι της τελευταιας της χαριτος βιβλ. κ. λ. De Vit. Ephr. T. iii. p. 601. D.

[n] See Vol. ii. p. 444.

[o] Dionysius Barsalibæus, e Jacobitarum sectâ, Amidæ in Mesopotamiâ episcopus, in suis Commentariis in Evangelia Codice Syriaco Vaticano xli.—sæpe laudat Ephræmi Commentaria in Textum Evangeliorum, de quibus in Præfatione ad Marcum sic loquitur, 'Tatianus, Justini philosophi et martyris 'discipulus, ex quatuor evangeliis unum digessit, quod Diatessaron nuncupavit. Hunc librum Sanctus Ephræm commentariis illustravit.' Et infra: 'Sanctus quoque Ephræm, ordinem Diatessari sequutus, evangelium explanavit.' Idem testatur Barhebræus, vulgo Abulpharagius, episcopus Tagritensis, in libro, quem 'Horreum Mysteriorum' inscripsit, quo totam sacram scripturam brevissimis notis dilucidat. Ubi, præfatione in Matthæum sic de Ephræmo scribit:——Commentaria Ephræmi in Matthæum et Lucam laudat Corderius in Catenâ Patrum. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 57, 58.

[p] See Vol. ii. p. 150. and p. 444—446.

Oriental Library at Rome, in 1719, he[q] had not discovered any copies of the above-named commentaries upon the gospels; though he speaks of some fragments[r] of commentaries upon the gospels. Nor are there in the late edition of Ephrem's works at Rome, any commentaries upon any books of the New Testament.

6. Whether Ephrem wrote commentaries upon the scriptures of the New Testament, or not, he certainly received all those books, which had been all along generally received by christians as sacred scripture. This appears from his works published formerly in Latin and Greek, and from the Syriac works lately published at Rome: in all which are quoted the four gospels and the Acts very frequently, and St. Paul's epistles, and the first epistle of St. Peter, and the first of St. John.

7. To be a little more particular, so far as is needful. He expressly speaks in his Syriac works of[s] the four holy evangelists, and[t] the doctrine of the gospel, the word of life, written by the four evangelists, and[u] of the sacred volume of the gospels. In the same Syriac works is quoted[v] the epistle to the Hebrews, as the apostle Paul's.

8. Unquestionably, he also received the first epistle[w] of St. Peter, and[x] the first epistle of St. John. Quotations of

[q] Expositio Ephræmi in Testamentum Novum, cujus meminerunt Barsalibæus et Barhebræus locis supra laudatis. nondum ad manus nostras pervenit. Ib. p. 63.

[r] Fragmenta [Græce] in Evangelium. Cod. Vat. 663. 773. et 1190. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 157.

[s] Quatuor isti leprosi, tametsi fœdam per se præferunt speciem, si tamen eâ parte spectentur, quâ fausta nunciarunt, sanctos quatuor evangelistas nobis pulchre repræsentant, cogitantibus, per istos innotuisse universo orbi Christi Salvatoris nostri gratiam, ac per Christum mundo assertam libertatem. In 2 libr. Reg. cap. vii. 3. T. i. Syr. p. 537. D. E.

[t] Coronam itaque ex auro argentoque fabrefactam a principibus donatam, evangelii doctrinam vitæ pharmacum esse intellige a quatuor evangelistis scripto traditam, et voce promulgatam. In Zach. cap. vi. T. ii. Syr. p. 295. C.

[u] Et cum impudicâ illâ feminâ, cujus vitæ emendatio in sacro evangeliorum codice tantopere commendatur, tuorum scelerum veniam iteratis singultibus flagita. Paræn. 67. T. iii. Syr. 538. A.

[v] Vid. Comment. in. libr. Judic. T. i. Syr. p. 322. B. et p. 328. B. In 1 libr. Regnor. p. 460. B. Paræn. iv. T. iii. Syr. p. 395. D. et alibi.

[w] Speculatores ergo et exploratores populi Dei fuere prophetæ: 'Scrutantes in quod vel quale tempus significaret in eis Spiritus Christi prænuntians eas, quæ in Christo sunt, passiones, et posteriores glorias.' [1 Pet. i. 11.] Comment. in 1 Sam. i. 1. T. Syr. i. p. 331. A.

Inde ad nos digressus vocavit nos 'de tenebris in admirabile lumen suum.' [1 Pet. ii. 9.] In selecta Scriptur. Loc. T. ii. Syr. p. 330. A. Vid. eund. loc. iterum citat. Paræn. 68. T. iii. Syr. p. 539. A.

'Qui peccatum non fecit, nec inventus est dolus in ore ejus.' [1 Pet. ii. 22.] In Zachar. T. ii. Syr. p. 298. D.

[x] ———Jesu Christi pariter imaginem delineavit, qui totius mundi peccata

them are to be found in the Syriac works, of which I have given proofs below in the margin.

9. Whether Ephrem received also those catholic epistles, which were sometimes doubted of, is not so certain. Mill in his Prolegomena says, that[y] Ephrem received the epistle of St. James, the second of St. Peter, and the epistle of St. Jude, and the second epistle of St. John, they being quoted by him. He does not say where; but he must mean Ephrem's Greek works: I will therefore first consider the Syriac, and then the Greek works of this writer.

10. Ephrem has an exhortation, "Let[z] your speech be yea yea, nay nay:" and in the margin is marked a reference to Jam. v. 12, but he might as well intend Matt. v. 37.

11. Ephrem says, "the[a] day of the Lord is a thief," and may come upon us unawares: where has been thought to be a reference to 2 Pet. iii. 19, "But the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night:" but he might as well have an eye to Matt. xxiv. 43, 44; or Luke xii. 39, 40; or 1 Thess. v. 2, "For yourselves know perfectly, that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night." See also ver. 4.

12. There has been supposed to be a reference[b] to 2 Pet. iii. 7, but I do not think it certain.

So far from the Syriac works. I now proceed to the Greek.

13. In every volume of the Greek works, that is, in the first, second, and third, in each of them are many express quotations of the epistle of St. James.

14. The second epistle of St. Peter is also quoted in every one of the Greek volumes. I shall mark[c] two or three

tulit et abstulit, cum 'factus est propitiatio pro peccatis nostris, nec pro peccatis nostris tantum, sed etiam pro totius mundi.' [1 Jo. ii. 2.] In Zachar. T. ii. Syr. p. 286. A. B.

[y] Exemplum ecclesiarum Palæstinæ secuta est ecclesia Syriaca, ut apparet ex Ephræm Edesseni diaconi scriptis, ubi epistola hæc aliquoties citata est, tanquam Jacobi apostoli, et quidem fratris Domini. Proleg. n. 204. Vid. et n. 209, 210, 213, 222, 223.

[z] Os enim, divinarum laudum instrumentum, jurare non decet. 'Sit sermo vester, Est est, Non non.' De Diversis Serm. 14. T. iii. Syr. p. 643. D.

[a] 'Dies' namque 'Domini fur est,' inopinum opprimet. In select. Scripturæ Loca, T. ii. Syr. p. 342. A.

[b] Et posthac pœnam ignis feret [diabolus] ipsi reservatam in novissimâ die. In Gen. T. i. Syr. p. 136. E.

[c] Βοᾳ δε και ὁ μακαριος Πετρος ὁ κορυφαιος των αποστολων,——Ἡ ἡμερα Κυριε ὡς κλεπτης εν νυκτι οὑτως ερχεται, κ. λ. [2 Pet. iii. 10.] Interr. et Resp. T. ii. Gr. p. 387. B.

Λεγει δε και ὁ μακαριος αποστολος Πετρος, Οιδε Κυριος ευσεβεις εκ πειρασμε ῥυεσθαι· κ. λ. [2 Pet. ii. 9—22.] Adv. Impudicitiam. Tom. iii. Gr. p. 60, 61.

quotations, which are very express; one of which contains the second chapter of that epistle from ver. 9, to the end.

15. The second epistle of John is quoted in this manner: 'This[d] is not my saying, but the word of John the divine, who says, "Whosoever transgresseth, and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, has not God," ' ver. 9.

16. The third epistle of St. John is quoted in this manner: 'The[e] scripture says, "I have no greater joy, than to hear, that my children walk in truth." '

17. I would just observe here, that in these Greek works, where St. John's first epistle is quoted, he[f] is often called the Divine or Theologue.

18. In these works the epistle of St. Jude is quoted several times. In one place[g] the whole epistle of Jude is transcribed; again, he is[h] called another disciple of Christ, after having before quoted largely the second epistle of Peter.

19. Such then is the notice taken of these catholic epistles in the Greek works, but how far they are to be relied upon as genuine and uncorrupted, may be hard to say. I rather think, it cannot be depended upon, that Ephrem is here truly represented. Had not Ephrem many occasions to quote the second epistle of Peter, and the epistle of Jude, in his writings against heretics, and in his practical works, preserved in Syriac? Can there be any good reason assigned, why they should have been there totally omitted, if they had been reputed parts of sacred scripture, by himself, and by those for whom he wrote? For my own part, I must own, that I prefer the Syriac works much before the Greek, which at best are translations only, in which too the translator may have inserted some of his own sentiments.

20. Dr. Asseman says, that[i] Ephrem received the book

[d] Ουκ εμος γαρ ὁ λογος, αλλα τȣ Θεολογȣ Ιωαννȣ ουτως λεγοντος· Πας ὁ παραβαινων, κ. λ. De Amore Pauperum. T. iii. Gr. p. 52. F.

[e] Λεγει γαρ ἡ γραφη· Μειζονα τȣτȣ ȣκ εχω χαραν, ἱνα ακȣω τα εμα τεκνα περιπατȣντα εν αληθειᾳ. Ad Imitat. Proverb. T. i. Gr. p. 76. F.

[f] Ακȣε τι λεγει ὁ Θεολογος Ιωαννης. De Compunctione Animæ, T. i. Gr. p. 31. B. Vid. et in Secund. Domini Advent. T. ii. Gr. p. 209. E. et De Caritate. T. iii. Gr. p. 13. F. et passim.

[g] Vid. Paræn. 41. T. ii. Gr. p. 153. C. et Paræn. 43. p. 161. E.

[h] Διελεγχει δε αυτȣς και ἑτερος μαθητης λεγων, Ιȣδας Ιησȣ Χριστȣ δȣλος, αδελφος δε Ιακωβȣ τοις εν Θεῳ πατρι ηγαπημενοις, κ. λ. Adv. Imprudicit. T. iii. Gr. p. 61, 62.

[i] In hoc sermone citat S. Doctor Apocalypsim Joannis, tanquam canonicam scripturæ partem. 'In Apocalypsi vidit Joannes ingentem et admirabilem 'librum a Deo scriptum, septem signaculis obsignatum.' Quod ideo notavi, ut constaret Syrorum antiquissimorum de illius libri auctoritate judicium contra Ebedjesu, qui in Catalogo manuscripto inter libros canonicos Apocalypsim non nominat. Assem. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 141.

of the Revelation, and seems to give good proof of it. The discourse quoted by him in manuscript, when he wrote his Bibliotheca Orientalis, has been since published with Ephrem's Syriac works, where it may be[k] seen.

21. Indeed the Revelation is quoted or referred to several times in the Syriac works, lately published at Rome, if their genuineness and integrity may be relied upon.

22. The words of Rev. iii. 3, are[l] quoted; there seems to be a reference to[m] xix. 9, and to[n] chap. xxi.

23. I would add farther: The commentaries are a sort of chain; that is, beside Ephrem's comments at large, here and there are also inserted notes or explications of others. In one of those notes, of James bishop of Edessa, who[o] flourished in the latter part of the seventh century, there is[p] a long quotation out of the book of the Revelation. However, in another place Dr. Asseman assures us, that[q] James of Edessa did not write any commentary upon that book.

24. Upon the whole, we can say with certainty, that Ephrem received those books of the New Testament, which were always received by catholic christians: what was his judgment concerning those five catholic epistles, which were sometimes doubted of, and concerning the Revelation, I leave every reader to consider, and determine for himself; for I have endeavoured to give all the light I am able.

IV. The general divisions of the books of scripture, and marks of respect for them, are such as these; I mean in the Syriac works, the Latin version of which I shall transcribe below: not having by any means an equal regard for the Greek works, as I have intimated several times; and therefore I take little notice of them.

1. He speaks[r] of the oracles of the prophets and apostles,

[k] Vidit in Apocalypsi suâ Johannes librum magnum et admirabilem, a Deo scriptum, et septem sigillis munitum. Qui scriptum legeret, nullus erat.—[Apoc. v. 1—3.] In selecta Scripturæ Loc. seu Sermon. Exeget. T. ii. Syr. p. C.

[l] Et rursus: 'Si ergo non vigilaveris, veniam ad te tanquam fur; et nescies, quâ horâ veniam ad te.' Paræn. 61. T. iii. Syr. p. 529. A.

[m] Summus rerum Dominator———vocavit nos ad agni nuptias. Paræn. 68. T. iii. Syr. p. 538. D.

[n] Ipsa est mysticum illud 'cœlum novum,' in quo Rex regum tanquam in sede suâ inhabitavit. De Diversis, Serm. 3. T. iii. Syr. p. 607. C.

[o] Vid. Assem. Bib. Or. T. i. cap. xl. p. 468.

[p] In Gen. T. i. Syr. p. 192.

[q] Apocalypsim Johannis nec Sobensis recensuit, nec Barhebræus aut Jacobus Edessenus exposuere. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 8. not. 2.

[r] Futurum enim erat, ut a multis gentibus, in unum Spiritum convenientibus, prophetarum et apostolorum oracula spiritualium tympanorum concentu celebrarentur, et Judæi atque Gentiles in unius populi corpus coalescerent. In libr. Judic. cap. xxi. 19. 21. T. i. Syr. p. 330.

by which Jews and Gentiles are all brought together in one body.

2. He says, that[s] Christ is the precious and corner-stone between the two Testaments, the prophets and the apostles.

3. He speaks again[t] of the predictions of the prophets, and the preaching of the apostles, concurring together, and completely harmonious; which gives us full assurance of the nativity, miracles, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

4. Arguing against Marcion, and others, he says: 'This[u] is not mentioned by Moses in his Pentateuch, nor is it taught by the prophets, nor delivered to us by the apostles.'

5. Happy[v] is he, who teaches the principles of true religion delivered by the apostles and prophets.

6. Such are the general divisions of the books of scripture, both of the Old and the New Testament, which are to be found in this writer; many more like passages may be seen in him; I refer to a[w] few only.

V. Ephrem shows his respect for the sacred scriptures by such expressions as these.

1. In a funeral oration for a bishop, a part of his commendation is this: Like [x]Moses he taught and governed the people committed to his charge. The volume of the divine scriptures he held out to them as a pillar of fire to guide them: and what follows.

[s] Tropologice, lapis positus inter duos terminos Christum significabat, lapidem pretiosum et angularem, inter duo testamenta, prophetas scilicet et apostolos, locatum. Christum autem venturum prædixerunt prophetæ præeuntes, eundemque sequentes apostoli jam venisse nuntiaverunt. In 1 Sam. vii. 12 Ib. p. 347.

[t] Allegoriæ congruunt humeruli, seu columellæ mare sustinentes, quæ prophetarum vaticinia et apostolorum prædicationem significant: quæ duo simul conjuncta, mutuoque sibi convenientia, fidem de Divini Verbi incarnatione, miraculis, passione, atque resurrectione, sustinent, et mirifice confirmant. Congruenter ergo boves duodecim æneum hoc mare portantes, juxta ecclesiasticum, id est, allegoricum sensum, apostolos interpretare et prophetas, Christi nomen per universum orbem specie quâdam triumphi circumferentes. In 1 libr. Regn. cap. vii. T. i. Syr. p. 460.

[u] Illud nimirum nec Möyses in suo Pentateucho meminit, nec indicârunt prophetæ, nec apostoli tradiderunt. Adv. Hæret. Serm. 14. T. ii. Syr. p. 468. D.

[v] ——atque veræ religionis dogmata ab apostolis et prophetis tradita promulgavit. Adv. Scrutat. Serm. 3. T. iii. p. 4. D. Vid. et Serm. 6. ibid. p. 12. F.

[w] In Num. cap. xxxi. ver. 6. et 22. T. i. Syr. p. 267. In Deut. xxi. 15. p. 278. In 1 Regn. cap. vii. ver. 21. p. 459. Adv. Hær. Serm. 22. T. ii. Syr. p. 489. A Serm. 23. p. 489. E. F.

[x] Vir mitissimus, et in hac parte Möysi comparandus, populum sibi commissum docuit et rexit. Divinarum scripturarum codicem ei pro columnâ ignis proposuit, &c. Funebr. Can. i. T. iii. Syr. p. 225. F. Vid. et Can. xi. p. 241. F.

2. I esteem[y] no man more happy than him, who diligently reads the scriptures delivered to us by the Spirit of God, and thinks how he may order his conversation by the precepts of them.

3. The[z] divine scriptures, he says, are the keys of knowledge.

4. The[a] truth written in the sacred volume of the gospel is a perfect rule. Nothing can be taken from it, nor added to it, without great guilt.

5. So says [b]Paul, in whom Christ speaks.

6. All[c] who hear or read the divine scriptures with attention and care will attain to the true sense of them.

VI. I shall now add some select passages, beginning with some interpretations of texts of scripture.

1. In his comment upon Gen. vi. 2, "by[d] the sons of God," he understands the descendants of Seth, and by the "daughters of men," women of the posterity of Cain. And he elsewhere argues, largely, that[e] angels never were in love with women, and could not have children by them.

[y] Ego vero neminem eo feliciorem dicam, quam qui scripturis Divino Spiritu nobis traditis aures eodem Spiritu plenas præbeat, et codicem percurrendo prudenter cogitet, quomodo præceptum sibi ob oculos propositum observare cum laude possit. Paræn. xviii. T. iii. Syr. p. 447. C. Vid. et A. B.

[z] Divinæ literæ scientiæ claves sunt. De Paradiso, Serm. 6. T. iii. Syr. p. 576. E. F.

[a] Quemadmodum Alphabeti corpus suis constat integrum membris, nec est ubi quodquod demas aut adjicias; sic veritas literis consignata, et sacro evangelii codice comprehensa, perfecta mensura est, cui quidpiam addere aut detrahere nefas et crimen est. Adv. Hær. Serm. 22. T. ii. Syr. p. 485. A.

[b] Paulus, in quo Christus loquebatur, cum dolore et lacrymis dicebat. In select. Scripturæ Loca. T. ii. Syr. p. 334. D.

[c] Divinas scripturas quicumque legunt, vel excepta auribus illorum oracula oculis mentis diligenter considerant, sensum etiam assequuntur. Ibid. p. 344. B.

[d] Filios Dei etiam filios Seth appellavit, qui utpote filii justi Seth, populus Dei dicti sunt. Filiæ autem hominum pulchræ, quæ populi Dei oculos rapuerunt, Caïni soboles erant, quæ per cultum ornatumque sui sexûs Sethianæ juventuti laqueum fecerant. In Gen. T. i. Syr. p. 48. C. D.

[e] Cæterum si porro pergant, contendantque angelos liberorum procreationi operam aliquando dedisse; cogitent, nec hodie fore difficile desertoribus angelis opprimere feminam, et filios generare. Hic dæmones. Hic mulieres. Explorent, num liberos gignant. Adsunt testes ejusmodi deliramenta refellentes cœlibes bene multæ, quæ a viris perpetuo segregatæ matres nunquam esse potuerunt. Una et singularis exstitit Maria, quæ citra viri operam mater fuit, et virgo permansit, eo quod Deo difficile nil excogitari potest. Et siquidem angeli patres esse potuerunt, virginem mansisse Reparatoris nostri genetricem, inepte miraremur. Gratissimum quidem Satanæ fuisset, virgines dæmonum operâ concipere et parere, quo haberet quas Mariæ opponeret virgines.—Ornavere se virgines Madianitæ, populoque Israëlitarum se conspiciendas præbuere. Illorum oculos rapuere, eripuere mentem. Attamen illa pulchritudinum miracula angelos non magis quam putrescentia cadavera movere potuerunt. Adv. Hær. Serm. 19. T. ii. Syr. p. 478. A—F.

And says, that women never are pregnant, or bear children, if they are kept from men: and that the fairest and best dressed women would no more tempt an angel, than so many putrefied corpses.

2. Upon Ex. ii. 11, 12, he says, that [f] the Egyptian, whom Moses slew, was one of Pharaoh's taskmasters, and the most cruel of them all; and that Moses had before often reproved him, but he would not be persuaded to mildness.

3. Upon Deut. xviii. 15—20, he says, that [g] God performed the promise there made by sending Joshua, and other princes and prophets. But the promise was completely fulfilled in Jesus Christ, who, like Moses, was a lawgiver, and delivered laws tending to bring men to eminent virtue and holiness.

4. I do not discern any thing very remarkable in his notes [h] upon Job xix. 23—26, for which reason I do not transcribe them. He does not take any notice [i] of what is at the end of the book of Job in the Seventy: "that it was written, Job should be raised up again with those whom the Lord should raise."

5. Ezek. i. 1, "The heavens were opened, and I saw visions of God."] The [k] meaning, he says, is, that to the prophet's mind the gates of heaven were opened, and with the eyes of his spirit he saw sudden and hidden mysteries.

6. Ephrem [l] has an interpretation of Zech. iii. 1—4, which I have not found in Grotius, or any other modern commentator: it deserves therefore to be particularly taken

[f] Incidit in hoc tempus Ægyptii cædes. Præfectus hic erat, quem Möyses occidit, hominem nempe omnium Pharaonis procerum crudelissimum, qui a Möyse sæpe sæpius admonitus, sapere nunquam didicerat. In Exod. T. i. Syr. p. 198. F.

[g] Cæterum, etsi Deus, quod hic pollicetur, suo tempore præstitisse visus fuit, quando Möysi Josuam, et huic deinceps alios duces regesque substituit; attamen vere et merito dicendum est, in Christo tandem integre et absolute eam promissionem impletam fuisse. Nam etsi post hæc tempora plures prophetæ prodierint, nullus tamen Möysi similis fuit, qui testamentum et leges conderet. Quod certe Christus præstitit, novum instituens testamentum, et leges condens, hominem ad perfectam cumulatamque virtutem perducentes. In Deut. T. i. Syr. p. 277. E. F.

[h] Vid. T. ii. Syr. p. 8.

[i] Vid. ibid. p. 19.

[k] Id est, patefactæ sunt prophetæ menti cœli fores, oculisque spiritûs spectare licuit arcana sublimia et occultissima. In Ez. T. ii. Syr. p. 165. C.

[l] Satanas adversarios Judæorum representat, illorum ditionem circum insidentes, ipsisque infestos.——'Hic est torris erutus de igne:' i. e. lignum adustum annos post septuaginta Babylonico ab igne extractum: 'titionem,' vid. ipsium sacerdotem, et universum Israëlitarum populum vocat, captivitatis ærumnis nuper ereptum.——'Auferte sordidas vestes ab eo, et induite illum vestibus optimis.' Vestimenta sacerdoti detracta contractas Babylone sordes designant, et præteritam ignominiam, quum velut exauctoratus minister, sacris insignibus privatus atque ab aris remoto ibidem exularet. In Zach. T. ii. Syr. p. 285. A. B. C.

notice of. "Satan standing at the right hand of the angel of the Lord to resist him," represents the neighbours of the Jewish people, who were adversaries to them. "The brand plucked out of the fire, is the Jewish people burned in the fire of the Babylonish captivity, and now snatched out of the burning. And Joshua the son of Josedech the high-priest, "clothed in filthy garments," represents the abject and deplorable condition of the Jewish people in the Babylonish captivity. The order for "clothing him with change of raiment" denotes the purpose of God to alter the condition of the Jewish people for the better, and to bless and prosper them, and to restore his worship among them.

7. Upon Zech. vi. 12, "Behold[m] the man whose name is the East" [or the "Branch."] This man is Zerubbabel, to whom the Spirit by the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah gave glory like the splendour of the rising sun.—Ver. 13, "Even he shall build the temple of the Lord:" the spoils of Magog affording sufficient for the expenses of the work. "And he shall bear the glory," that is, receive glory from the conquest of Magog. "And shall sit, and rule upon his throne," with firm and durable power, from which none shall be able to remove him, or cast him down. "And Joshua shall be a priest upon his throne, and the counsel of peace shall be between them both." Which denotes the harmony and agreement, which by the fear of the Lord shall be established between Joshua the son of Josedech, and Zerubbabel the prince and governor of the people. But the things here said under divers symbols of Zerubbabel are understood in the way of allegory of Christ, the true East, and Splendour of the Father.

8. Ephrem's comment upon Zech. xii. 10—14, I shall transcribe[n] at the bottom of the page in the Latin version, without translating it into English.

[m] 'Ecce vir, et nomen ejus Oriens.'] Zorobbabel est, cui Spiritus vaticiniis et auctoritate Aggæi et Zachariæ gloriam, et quasi Orientis solis splendorem, contulit.——'Et ipse exstruet templum Domini,' sumtus vid. et expensas sufficientibus populi Gog spoliis. 'Ipse accipiet gloriam,' a victâ dissipatâque gente Magog. 'Et sedebit, et dominabitur super solio suo,' firmâ et stabili dominatione, quâ nemo illum dejiciat. 'Et Jesus erit sacerdos super solio suo, et consilium bonum erit inter illos duos.' Significat concordiam et pacem timore Domini firmatam inter Jesum filium Josedech et Zorobbabelem populi principem et ducem. Cæterum quæ hic de Zorobbabele per varia symbola prædicantur, per allegoriam prædicta accipiuntur de Christo, cum ipse sit verus Oriens, et ortus ex Patre splendor. In Zach. cap. vi. T. ii. Syr. p. 294, 295.

[n] 'Plangent eum planctu, quasi super unigenitum.' Juxta historiam, in hunc sensum dicta accipiuntur. 'Aspicient ad me, in eum quem crucifixerunt. Aspicient ad me:' id est, clamabunt ad me quicumque Judam Macchabæum amaverunt, dolentque modo confossum et interfectum a gentibus:

9. I would likewise[o] place below, in the like manner, Ephrem's comment upon Zech. xiii. 1, and also two passages more, explaining in his way the[p] former and the[q] latter part of Zech. xiv. 9.

10. Ephrem supposeth, that[r] our Lord wrought no miracles before his baptism, when he was thirty years of age.

11. He intimates, that[s] Christ's ministry lasted two years, he[t] living on this earth two and thirty years.

12. He has some remarks[u] upon our Saviour's three miracles of raising the dead, Jairus's daughter, the widow of Nain's son, and Lazarus.

13. He supposeth, that[v] the apostles had, or chose to

hunc, quasi filium unicum, affectu plane materno 'lugebunt, ac frangentur dolore propter eum,' ut frangi solet mater propter primogenitum et unicum. 'In illâ die magnus erit planctus in Jerusalem, sicut planctus Baramon in valle Mageddo :' i. e. talis erit luctus, utique magnus, qualis fuit die, quo Josias rex in valle Mageddo ab Ægyptiis confossus occubuit. Constat siquidem ex historiâ reipsâ Judæ Macchabæi mortem Judæos ingenti luctu prosecutos fuisse. Is namque Jerosolymæ invasores, populoque Judæorum semper infestos, magnis cladidus attriverat. Quare ob acerbum ejus interitum Jerosolymæ præcipue cives in maximis luctibus fuerunt.——'Lugebit terra per singulas familias :' id est, omnes mœrebunt familiæ, singulæ per turmas suas. 'Familia David seorsum, et mulieres ejus seorsum,' &c. i. e. separatim ab uxoribus conjuges, et omnes quæcumque feminæ a viris. Hæc quidem, ut dixi, secundum historiam, acta sunt in funere Judæi Macchabæi. Nihilominus, ex arcanâ et verâ significatione verborum, de Domini morte intelligenda sunt. In Zach. T. ii. Syr. p. 306.

[o] 'Et aperietur fons salutis domui David, et habitatoribus Jerusalem.'] Habet hic in superficie locus hunc significatum. Populo Judæorum, ne porro tristitiâ suffocetur, ratus nullam afflicto superesse spem, Jonathas, Judæ Macchabæi frater, salutis pandet viam, quove a fonte eadem petenda sit monstrabit. Ex interpretatione vero spirituali, et quidem verissimâ, discimus fontem salutis esse effluvium pii sanguinis et aquæ sanctissimæ, quæ de latere Domini in cruce manârunt 'ad aspersionem, et ad emundationem.' Ibid. p. 306 et 307.

[p] 'Et erit Dominus Rex super universam terram.'] Clarum est, hunc locum ad felicissima Macchabæorum tempora pertinere, quando, depulsâ idololatriâ, quam Antiochus induxerat, unius Dei cultum Judæa universa amplexa est. Nihilominus, quæ hic adumbrata vides, per Christi adventum absoluta et perfecta sunt. Ibid. p. 310. C.

[q] 'In die illâ erit Dominus unus, et erit nomen ejus unum.'] Hoc, quod dixi ad Macchabæorum tempus et Judæorum ditionem pertinere, in toto terrarum orbe perfectum est, quando, promulgato evangelio, mundus universus in eum credidit, et agnovit ipsum esse Deum. Ibid. E.

[r] Nam usque ad suum in Jordane baptismum Christus nullum patravit miraculum. In Ezech. cap. i. T. ii. Syr. p. 165. D.

[s] Horæ itaque duæ postremæ designant duos annos, quibus Christus seipsum miraculis et signis manifestavit, et nostræ salutis opus moriendo absolvit. In 2 Reg. xx. 10. T. ii. Syr. p. 562. C.

[t] Vid. Ibid. A.

[u] In selecta Scripturæ Loca, T. ii. Syr. p. 389.

[v] ——quia similiter apostoli provincias sortiti sunt. Simon Romam docuit, Johannes Ephesum, Matthæus Palæstinam, et Indorum regiones Thomas. In 1 libr. Reg. cap. iv. 1. T. i. Syr. p. 453.

themselves several provinces; Peter, he says, preached at Rome, John at Ephesus, Matthew in Palestine, and Thomas in the Indies. But this account is imperfect, as every one may perceive. Here is no mention of St. Paul's travels, so well known from the Acts and his own epistles.

14. In several places he speaks of the[w] success of the gospel. The[x] Jewish prophets, he says, for a long time were of little service; but when joined by the apostles, the empire of sin was soon destroyed, and the world was enlightened with divine knowledge.

15. Ephrem often asserts in strong terms the[y] powers of free-will in men.

16. He says, miracles[z] were then wrought by the reliques of martyrs, or at their sepulchres.

[w] Petrus a suo pendens palmite, et vecte gestatus, Christum plane representat ab utroque prophetarum et apostolorum cœtu per orbem universum magnifice circumvectum. In Num. xiii. T. i. Syr. p. 259.

[x] Allegoria. Gedeonis buccinæ evangelii tubam præsignificabant. Evangelii namque personante tubâ, et coruscante sacramentorum Christi lampade, peccati imperium eversum est. Rursus hydriæ, inclusas lampadas continentes, Judæorum synagogas significabant, intra quas scripta prophetarum oracula oppressa et abscondita diu jacuerunt. Postquam vero Judæi virtute crucis Christi fracti contritique fuere, continuo propheticarum lampadum fulgor emicuit, et apostolorum luce adjutus totum terrarum orbem implevit. In cap. vii. Judic. ver. 21. T. i. Syr. p. 318, 319.

[y] Sita est in tuâ potestate salus, tibique est libera optio eligendi vitam vel interitum. Vide, ut rebus tuis tempestive provideas, antequam elabatur tempus pœnitentiæ, et misericordiæ fores claudantur. Paræn. 4. T. iii. Syr. p. 411. F.

Jugum tuum meâ ego voluntate suscepi. Non tu me reluctantem illud subire coëgisti. Egomet sponte meâ ad excolendum agrum tuum me obligavi. Sed, heu! semen a te acceptum in spem uberrimæ messis datum seminare neglexi, &c. Paræn. 5. T. iii. Syr. p. 415. A. B. Vid. Paræn. 13. p. 431. Paræn. 22. p. 455. D. E. De Diversis Serm. p. 672, 673. Vid. et De Libero humanæ Voluntatis Arbitrio Sermones quatuor. Ibid. p. 359—366.

[z] Jam vero intuere vitam in martyrum reliquiis conditam. Quis enim neget, illis manere vitam, quando videt ipsorum etiam titulos vivere? Res compertissima est, de quâ nullus dubitet. In sel. Scriptur. Loc. T. ii. Syr. p. 349, 350

CHAP. CIII.

EBEDJESU.

I. *His time.* II. *A catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament.* III. *Remarks upon it.*

I. HAVING given an account of Ephrem of Edessa, it will not be amiss to take in another learned Syrian writer, though he be much later in time. I mean[a] Ebedjesu, of the sect of the Nestorians, who was bishop of Nisibis, called by the Syrians Soba, in the latter part of the 13th century, and died in the year 1318. As[b] he had been before bishop of Sigara from the year 1285, I place him as flourishing about that time.

II. Dr. Asseman first published an accurate edition of his[c] Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writings at Rome, in 1725. Ebedjesu in his introduction proposeth to give[d] a catalogue of all the divine books, and all other ecclesiastical writings: he first enumerates the books of the Old Testament, and then the New; this latter part I shall transcribe.

'Having[e] mentioned the writers of the Old Testament, I

[a] Ebedjesu, hoc est servus Jesu.—Fuit autem Ebedjesu, Catalogi hujus auctor, cognomento Bar-Bircha, id est, Filius Benedicti, gente Chaldæus, sectâ Nestorianus, dignitate episcopus: floruitque sub Jaballaha, Chaldæorum Nestorianorum patriarchâ, a quo Metropolita Sobæ et Armeniæ ordinatus est. Obiit sub initium mensis Novembris anni Græcorum 1630, Christi 1318. Assem. B. Or. T. iii. p. 3. in notis 2.

[b] Primum fuerat episcopus Sigaræ et Arabiæ, circa annum Christi 1285, ut adnotatur in elegantissimo Syriaco evangeliorum codice, qui exstat in Bibliothecâ Collegii Urbani de Propagandâ Fide. Deinde ad archiepiscopatum Sobæ et Armeniæ evectus est, ut supra dixi. Soba autem Syris eadem est ac Nisibis. Id. ib. not. 3.

[c] Carmen Ebedjesu, continens Catalogum Librorum omnium Ecclesiasticorum. Ib. p. 3.

[d] Scribere aggredior Carmen admirabile:
In quo Libros Divinos,
Et omnes compositiones ecclesiasticas
Omnium priorum et posteriorum,
Proponam lectoribus. Ibid. p. 4.

[e] Nunc, absoluto Veteri,
Aggrediamur jam Novum Testamentum:
Cujus caput est Matthæus, qui Hebraïce
In Palæstinâ scripsit.

proceed to those of the New. The first of which is Matthew, who published his gospel in Palestine, written in Hebrew; the next is Mark, who preached in Latin, in the famous city of Rome; then Luke, who taught and wrote at Alexandria, in the Greek language; and John, who wrote his gospel at Ephesus, in the Greek tongue. And the Acts of the Apostles, which Luke inscribed to Theophilus. Three epistles likewise, which in every book [or copy] and language are ascribed to apostles, namely, to James, Peter, and John, and are called catholic. And fourteen epistles of the great apostle, Paul: the epistle to the Romans, written at Corinth, and sent from thence; the first epistle to the Corinthians, written at Ephesus, and sent from thence by the hands of Timothy; the second to the Corinthians, written at Philippi in great Macedonia, and sent by the hands of Titus. The epistle to the Galatians Paul wrote at Rome, and sent it by the hands of Titus, a chosen and approved vessel: the epistle to the Ephesians was written at Rome, and sent from Paul himself by the hands of Tychicus; the epistle to the Philippians was written at Rome, and sent by Epaphroditus, a beloved brother; the epistle likewise to the Colossians was written at Rome, and sent by Tychicus, a disciple of the truth; the first epistle to the Thessalonians was written in the city of Athens, and sent by the hands of Timothy; the second to the Thessalonians was written at Laodicea in Pisidia, [Phrygia,] and sent with Timothy; the first epistle to Timothy was written at Laodicea, a city of Pisidia, [Phrygia,] and sent by Luke;

Post hunc Marcus, qui Romane
Locutus est in celeberrimâ Româ:
Et Lucas, qui Alexandriæ
Græce dixit, scripsitque.

Et Joannes, qui Ephesi
Græco sermone exaravit evangelium.
Actus quoque Apostolorum,
Quos Lucas Theophilo inscripsit.

Tres etiam epistolæ, quæ inscribuntur
Apostolis in omni codice et linguâ,
Jacobo scilicet, et Petro, et Joanni,
Et Catholicæ nuncupantur.

Apostoli autem Pauli magni
Epistolæ quatuordecim.
Epistola ad Romanos,
Quæ ex Corintho scripta est, &c. &c.

Ebedjesu, Catalog. ap. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 8—12.

the second epistle to Timothy was written at Rome, and sent by the same Luke, the physician and evangelist; the epistle to Titus was written at Nicopolis, and sent and carried by Epaphroditus; the epistle to Philemon was written at Rome, and sent by Onesimus, servant of the same Philemon; the epistle to the Hebrews was written in Italy, and sent by Timothy, son according to the spirit.'

III. Upon this catalogue we may find a few remarks.

1. The order of the books of the New Testament should be observed. The gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, three catholic epistles, and St. Paul's fourteen epistles: which, too, are mentioned in the order which now obtains among us; the epistle to the Romans first, and that to the Hebrews last. And by Dr. Asseman we are assured, that[f] here Ebedjesu followed the order which is in general use among the Syrians: in which order also the books are placed in the ancient manuscript copies of the New Testament. Gregory Barhebræus observed also the same order in his commentaries. But James of Edessa, in a book written by him, first mentions the Acts of the Apostles, then the catholic epistles of James, Peter, and John; after that Paul's epistles, and lastly the four gospels.

2. What[g] Ebedjesu says of the places and languages, in which the several gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, were written, we are assured by Asseman, is agreeable to the common opinion of the Syrians in general.

3. It is not needful to examine the accounts here given of the places where[h] St. Paul's epistles were written, or the

[f] In recensendis Novi Testamenti libris vulgatum apud Syros ordinem sequitur Sobensis, quo evangeliis subjunguntur Actus Apostolorum, deinde epistolæ catholicæ Jacobi, Petri, et Joannis, mox epistolæ Pauli. Hunc ordinem et codices antiqui manuscripti repræsentant: quo etiam Barhebræus Novum Testamentum commentariis illustravit, in suo Horreo Mysteriorum, ut notavi, Tom. ii. Bib. Or. p. 282. Jacobus vero Edessenus in libro, cui titulus Onomasticon, cit. tom. ii. p. 499. primo loco Actus Apostolorum ponit, deinde epistolas catholicas Jacobi, Petri, et Joannis: postea epistolas Pauli, postremo quatuor evangelia. Assem. B. Or. T. iii. p. 8. not. 2.

[g] Hæc est communis Syrorum sententia de sermone, quo primum evangelia conscripta dicuntur: Matthæi scilicet Hebraïce in Palæstinâ: Marci Romane, hoc est, Latine, Romæ; Lucæ Græce Alexandriæ, et Joannis item Græce Ephesi. In eandem sententiam adnotatum legitur ad calcem omnium, quotquot vidi, Syriaco sermone exaratorum tum recentium tum antiquorum evangeliorum. Nec dissentiunt Barsalibæus et Barhebræus in Præfatione ad evangelia. Quod autem Hebraïca lingua, quâ Matthæus scripsisse dicitur, non sit illa, quæ reverâ Hebræorum propria est, sed Chaldaïca, seu Syriaca, quæ Judæis post captivitatem Babylonicam, Christi apostolorumque temporibus, vernacula erat, docet idem Barsalibæus præfatione in Matthæum. Assem. ib. p. 8. not.

[h] Ubinam scriptæ, et per quos missæ, [Pauli epistolæ quatuordecim,] ad

persons by whom they were sent: but it is worth notice, that the epistle to the Ephesians is here entitled as with us.

4. Ebedjesu mentions only three catholic epistles, omitting the second of Peter, and second and third of John, and the epistle of Jude: which, as we are also assured by Asseman, is agreeable [i] to the common sentiments of the Syrians. And he refers to a work of James of Edessa, the title of which [k] I shall put in the margin, confirming the account, that there are but three catholic epistles in the ancient Syriac version.

5. The book of the Revelation likewise is omitted; nor is it, as Asseman [l] says, in the ancient Syriac version; nor did Barhebræus, or James of Edessa, write commentaries upon it; but Ephrem, he says, quotes it as a canonical book of scripture; and from Ephrem's quotation of that book, he argues, may [m] be learned and concluded, what was the sentiment of the most ancient Syrians about it.

6. I place below [n] another note of that learned writer,

calcem manuscriptorum codicum diligenter adnotatum est, tam in Versione Syriacâ, quam in Græcis exemplaribus, unde quæ hic a Sobensi affirmantur, descripta sunt. Asseman. ib. p. 10. notis.

[i] Ex communi Syrorum sententiâ tres tantum canonicas epistolas, recenset, quarum scilicet de auctoritate Syri nunquam dubitârunt, quæque ab initio inter canonicos libros in Syriacâ versione simplici collocatæ sunt. 'Sane' (ut verbis utar Fabricii Tom. iii. Bibliothecæ Græcæ, p. 145.) 'in antiquis codicibus, et 'primis editionibus Versionis Syriacæ Novi Testamenti, epistola secunda et 'tertia Joannis, et posterior Petri, et Judæ illa etiamnum desideratur.' Dionysius Barsalibæus, apud Pocockium Præf. ad Epistolas Judæ, 2 Petri, 2 et 3 Joannis, monet, 'epistolas hasce non fuisse versas in linguam Syram, cum 'libris, qui diebus antiquis redditi sunt, ideoque non inveniri, nisi in versione 'Thomæ episcopi Heraclaensis.' Hinc apud Jacobum Edessenum in Onomastico tres tantum Catholicæ, non secus atque hic in Catalogo Sobensis, enumerantur; nimirum Jacobi, Petri, et Joannis, ut recensui. T. ii. Bib. Or. p. 499. Asseman. ib. p. 9, 10.

[k] Jacobi episcopi Edesseni Vocum Difficiliorum, quæ in Syriacâ Veteris ac Novi Testamenti Versione occurrunt, recensio et punctatio: nimirum Genesis, Exodi,—Actuum Apostolorum, epistolæ Jacobi, Petri, Joannis, epistolarum xiv. Pauli, evangelii Matthæi, Marci, Lucæ, Joannis. Ap. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. ii. p. 499.

[l] Apocalypsim Joannis nec Sobensis recensuit, nec Barhebræus aut Jacobus Edessenus exposuere, duabus de causis: vel quia ab ipsis inter libros canonicos minime admissa fuit: vel, quod verosimilius censeo, quia ea in Syriacâ Simplici, quam vocant, scripturæ versione haud exstabat. Cæterum Apocalypsim tanquam canonicum librum a S. Ephræmo agnitam fuisse liquet ex ejus carmine in illud Psalmi—de quo dixi, Tom. i. p. 141. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 8.

[m] Quod ideo notavi, ut constaret Syrorum antiquissimorum de illius libri auctoritate judicium contra Hebedjesu, qui in Catalogo manuscripto inter libros canonicos Apocalypsim non nominat. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 141.

[n] De Apocalypsi Joannis dubitatum olim fuit, an inter canonicos libros esset; maxime apud Orientales ecclesias, teste Junilio Africano. Dubitâsse videtur et Barhebræus in suo Nomocanone, cap. 7. sect. 9, ubi hanc Dionysii Alexandrini sententiam refert: 'Apocalypsis, quæ nomine Joannis apostoli

where he says, that the Revelation is wanting in the ancient Syriac version, which they call Simple; and that none of the Syrians have any readings out of this book in their public lessons; and that Gregory Barhebræus seems to doubt of its genuineness, and to approve of the sentiment of Dionysius of Alexandria. However, he says, that the Egyptian christians in general receive the book of the Revelation as canonical, without hesitation.

7. I would now make another remark upon this part of Ebedjesu's Catalogue. Whatever was the general opinion of the Syrians, concerning the four catholic epistles, which have been doubted of by some, and concerning the book of the Revelation; I think, that Ebedjesu should not have passed them by in total silence; he could not be unacquainted with them. In the following part of his Catalogue, among the works of Hippolytus, he particularly mentions his vindication of John the apostle's Revelation. The passage of Ebedjesu was formerly quoted by us[o] in the chapter of Hippolytus. I would now add from the works of Ephrem since published, that James bishop of Edessa, in a passage referred to some while ago,[p] mentions[q] that book of Hippolytus, which he calls a commentary upon the Revelation, or an explication of it; which seems to show, that this work of Hippolytus was well known to learned Syrians; consequently, the book of the Revelation could not be unknown, nor very obscure among them. Though those epistles, and this book, were not in the ancient Syriac version; yet, very probably, they were in the Syriac language, in some other translation. Supposing this to be the case, I think Ebedjesu was obliged to mention them; if they were

' prænotatur, non ejus est, sed vel Cerinthi, qui cibum et potum similiter super ' terram post resurrectionem docet: vel Joannis cujuspiam alterius. Duo ' enim sunt Ephesi monumenta, quæ hoc nomine noscuntur.' Certe Syri, tum Jacobitæ tum Nestoriani, lectionem nullam ex Apocalypsi in ecclesiâ recitant: et tam in manuscriptis Syriacis, T. N. codicibus, quam in eo Exemplari, quod, Mose Mardeno Ignatii Jacobitarum Patriarchæ Oratore procurante, a Joanne Alberto Widmanstadio Viennæ, Anno Christi 1555, typis editum fuit, Apocalypsis desideratur. Cæterum Ægyptii eam constanter admittunt, ut ex canone Alulbarcati liquet: eandemque doctis Commentariis illustravit Benassalius, quorum exemplar Arabicum exstat in Bibliothecâ Collegii Maronitarum de Urbe. Id. T. iii. p. 15, 16.

[o] Vol. ii. p. 436, 437, note [q].

[p] See here, p. 313, note [p].

[q] Hanc porro mulierem, [Vid. Apoc. xvii. 3—6.] id est, gentem rerum dominam, vectam bestiâ, id est orbis imperium obtinentem, invadet coluber antichristus, seducet, et perdet. Jam illud imperium ad eos pertinere, qui Latini dicuntur, Spiritus in sanctis viris inhabitans declaravit, et docuit per Hippolytum episcopum et martyrem in eo libro, quo Joannis theologi Apocalypsim interpretatur. Jacob. Edessen. in Jacobi de Antichristo in Benedictione Dan Vaticinium. Ap. S. Ephræm. Comm. in. T. Syr. i. p. 192.

not equally respected with the other books of the New Testament, he might have said so. He might have made two sorts or divisions of sacred books; some universally received, and respected as divine and canonical, and others, which were not of that high authority, and about which some had doubts.

8. However, we here plainly see what are the books of scripture, which are generally received by the Syrian christians. And we are much obliged to Dr. Joseph Asseman for giving us the Catalogue of Ebedjesu, as he found it in the manuscript; which another editor of that Catalogue did not do, but of his own head added the epistle of[r] Jude and the[s] Revelation. He also struck out the word three, saying, instead of three epistles, the epistles, that is, of James, Peter, John, and Jude, which are called catholic; for which he has been justly censured by[t] that honest man, and excellent writer, the late Isaac Beausobre.

9. They who are desirous to inform themselves concerning the Syriac version or versions of the New Testament, may consult, beside[u] others,[v] Fabricius,[w] Asseman, and[x] Wetstein.

[r] Tres epistolas.] Jacobi scilicet, Petri, et Joannis. Ita habet Sobensis in manuscripto nostro codice. At Echellensis in Catalogo impresso p. 8, et 9, hunc locum sic edidit: 'Epistolæ consignatæ ab apostolis omni charactere et 'linguâ: nempe Jacobo, Petro, Joanne, et Judâ; et ideo catholicæ vocantur.' Ubi nomen Judæ, ut mihi videtur, de suo adjiciens, vocem illam, 'tres 'epistolæ,' in hanc, 'Epistolæ,' mutavit, contra metri Syriaci rationem, et contra ipsius Sobensis mentem, qui ex communi Syrorum sententiâ tres tantum canonicas epistolas recenset, quarum scilicet de auctoritate Syri nunquam dubitârunt, quæque ab initio inter canonicos libros in Syriacâ Versione Simplici collocatæ sunt. [Vid. reliqua supr. p. 323. note [l].] Assem. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 9. notis.

[s] Echellensis p. 15 post epistolam Pauli ad Hebræos hæc verba de Joannis Apocalypsi addit, quæ in textu Sobensis desiderantur: 'Revelatio Joannis 'Græce scripta est in insulâ Patmi.' Præter argumenta, quæ supra adduxi, vel ipsa metri heptasyllabi ratio, quæ hic nulla est, hanc appendiculam e genuino Sobensis Catalogo excludit. Id. ib. p. 10. in notis.

[t] Aussi Ebedjesu n' a-t-il mis dans son Catalogue ni les quartre autres Epîtres, ni l'Apocalypse. Mais Abraham Echellensis, qui avoit publié ce Catalogue avant M. Asseman, n' a pas fait difficulté d' y ajoûter l' Epître de S. Jude, et de mettre, après l' article des Epîtres de S. Paul; 'la Revelation de 'S. Jean a été écrite en Grec dans l' isle de Patmos,' C'est un echantillon remarquable de la mauvaise foi de ce Maronite, &c. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 295.

[u] Edw. Pocock's Preface to his Commentary upon the Prophecy of Micah, and elsewhere. Br. Walton. Prolegom. ap. Bibl. Polyglott. n. xiii. De Linguâ Syriacâ et Scripturæ Versionibus Syriacis. Fr. Spanh. T. i. p. 650. Fr. Ad. Lamp. Prolegom. ad Joan. l. i. c. 4. ver. 7. Jer. Jones on the Canon of the N. T. Vol. i. p. 105—144.

[v] Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. iii. p. 201, 202. T. v. p. 320, 321.

[w] Asseman. Bib. Or. T. ii. c. xiii. De Tho. Heracl. p. 90—94. Vid. ib. cap. x. p. 82, 83. et p. 23. et p. 307. b. et alibi.

[x] J. J. Wetsten. Prolegom. ad N. T. Gr. edit. accurat. cap. ix. et Prolegom. ad N. T. Gr. p. 109, 112.

CHAP. CIV.

PACIAN, BISHOP OF BARCELONA.

1. PACIAN, bishop of Barcelona, is in Jerom's Catalogue. I place the chapter[a] below. He flourished about the year 370, and died an old man before 390.

2. Pacian had a son named Flavius Dexter, to[b] whom Jerom inscribed his Catalogue, at whose request it was composed. Dexter was in several high offices of the empire, and for a time præfect of the prætorium. He had also a place in[c] Jerom's Catalogue, as an ecclesiastical writer; though the work mentioned by Jerom is not universally allowed to be now extant.

3. Jerom says, that Pacian wrote several small tracts, particularly against the Novatians. And we still have[d] his three letters to Sympronian a Novatian, and an Exhortation to Repentance, and a Discourse of Baptism: but the genuineness of this last is not very manifest. Pacian was quoted by us[e] formerly in the history of the Novatians: for a more particular account of him and his writings I refer to[f] others.

4. I observe only, as suited to my present design, that Pacian has several times quoted the book of Canticles, and the commonly received books of the New Testament, particularly the Acts of the Apostles, and also the book of the Revelation. But I do not see any quotation of the epistle to the Hebrews, nor any plain reference to it, though it be sometimes put in the margin by the editor.

[a] Pacianus, in Pyrenæi jugis Barcelonæ episcopus, castitate et eloquentiâ, et tam vitâ quam sermone clarus, scripsit varia opuscula, de quibus et Cervus, et contra Novatianos. Sub Theodosio principe, jam ultimâ senectute mortuus est. De V. I. cap. 106.

[b] Hortaris, Dexter, ut, Tranquillum sequens, Ecclesiasticos Scriptores in ordinem digeram, et quod ille in enumerandis Gentilium literarum viris fecit illustribus, ego in nostris faciam. Prol. in libr. de V. I.

Unde etiam ante annos ferme decem, quum Dexter amicus meus, qui præfecturam administravit prætorii, me rogâsset, ut auctorum nostræ religionis ei indicem texerem, &c. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. T. iv. p. 419. m.

[c] Dexter, Paciani (de quo supra dixi) filius, clarus apud sæculum, et Christi fidei deditus, fertur ad me omnimodam historiam texuisse, quam necdum legi. De V. I. cap. 132.

[d] Ap. B. PP. T. iv. p. 305—319. [e] Vol. iii. p. 91.

[f] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. Fabr. ad Hieron. de V. I. cap. 106. et Bib. Lat. Vol. iii. p. 428. Du Pin, Bib. T. ii. p. 101. Tillem. Mem. T. viii. p. 537, et seq.

CHAP. CV.

OPTATUS OF MILEVI.

1. SAYS Jerom: 'Optatus[a] of Africa, bishop of Milevi, 'in the time of the emperors Valentinian and Valens, wrote 'a work in six books in defence of the catholics against the 'Donatists.'

2. The city of Milevi was situated in Numidia. Jerom says, that Optatus wrote under the emperors Valentinian and Valens, that is, between 364 and 375; from which, and from some other considerations, Tillemont concludes, that his work was published about the year 370: which is little different from Cave, who placeth this writer at 368. For a particular account of Optatus, and his work, I refer to[b] several moderns.

3. Divers testimonies to him in ancient writers may be seen prefixed to his works, and are taken notice of by Tillemont at the beginning of his article concerning him. I add to that already taken from Jerom, one from Augustine, where[c] he reckons Optatus with Cyprian, and others, who had come over from gentilism to christianity, and had brought with them the riches of the Egyptians, that is, learning and eloquence, to the no small advantage of the christian interests.

4. Beside many other books of the Old Testament, Optatus has quoted[d] the Canticles several times; he once[e] quotes the book of Wisdom, as Solomon's: he has also quoted[f] Tobit, and[g] Ecclesiasticus.

[a] Optatus Afer, episcopus Milevitanus, ex parte catholicâ, scripsit, Valentiniano et Valente principibus, adversus Donatianæ partis calumniam libros sex; in quibus asserit, crimen Donatianum in nos falso retorqueri. D. V. I. cap. 110.

[b] Cav. H. Lit. T. i. p. 234. S. Basnag. ann. 368. n. ix. Du Pin, Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 109—122. et Pref. ad Optat. Fleury's Ec. Hist. B. 16. ch. xl. Tillemont, Les Donatistes, Art. 58. Mem. T. vi. Fabr. Bib. Ec. ad Hieron. De V. I. cap. 110. et Bib. Lat. T. iii. p. 425.

[c] Nonne adspicimus, quanto auro et argento et veste suffarcinatus exierit de Ægypto Cyprianus doctor suavissimus, et martyr beatissimus? quanto Lactantius? quanto Victorinus, Optatus, Hilarius? Ut de vivis taceam. Quanto innumerabiles Græci? De Doctr. Christian. l. ii. cap. 40. n. 61. T. iii.

[d] Optat. l. i. cap. 10. bis. l. ii. cap. 8. l. iii. cap. 3. l. iv. cap. 6.

[e] Cum scriptum sit in Salomone; 'Deus mortem non fecit, nec lætatur in 'perditione vivorum.' Sap. i. 13. l. ii. c. 25.

[f] ———qui, in lectione Patriarchæ Tobiæ, legitur in Tigride flumine prehensus. l. iii. c. 2.

[g] L. iii. c. 3. bis.

5. In the New Testament, beside the gospels, he has quoted the [h] book of the Acts, and several of St. Paul's epistles, and [i] the first and [k] second epistle of St. John.

6. Jerom computed the works of Optatus to consist of six books; whereas we now have seven. Concerning this difficulty may be seen the authors, to whom I have already referred.

7. There is a passage, which has been supposed a part of the seventh book; which some [l] have alleged, as a proof, that Optatus received the epistle to the Hebrews. But supposing the passage to be genuine, it is of no importance: it appearing plainly, that [m] Optatus quotes not an apostle, but a prophet, and intends not Heb. viii. 8—11, but Jer. xxxi. 31—33; as has been fully shown by my highly esteemed friend, the late Mr. Joseph Hallet, in his Introduction [n] to the epistle to the Hebrews in English; or his Dissertation concerning the author and language of that epistle, as translated into Latin, and inserted by the learned J. C. Wolfius in the fourth tome of his Curæ [o] upon the New Testament. So that there is no proof, that Optatus received the epistle to the Hebrews. However, as this work is not very long, and Optatus does not abound with quotations of texts of scripture; we cannot say certainly, what books were received by him, and what not. We need make no doubt, but he received all such as were generally received by other christians in Africa, in his time.

8. I need not produce here any proofs of his respect for the sacred scriptures of the Old and New Testament, about which there can be no question. And besides, some passages of his to this purpose were alleged formerly, in the chapters [p] concerning the burning the scriptures in the time of Dioclesian's persecution, and [q] the history of the Donatists.

9. Remarks upon Optatus's performance may be seen in [r] James Basnage's History of the Church.

[h] L. v. cap. 5.

[i] L. i. c. 15. l. ii. c. 19. l. vii. c. 2.

[k] Ignorantes, de quibus apostolus hoc dixerit? 'Cum his nec cibum capere: Ave illi ne dixeritis.' [1 Cor. v. 11. et 2 Joh. 10.] L. iv. cap. 5.

[l] Baron. ann. 60. n. L. Tr. Spanhem. de Auctor. Ep. ad. Hebr. l. ii. cap. 7. n. viii. T. ii. p. 201.

[m] ———legem indicavit Deus per prophetam dicens: 'Quoniam hoc est testamentum meum, quod disponam domui Israel et domui Judæ. Et post dies illos, dicit Dominus, dans leges meas in corde eorum, et in mentibus eorum scribam eas.' Promisit hoc jamdudum, et proxime reddidit temporibus christianis. Optat. l. vii. p. 108. edit. Du Pin.

[n] P. 18, 19.

[o] T. iv. 820, 821.

[p] See Vol. iii. p. 549, 550.

[q] Ib. p. 564.

[r] Hist. de l' Eglise, p. 185, 186.

10. Le Clerc, in his preface to Kuster's edition of Mill's New Testament, has observed several of this author's quotations of texts, which Mill had taken no notice of in his collations of ancient writers. I shall put down here only one of them.

11. Luke ix. 50, "And Jesus said unto him, Forbid him not: for he that is not against us is for us." So in our copies: but Optatus [s] reads, "For he who is not against you, is for you." Which is also found in divers other authors, and in divers manuscripts and versions, as observed by Le Clerc, and also by Mill, Bengelius, and Mr. Wetstein, upon the place. Moreover this reading is approved by [t] Mill and [u] Bengelius.

12. I shall add another text, not mentioned by Le Clerc, because he aimed at those quotations of Optatus, which had been omitted by Mill.

Rom. xii. 13, "Distributing to the necessity of saints." Optatus instead [v] of "necessity," or necessities, has "memories." Du Pin in his notes upon that place of his author says, that [w] Optatus followed a reading which was common in his time, but thinks "necessities" to be the true reading. On the contrary, Mill thinks "memories" to be right. He gives a good sense of the text, according to that reading: 'That [x] we are here directed to remember with compassion 'poor and afflicted christians at a distance, and to relieve 'them.' He also alleges many authorities for that reading: but in my opinion, the passage of Clement of Rome, upon [y] which he relies very much, is far from being clear to his purpose. Bengelius [z] thinks it of no value. Concerning this reading may be consulted the just-mentioned learned writer, and Wolfius.

[s] Sic Christus ait: Nolite prohibere. 'Qui enim non est contra vos, pro vobis est.' L. v. c. 7.

[t] Prolegom, n. 996. [u] In loc. [v] Contra apostolum facientes, qui ait; 'Memoriis sanctorum communicantes.' L. ii. c. 4.

[w] Attamen de necessitatibus et indigentiis sanctorum, hoc est, christianorum, intelligendum esse apostolum, longe verisimilius est. Sed excusandus Optatus, qui communem suo tempore lectionem secutus est. Du Pin, in loc. p. 33.

[x] Ut nempe per μνειας intelligantur necessitates sanctorum absentium. Mill. in loc. Conf. Prolegom. n. 142. [y] Vid. Proleg. n. 142.

[z] Nil huc facit Clementis Romani. Bengel. ad Rom. xii. 13.

CHAP. CVI.

AMBROSE, BISHOP OF MILAN.

I. *His time and history.* II. and III. *Scriptures of the Old and New Testament received by him.* IV. *Respect for them.* V. *General titles and divisions.* VI. *Select passages.*

1. AMBROSE, born, as some think, about 333, or rather, as others, about 340, and made bishop of Milan in 374, died in 397. For a more particular account of him, and his writings, with their character, I refer to[a] others.

2. Ambrose was living when Jerom wrote his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers in 392; for[b] which reason he declined giving a distinct account of his works: nevertheless, upon divers occasions he has made mention of[c] several of them, and takes notice of[d] his frequently borrowing from Origen, without naming him.

3. Beside Basil, partly contemporary with him, and some other Greek writers, Tillemont says, he[e] must also have read the works of ancient heretics; for[f] he quotes the 38th tome of Apelles, disciple of Marcion.

4. The eminence of this bishop of Milan, and the share he

[a] Vid. Cav. Hist. Lit. T. i. and Lives of the Fathers, in English. Vol. II. Du Pin Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. Tillem. Mem. T. x. Vit. S. Ambros. a Benedictin. adornat. Pagi, Ann. 369. xiii. 374. iii. et alibi. S. Basnag. ann. 374. n. x. et alibi. Ja. Basnag. Hist. de l' Eglise l. xix. ch. 4. n. ix. p. 1171. Beausobre Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 366. not. [1].

[b] Ambrosius Mediolanensis episcopus, usque in præsentem diem scribit. De quo, quia superest, meum judicium subtraham, ne, in alterutram partem, aut adulatio in me reprehendatur, aut veritas. De V. I. c. 124.

[c] Ad Eustoch. ep. 18. al. 22. T. 4. P. ii. p. 37. Ad Damas. Pap. ep. 14. al. 17. p. 20. et ep. 30. al. 50. p. 237, 238. 240. f. Vid. et ad Algas. Qu. vi. T. iv. P. ii. p. 198, in. al. ep. 151.

[d] Nuper sanctus Ambrosius sic Hexaëmeron illius compilavit, ut magis Hippolyti sententias Basiliique sequeretur. Ad Pamm. et Ocean. ep. 41. al. 65. T. iv. p. 346.

Habuit Ambrosium, cujas pene omnes libri hujus sermonibus pleni sunt. Adv. Ruf. l. i. p. 351. fin.

Nemo tibi objicit, quare Origenem interpretatus es: alioqui Hilarius et Ambrosius hoc crimine tenebuntur: sed, quia interpretatus hæretica, præfationis tuæ laude firmâsti. Ibid. l. ii. p. 505. in.

[e] St. Ambroise, art. 10. T. x.

[f] Plerique enim, quorum auctor Apelles, sicut habes in trigesimo et octavo tomo ejus, has quæstiones proponunt. De Parad. cap. vi. T. i. p. 155. F.

had in the public transactions of his time, have secured him a place[g] in the Greek ecclesiastical historians: not to insist on Paulinus, Rufinus, Augustine, and others among the Latins.

II. 1. Ambrose quotes much the generally received books of the Old Testament, particularly the[h] book of Ruth, and the[i] Canticles: which last he quotes very often, and explains largely.

2. He ascribes[k] to Solomon three books only, the Proverbs, the Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles.

3. He likewise quotes often the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, as[l] Baruch, Tobit, the Maccabees, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, the[m] fourth book of Esdras, and sometimes with marks of great respect.

4. He speaks of the book of Tobit, as[n] a prophetical book; and in like manner of[o] the book of Wisdom, and[p] Ecclesiasticus. The last-mentioned book he has quoted as[q] a part of the divine oracles. He quotes it also as[r] of authority, or by way of proof.

5. Once at least, if not oftener, he has quoted[s] the book of Ecclesiasticus as Solomon's; though, as before shown, he ascribed no more than three books to Solomon. More-

[g] Vid. Socr. l. iv. c. 30. Soz. l. vii. c. 25. Thdrt. l. iv. c. 7. l. 5. c. 18.

[h] In Luc. l. iii. T. i. p. 1326. ter quaterve. Et passim.

[i] Unde et Salomon oraculum divinum secutus scripsit in Canticis Canticorum. In Ps. 118. T. i. p. 986. C. Et passim.

[k] Unde et Salomonis tres libri ex plurimis videntur electi: Ecclesiastes de naturalibus, Cantica Canticorum de mysticis, Proverbia de moralibus. In Ps. 36. Pr. T. i. p. 777.

Quid etiam tres libri Salomonis, unus de Proverbiis, alius Ecclesiastes, tertius de Canticis Canticorum, nisi trinæ hujus ostendunt nobis sapientiæ sanctum Salomonem fuisse solertem? In Lucam, Pr. T. i. p. 1262. A.

[l] In Ps. 43. T. i. p. 901. In. Ps. 118. p. 1194. E.

[m] Si hinc faciunt quæstionem, quod creatum Spiritum dixit, quia creatur Spiritus Esdras docuit, dicens in quarto libro: 'Et in die secundo iterum creâsti spiritum firmamenti.' [4 Esdr. vi. 41.] De Sp. S. l. ii. c. vi. T. ii. p. 643. C. D.

[n] Lecto prophetico libro, qui inscribitur Tobias, &c. De Tobiâ, cap. i. T. i. p. 591. B.

[o] Prophetæ dicunt: in lumine tuo videbimus lumen. [Ps. xxxv. 10. al. xxxvi. 9.] Prophetæ dicunt: 'Splendor est enim lucis æternæ, et speculum sine maculâ Dei majestatis, et imago bonitatis illius.' [Sap. vii. 26.] De Fide, l. i. c. 7. T. ii. p. 453. C.

[p] Prophetia dicit: 'Et tu cum consilio omnia fac.' [Eccles. xxxii. 19.] In Ps. xxxvi. T. i. p. 808. C.

[q] Proprietatis autem generationem esse, oracula divina declarant. Dicit enim Sapientia Dei: 'Ex ore Altissimi prodivi.' [Eccles. xxiv. 3.] De Fide, l. iv. c. 8. T. ii. p. 537. A.

[r] ———testimoniis scripturarum docemur. Siquidem lectum est. [Eccles. ii. 5.] In Ps. cxviii. T. i. p. 1224. E.

[s] Pulchre autem istud exposuit nobis Salomon, dicens: 'Narratio justi semper justitia. Stultus autem sicut luna mutatur. [Eccles. xxvii. 11.] In Ps. xxxvi. p. 807. E.

over, in other places[t] he ascribes the book of Ecclesiasticus to Sirach. Why[u] he there calls it Solomon's is not certain; whether because it was so called by many, or that he supposed Sirach's collection to consist very much of thoughts and observations of king Solomon.

6. He has likewise quoted[v] the book of Wisdom as Solomon's, without thinking it to be really his; but, probably, in compliance with a common way of speaking, as it was called Solomon's Wisdom by[w] many, the vulgar sort of people especially.

7. However, from particulars just taken notice of, it appears, that Ambrose has quoted the apocryphal books of the Old Testament with tokens of great respect.

III. 1. I formerly[x] transcribed and translated Origen's observations upon St. Luke's preface, or introduction to his gospel, both the Greek and the Latin. And I then said, that Ambrose had the like observations in his explication of the beginning of St. Luke's gospel. I do not intend to translate him, but I shall transcribe below[y] the passage

[t] Considera illum, de quo ait in Ecclesiastico Sirach. De interpell. Job. l. i. c. iii. T. i. p. 627. E.

Nam et alibi dixit Sirach Sapientiâ. In Ps. cxviii. p. 1135.

[u] Vid. ib. a Benedictinis annotata. p. 807. [v] Quid sit scientia, doceat te Salomon, qui ait de Domino nostro: 'Ipse enim mihi dedit eorum quæ sunt cognitionem veram.' [Sap. vii. 17.] In. Ps. cxviii. p. 1082. D.

[w] Alii vero duo [libri] quorum unus Sapientia, alter Ecclesiasticus dicitur, propter eloquii nonnullam similitudinem, ut Salomonis dicantur, obtinuit consuetudo. Non autem esse ipsius, non dubitant doctiores. Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. vii. c. 20. [x] Vol. ii. p. 533, 534.

[y] Nam sicut multi in illo populo divino infusi spiritu prophetârunt: alii vero prophetare se pollicebantur, et professionem destituebant mendacio: (erant enim pseudo-prophetæ potius quam prophetæ, sicut Ananias, filius Azor,) erat autem populi gratia discernere spiritus, ut cognosceret quos referre deberet in numerum prophetarum: quos autem quasi bonus nummularius improbaret, in quibus materia magis corrupta sorderet, quam veri splendor luminis resultaret: sic et nunc in Novo Testamento multi evangelia scribere conati sunt, quæ boni nummularii non probârunt. Unum autem tantummodo in quatuor libros digestum ex omnibus arbitrati sunt eligendum. Et aliud quidem fertur evangelium, quod duodecim scripsisse dicuntur. Ausus est etiam Basilides evangelium scribere, quod dicitur secundum Basilidem. Fertur etiam aliud evangelium, quod scribitur secundum Thomam. Novi aliud scriptum secundum Matthiam. Legimus aliqua, ne legantur. Legimus, ne ignoremus. Legimus, non ut teneamus, sed ut repudiemus: et ut sciamus, qualia sint, in quibus magnifici isti cor exaltant suum. Sed ecclesia, cum quatuor evangelii libros habeat, per universum mundum evangelistis redundat. Hæreses, cum multa habeant, unum non habent.—'Quoniam multi,' inquit, 'conati sunt.' Conati utique illi sunt, qui implere nequiverunt. Ergo multos cœpisse, nec implevisse, etiam sanctus Lucas testimonio lucupletiore testatur, dicens, 'plurimos esse conatos'——Non conatus est Matthæus, non conatus est Marcus, non conatus est Joannes, non conatus est Lucas: sed divino spiritu ubertatem dictorum rerumque omnium ministrante, sine ullo molimine complêrunt. Expos. Ev. Luc. T. i. p. 1265, 1266.

very much at large, that they who are curious may with the greater ease compare all together.

2. St. Ambrose's style is somewhat more prolix and verbose; but I suppose, none can doubt that he here copied Origen, though he does not mention him: a proceeding, that can very seldom be warrantable in authors; and in this instance it appears not a little strange.

3. However, it is fit we should observe, that Ambrose rejects the gospel according to the Twelve, the gospels according to Basilides, according to Thomas, and according to Matthias. And says, that the church had one gospel in four books, spread all over the world, and written by Matthew, Mark, John, and Luke, with the assistance of the Spirit of God.

4. He elsewhere likewise says, that[z] there is one gospel, and four books.

5. In the prologue to his Exposition of St. Luke's gospel, he mentions[a] the symbols of the evangelists, as supposed to be represented by the four living creatures in Rev. iv. 7.

6. In the same prologue, like many others, Ambrose[b] admires the transcendent sublimity of the beginning of St. John's gospel: and on that account seems to give him the preference above the other three evangelists: though he ascribes also great wisdom to each one of them. In another place he says, that[c] the beginning of St. John's gospel confuted all heresies, particularly Arianism, Sabellianism, and Manichæism.

7. It is said, that[d] Ambrose is the first Latin who wrote

[z] Sed etiam evangelium unum est, et quatuor libros esse negare non possumus. In Ps. xl. T. i. p. 883. B.

[a] Unde etiam ii qui quatuor animalium formas, quæ in Apocalypsi revelantur, quatuor evangelii libros intelligendos arbitrati sunt, hunc librum volunt vituli specie figurari.——Et congruit vitulo hic evangelii liber, qui a sacerdotibus inchoavit.—Plerique tamen putant, ipsum Dominum nostrum in quatuor evangelii libris quatuor formis animalium figurari, quod idem homo, idem leo, idem vitulus, idem aquila comprobatur. Prolog. in Expos. Luc. n. 7, 8. p. 1264.

[b] Est enim vere sapientia naturalis in libro evangelistæ [an evangelii?] secundum Joannem. Nemo enim, audeo dicere, tantâ sublimitate sapientiæ majestatem Dei vidit, et nobis proprio sermone reseravit. Transcendit nubes, transcendit virtutes cœlorum, transcendit angelos, et Verbum apud Deum vidit. Quis autem moralius secundum hominem singula persecutus, quam sanctus Matthæus, qui edidit nobis præcepta vivendi? Quid rationabilius illo admirabili copulato, quam quod sanctus Marcus in principio statim locandum putavit? &c. Ibid. p. 1262, 1263.

[c] Omnes autem hæreses hoc capitulo brevi piscator noster exclusit. De Fide, l. i. c. 8. p. 454. T. ii.

[d] —quod apud Latinos ipsius tantum, et non alterius in Lucam commentarius fertur. Rufin. Invectiv. in Hieron. ap. Hieron. T. iv. p. 432.

a commentary upon St. Luke's gospel: and it is supposed to have been written in the year 386. R. Simon[e] has made remarks upon it.

8. The book of the Acts of the Apostles is very often quoted by St. Ambrose, and not seldom[f] by that title at length: and it[g] is ascribed by him to St. Luke.

9. He supposes[h] St. Luke to be "the brother," intended by St. Paul, 2 Cor. viii. 18, "whose praise is in the gospel, throughout all the churches."

10. This Italian bishop received fourteen epistles of the apostle Paul: concerning which I need not add any thing farther in particular, than that[i] he has quoted the epistle to the Ephesians expressly with that inscription; and[k] that he often quotes the epistle to the Hebrews as Paul's, without hesitation.

11. He frequently quotes the first epistle of Peter, and the first epistle of John; and sometimes as[l] if they were the only epistles of those apostles. Nevertheless, he has also quoted[m] the second epistle of Peter.

12. In the Benedictine edition of St. Ambrose's works is put a reference to the 7th verse of John's second epistle: but the[n] quotation, I think, better suits the words of 1 John iv. 3.

[e] Hist Crit. des Commentateurs du N. T. ch. 14. p. 206—209.

[f] Ut legimus in Actibus Apostolorum. In Ps. xl. n. 37. T. i. p. 882.

[g] Et adversum apostolos in Actibus eorum, quod seniores Israël convenerunt, Petrus sanctus, et Lucas evangelista testantur. [Cap. iv. 1, et seq.] In Ps. cxviii. n. 14. p. 1135.

[h] Denique etiam a sancto apostolo Paulo testimonium meruit diligentiæ. Sic enim laudat Lucam: 'Cujus laus,' inquit, 'est in evangelio per omnes ecclesias.' Expos. Ev. Luc. l. i. n. 11. p. 1269. E.

[i] Sicut et apostolus, scribens ad Ephesios, ait. De Sp. S. l. i. c. 6. T. ii. p. 616. C. D.

[k] Ad Hebræos scribens, apostolus dicit. De Sp. S. l. iii. c. 8. p. 674. F.

Apostoli illud exemplum est: non est meum. [Hebr. i. 3.] De Fide, l. i. c. 13. T. ii. p. 460. A.

[l] Unde præclare Petrus de Domino Jesu in epistolâ suâ posuit. [1 Pet. ii. 23.] In Ps. xxxvii. n. 45. T. i. p. 835.

——quia caritas est Deus, ut dixit Joannes in epistolâ. In Ps. xxxviii. n. 10. p. 846.

Alibi quoque Joannes in epistolâ suâ dicit. De Fide, l. i. c. 8. T. ii. p. 454. E.

Accipe tamen quid etiam scripserit evangelista Joannes in epistolâ suâ dicens: [1 Jo. v. 20.] De Fide, l. i. c. 17. p. 467. A. B.

[m] Et Petrus vult nos, ut legimus, divinæ consortes fieri naturæ. [2 Pet. i. 4.] De Fide, l. i. c. 19. T. ii. p. 469. C. Vide eund. loc. iterum citat. De Fide, l. 5. c. 14. p. 583. A. et de Sp. S. l. i. c. 6. p. 616. F.

Etiam Petrus sanctus adseruit, dicens: 'Quapropter satagite, fratres, certam vestram vocationem et electionem facere,' &c. [2 Pet. i. 10, 11.] De Fide, l. iii. c. 12. p. 514. A.

[n] Omnis, qui negat Jesum Christum in carne venisse, de Deo non est. Expos. Ev. Luc. T. i. p. 1337. B.

13. Mill, for proving that Ambrose received the epistle of St. James, quotes[o] a book, not[p] generally allowed to be his. There is supposed to be a reference[q] to James i. 14, in an acknowledged work.

14. He expressly quotes the epistle of[r] Jude.

15. I suppose it cannot be doubted, that he received all the catholic epistles.

16. Ambrose very often quotes the book of the Revelation, and ascribes it[s] to John the apostle and evangelist.

17. Upon the whole, we see, that this celebrated bishop of Milan, in the latter part of the fourth century, received all the books of the New Testament which we receive, without any other. For there appears not in his works any particular regard to writings of Barnabas, or Clement, or Ignatius, or to the Recognitions, or Constitutions. From whence we may reasonably conclude, that these just-mentioned writings were not esteemed of authority by himself, or other christians at that time.

IV. His respect for the sacred scriptures is manifest. Ambrose was called to the episcopate from a secular course of life. For which reason he begs of God, to[t] give him application, and necessary care to understand the scriptures. He[u] proves what he advances by texts of scripture, and does not otherwise expect to be regarded. And[v] he supposeth it to have been the practice of christians in ancient times, to form their belief by the holy scriptures. Ambrose[w] was a great admirer of the Psalms, upon divers of which he

[o] Unde—Ambrosius Mediolani———Tract. de Mansionibus Filiorum Israël, mansione 18 epistolam Jacobi, tanquam apostoli, citavit. Mill. Prolegom. n. 206.

[p] Vid. Benedictin. Monitum. T. ii. in Append. p. 1, 2.

[q] Vinculis enim peccatorum suorum unusquisque constringitur, sicut ipse legisti. In Ps. cxviii. T. i. p. 1071. B. Vid. Jac. i. 14.

[r] ——cui dictum est ab angelo Michaële in epistolâ Judæ: 'Imperet tibi Dominus.' [ver. 9.] Exp. Ev. Luc. T. i. p. 1393. D.

[s] Et ideo fortassis Joanni evangelistæ cœlum apertum et albus equus est demonstratus. [Ap. xix. 12—16.] In Ps. xl. p. 878. A.

Quomodo igitur ascendamus ad cœlum, docet evangelista, qui dicit.——— [Apoc. xxi. 10.] De Virginitat. cap. 14. T. ii. p. 234. D.

[t] Sed tantummodo intentionem et diligentiam circa scripturas divinas opto adsequi. De Offic. Minist. l. i. c. 1. T. i. p. 3.

[u] Sed nolo argumento credas, sancte Imperator, et nostræ disputationi. Scripturas interrogemus. Interrogemus apostolos, interrogemus prophetas, interrogemus Christum. De Fide, l. i. c. 6. T. ii. p. 451. C.

Satis, ut arbitror, libro superiore, sancte Imperator,—scripturarum lectionibus approbavimus. De Fide, l. ii. Prolog. p. 471. B.

[v] Sic nempe nostri secundum scripturas dixerunt patres. De Fide, l. i. c. 18. p. 467. C.

[w] Etenim licet omnis scriptura divina Dei gratiam spiret, præcipue tamen dulcis Psalmorum liber. In Ps. i. Præf. n. iv. T. i. p. 738.

wrote commentaries, particularly upon the 119th Psalm, which are generally well esteemed.

V. Divisions of scripture found in him are such as these: prophets[x] and apostles, Old and New Testament: the[y] prophetical and evangelical scriptures: the[z] law and the prophets, agreeing with the gospel: the[a] gospel, the apostles, and the prophets.

VI. There are some other things in Ambrose, which may be reckoned worthy of notice.

1. He quotes[b] Mark xvi. 15. Therefore he had in his copies the latter part of that chapter.

2. Ambrose[c] had in his copies the passage concerning the adulterous woman, which we now have in the 8th chapter of St. John's gospel.

3. He quotes 2 Tim. i. 14, after this manner: "That[d] good thing, which was committed unto thee, keep by the Holy Ghost which is given to us."

4. He[e] seems not to have had the heavenly witnesses, in his copies of the fifth chapter of St. John's first epistle.

5. He[f] speaks of various readings in the Latin copies of the New Testament: some of which likewise, he says, had been corrupted; and he appeals to the original Greek.

[x] Clamat propheta sempiternum, clamat et apostolus sempiternum. Plenum est Vetus Testamentum testimoniis Filii sempiterni, plenum est Novum. De Fide, l. i. c. 8. T. ii. p. 454. C.

[y] In quo nobis propheticæ scripturæ et evangelicæ suffragantur. Expos. Luc. l. i. p. 1277. F.

[z] Lex et prophetæ cum evangelio congruentes. De Fide, l. i. c. 13. p. 460. D. [a] Cum igitur in evangelio, in apostolo, in prophetis generationem Christi legerimus. De Fide, l. i. c. 14. p. 462. D.

[b] Audivimus enim legi, dicente Domino: 'Ite in orbem universum, et prædicate evangelium universæ creaturæ.' De Fide, l. i. c. 14. p. 461. D.

[c] Vid. ep. 25, et 26. T. ii. p. 892—894.

[d] Bonum depositum custodi per Spiritum Sanctum, qui datus est nobis. Exp. Ev. Luc. l. i. T. i. p. 1270. A.

[e] Et ideo hi tres testes unum sunt, sicut Joannes dicit: 'Aqua, sanguis, et spiritus.' Unum in mysterio, non in naturâ. Aqua igitur est testis sepulturæ, Sanguis testis est mortis, Spiritus testis est vitæ. De Sp. S. l. i. T. ii. c. 6. p. 616. &c.

Alibi quoque evangelista: 'Per aquam,' inquit, 'et Spiritum venit Christus Jesus, non solum in aquâ, sed per aquam et sanguinem. Et Spiritus testimonium dicit, quoniam Spiritus est veritas: quia tres sunt testes, Spiritus, aqua, sanguis. Et hi tres unum sunt.' De Sp. S. l. iii. c. x. al. xi. p. 678. D.

[f] Quod si quis de Latinorum codicum varietate contendit, quorum aliquos perfidi falsaverunt, Græcos inspiciat codices, et advertat, quia ibi scriptum est: Οἱ Πνεύματι Θεῦ λατρεύοντες. Quod interpretatur Latinus: 'Qui Spiritui Dei servimus.' De Sp. S. l. ii. c. x. p. 642. D. Conf. Mill. et Wolff. ad Philip. iii. 3.

CHAP. CVII.

THE PRISCILLIANISTS.

I. *Jerom's chapter of Priscillian.* II. III. *Two chapters more of Jerom concerning Latronian and Tiberian, followers of Priscillian.* IV. *A chapter of Isidore of Seville concerning Idacius, one of Priscillian's accusers.* V. *The time of the rise of Priscillianism.* VI. *The history of Priscillian, and of his prosecution and execution at Treves, together with divers of his friends and followers, extracted from Sulpicius Severus.* VII. *An apology for Priscillian and his friends, in divers remarks upon that extract.* VIII. *The sentiments of the Priscillianists concerning the scriptures, and upon other points.* IX. *Charges of falsehood and lewdness brought against them by Jerom and Augustine considered.* X. *The like in pope Leo.* XI. *An article of Philaster in their favour.* XII. *The conclusion.*

I. SAYS Jerom, 'Priscillian[a] bishop of Abila, who by means 'of the faction of Hydatius and Ithacius was put to death 'at Treves, by order of the usurper Maximus, wrote many 'small pieces, some of which have reached us. To this 'day he is accused by some, as having been of the Gnostic 'heresy, holding the same principles with Basilides and 'Marcion, mentioned by Irenæus. Others defend him, 'saying, that he did not hold the opinions imputed to him.'

Jerom here says, that Priscillian had written many small pieces: and he seems to say that he had seen some of them. I do not recollect any thing of them to be now extant, except some passages of an epistle of his cited by Orosius in his Commonitorium, or Memoir, sent to Augustine; and they appear not a little obscure.

II. I must proceed to transcribe the two following chapters of Jerom's Catalogue, as nearly connected with the former, and because they will be of use to us hereafter.

[a] Priscillianus Abilæ episcopus, qui factione Hydatii et Ithacii Treviris a Maximo tyranno cæsus est, edidit multa opuscula, de quibus ad nos aliqua pervenerunt. Hic usque hodie a nonnullis Gnosticæ, id est Basilidis et Marcionis, de quibus Irenæus scripsit, hæreseos accusatur, defendentibus aliis, non eum ita sensisse, ut arguitur. De V. I. cap. 121.

'Latronian of[b] Spain, a learned man, and for his poetical 'writings fit to be compared with the ancients, was also 'put to death at Treves, together with Priscillian, Felicissi- 'mus, Julian, and Euchrocia, leaders of the same faction. 'The monuments of his wit are still extant, written in divers 'kinds of metre.'

Jerom therefore must have seen likewise some of the works of Latronian, as well as of Priscillian, though none of them have come down to us.

III. 'Tiberian[c] of Bætica, accused of the same heresy 'with Priscillian, wrote an apology for himself in a pompous 'and laboured style. Afterwards, when his friends had 'been put to death, weary of his exile, he changed his 'mind, and, to use the words of scripture, "the dog is 'returned to his own vomit again," he persuaded his daugh- 'ter, though a virgin devoted to Christ, to enter into the 'state of marriage.'

The last sentence in that chapter is not clear; I find it differently translated. Du Pin:[d] 'After the death of his 'friends, overcome by the tiresomeness of a long exile, he 'married a young woman consecrated to Christ.' Tillemont: 'At[e] length, he was weary of his exile, and quitted 'the party which he had embraced: but falling into a new 'fault, (to show that he was no longer a Priscillianist,) he 'married his daughter, who had consecrated her virginity 'to Christ.' Some would have it, that he married his own daughter; but[f] surely without reason.

IV. As Jerom in the chapter just transcribed speaks of an apology written by Tiberian, it may not be amiss to add here a chapter of Isidore of Seville, in his book of Ecclesiastical Writers, concerning Idacius, one of Priscillian's accusers. He is different from Ithacius the chronologer,

[b] Latronianus, provinciæ Hispaniæ, valde eruditus, et in metrico opere veteribus componendus, cæsus est et ipse Treviris, cum Priscilliano, Felicissimo, Juliano, Euchrociâ, ejusdem factionis auctoribus. Exstant ejus ingenii opera diversis metris edita. Ib. cap. 122.

[c] Tiberianus Bæticus scripsit pro suspicione, quâ cum Priscilliano accusabatur hæreseos, Apologeticum tumenti compositoque sermone. Postea, post suorum cædem, tædio victus exilii mutavit propositum, et juxta sanctam scripturam, canis reversus ad vomitum suum, filiam. devotam Christi virginem, matrimonio copulavit. Ib. cap. 123.

[d] Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 241.

[e] Il se lassa enfin de son exil, et quitta le parti qu'il avoit embrassé. Mais tombant dans une nouvelle faute, (pour montrer qu'il n'étoit plus Priscillianiste) il maria sa fille, qui avoit consacré sa virginité à J. C. Les Priscillianistes, Art. ix. fin. T. viii.

[f] Matrimonio copulavit.] Id est, coëgit ut nuberet. Sic enim explicat Sophronius, ne quis accipiat illum suam ipsius duxisse filiam. Erasmi Scholion, ap. Fabric. Bib. Ec. Vid. ibid. Mariani et aliorum annotationes.

who[g] flourished about the year 445, though S. Basnage[h] speaks of the chronologer as one of the accusers of Priscillian. However, in another place[i] he speaks of him agreeably to the present sentiments of other learned moderns.

Says Isidore: 'Idacius,[k] a Spanish bishop, wrote a book, 'which was a sort of an apology; in which he showed the 'detestable doctrines of Priscillian, and his magical arts, and 'shameful lewdness. And he says, that one Mark of Memphis, a great magician, and disciple of Manes, was Priscillian's 'master. This Idacius, together with the bishop Ursacius, 'on account of the death of Priscillian, whose accusers 'they had been, was deprived of the communion of the 'church, and sent into banishment, where he died in the 'time of Theodosius the elder and Valentinian.'

So writes Isidore of Seville, if he may be relied upon. It is a pity that Jerom did not give an account of this work, if Ithacius or Idacius was the author of it. Cave[l] supposes Idacius, bishop of Emerita, to be meant by Isidore. Tillemont thinks,[m] that Ithacius, whom Sulpicius calls bishop of Sossuba, was the author of this book: which to me also seems more probable; however this is a thing of small moment.

V. As Priscillian was the author of a sect in the fourth century, which made a great noise in the world, and subsisted a good while, I have judged it not improper to give a distinct account of him and his followers.

We are not exactly informed of the time of the rise of this sect. Tillemont[n] placeth it in 379: and it must be

[g] Idatius, seu Hydatius, gente Hispanus, patriâ Gallæcus, domo Lemicensis, —episcopus, claruit anno 445.—Obiit anno 468, vel sequente, admodum grandævus. Scripsit Chronicon ab anno 379, ad ann. 428,—idque postea ad annum 467 produxit. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 438. Et conf. Pagi ad ann. 469. n. v. vi. et A. 431. n. lxi. Du Pin. T. 3. P. ii. p. 232.

[h] Magni quidem in eâ re momenti est Idacii auctoritas, qui de miseri Priscilliani accusatoribus existimatur. Ad annum vero Theodosii ix. scribit in Chronico.—S. Basn. ann. 386. n. xi. Vid. eund. ad. ann. 387. n. vi.

[i] Vid. ann. 468. n. v.

[k] Idacius, Hispaniarum episcopus, cognomento et eloquio Clarus scripsit, quendam librum sub Apologetici specie: in quo detestanda Priscilliani dogmata, et maleficiorum ejus artes, libidinumque ejus probra, demonstrat: ostendens, Marcum quendam Memphiticum, magiæ scientissimum, discipulum Manis fuisse, et Priscilliani magistrum. Hic autem cum Ursacio episcopo, ob necem ejusdem Priscilliani, cujus accusatores exstiterant, ecclesiæ communione privatus, exilio condemnatur, ibique diem ultimum obiit, Theodosio majore et Valentiniano regnantibus. Isid. De Script. Ec. cap. 2.

[l] Idacius Clarus, diversus ab Ithacio episcopo Sossubensi, urbis cujusdam, forsan Emeritæ, episcopus, claruit anno 385. H. L. T. i. p. 280.

[m] Les Priscillianistes, art. 13. et note iv. T. viii.

[n] Ibid. art. 3.

owned, that[o] Prosper, in his Chronicle, speaks of it under the year 379, when Ausonius and Olybrius were consuls. Nevertheless, he needs not to be understood to say precisely, that in that year, but only at that time, or about that time, appeared the heresy of Priscillianism. And I think we may form a different computation: a council was called at Saragossa upon occasion of it in 380, as will be seen presently; which may induce us to think it first appeared four or five years sooner, perhaps in 375 or 376: for nothing gets to a head, and becomes formidable at once. However I have dated it no higher than 378.

VI. Says Sulpicius Severus, whom I now intend to transcribe very largely, 'Mark,[p] a magician of Memphis 'in Egypt, coming into Spain, perverted Agape, a woman 'of quality, and Elpidius, the rhetorician: they instructed 'Priscillian.'

Whether this be quite right, I dare not take upon me to determine; for Sulpicius, who mentions these particulars, had just before said, that[q] the origin of the sect was doubtful and obscure. And he himself more than once calls[r] Priscillian the author of it. However it must be owned, that Isidore above cited, relates, as from Ithacius, that Mark, a magician of Memphis, was Priscillian's master. And Jerom in one of his letters says, that[s] Agape taught Elpidius, and he Priscillian.

'When[t] this sect was considerably increased,' as the

[o] Eâ tempestate Priscillianus episcopus de Gallicià ex Manichæorum et Gnosticorum dogmate hæresim sui nominis condidit. Prosp. ap. Scal. Thes. p. 188.

[p] Primus eam intra Hispanias Marcus intulit, Ægypto profectus, Memphis ortus. Hujus auditores fuere Agape, quædam non ignobilis mulier, et rhetor Elpidius. Ab his Priscillianus est institutus. S. Sever. Hist. Sacr. l. ii. cap. 46. al. 61. sub in.

[q] Namque tum primum infamis illa Gnosticorum hæresis intra Hispanias deprehensa. Origo istius mali oriens ab Ægyptiis. Sed quibus ibi initiis coaluerit, haud facile est disserere. Ib.

[r] Priscillianum—principem malorum omnium. Id. c. 47. al. 63.

Cæterum—non repressa est hæresis, quæ illo auctore proruperat. cap. 51. al. 66.

[s] In Hispaniis Agape Elpidium, mulier virum, cæcum cæca, duxit in foveam, successoremque sui habuit Priscillianum. Ad Ctesiph. ep. 43. T. iv. p. 477.

[t] Is ubi doctrinam exitiabilem aggressus est, multos nobilium, pluresque populares, auctoritate persuadendi, et arte blandiendi, allicuit in societatem. Ad hoc mulieres novarum rerum cupidæ, fluxâ fide, et ad omnia curioso ingenio, catervatim ad eum confluebant.—Jamque paullatim perfidiæ istius tabes pleraque Hispaniæ pervaserat. Quin et nonnulli episcoporum depravati. Inter quos Instantius et Salvianus Priscillianum non solum consensione, sed sub quâdam etiam conjuratione susceperant. Quo Adyginus [Hyginus] episcopus Cordubensis, ex vicino agens, comperto, ad Idatium Emeritæ civitatis sacerdotem refert. Is vero sine modo, et ultra quam oportuit, Instantium sociosque ejus lacessens, facem quandam nascenti incendio subdidit; ut

historian proceeds, 'and many men and women, some of 'them of high rank, had embraced its tenets, and several 'bishops, particularly Instantius and Salvianus, had de- 'clared in favour of it; Hyginus, bishop of Corduba, in 'whose neighbourhood especially it prevailed, gave infor- 'mation of it to Idacius bishop of Emerita; who immedi- 'ately engaged in the affair, and acted with such heat and 'violence, as was more likely to exasperate than reclaim 'men. Indeed he may be compared to a man, who thrusts 'a lighted torch into combustible matter.

'After there had been a great deal of contention, and 'many warm disputes, a synod was convened at Saragossa '[in 380]; where also the bishops of Aquitain were present, 'but Priscillian and his friends refused to appear.' Possibly, because they had already had experience of the unequal judgments of men; or because they were determined to follow their own convictions. 'Sentence therefore was 'passed upon them in their absence. In that sentence were 'included Instantius and Salvian, bishops, and Elpidius 'and Priscillian, laymen. It was added, that if any re- 'ceived the condemned persons to communion, he should 'be liable to the same sentence. And it was ordered, that 'Ithacius, bishop of Sossuba, should notify the decrees of 'the council to others, and particularly should take care, 'that Hyginus be excommunicated: who, though he had 'first informed against them, had since received the heretics 'to communion. Hitherto Priscillian was a layman; but 'now Instantius and Salvian, who were his steady friends, 'thought it best to make him bishop of Abila, who was the 'chief leader of the sect. After this Idacius and Ithacius,

exasperaverit malos, potius quam compresserit. Ibid. cap. 46. al. cap. 61, et 62.

Igitur post multa inter eos, et digna memoratu certamina, apud Cæsaraugustam synodus congregatur; cui tum etiam Aquitani episcopi interfuere. Verum hæretici committere se judicio non ausi: in absentes tum lata sententia, damnatique Instantius et Salvianus episcopi, Helpidius et Priscillianus laïci. Additum etiam, ut, si quis damnatos in communionem recepisset, sciret, in se eandem sententiam promendam. Atque id Ithacio Sossubensi episcopo negotium datum, ut decretum episcoporum in omnium notitiam deferret, maximeque Hyginum extra communionem faceret; qui, cum primus omnium insectari palam hæreticos cœpisset, postea turpiter depravatus in communionem eos recipisset. Interim Instantius et Salvianus, damnati judicio sacerdotum, Priscillianum etiam laïcum, sed principem malorum omnium, una secum Cæsaraugustanâ Synodo notatum, ad confirmandas vires suas episcopum Lacinensi oppido constituunt; rati nimirum, si hominem acrem et callidum sacerdotali auctoritate armâssent, tutiores fore sese. Tum vero Idacius atque Ithacius acrius instare, arbitrantes posse inter initia malum comprimi: sed parum sanis consiliis seculares judices adeunt, ut eorum decretis atque exsecutionibus hæretici urbibus pellerentur. Igitur post multa et fœda, Idacio sup-

'desirous to put an end to the affair, before it prevailed too 'much, imprudently applied to the secular powers. They 'therefore went to the emperor; and presenting requests 'unbecoming the episcopal character, they obtained a re- 'script from Gratian, that all heretics should not only be 'excluded from the churches, and from the cities where 'they dwelt, but from the whole extent of the Roman em- 'pire; which obliged many of these Gnostics to abscond, 'or flee from the usual places of their abode.

'In this extremity Instantius, Salvian, and Priscillian 'went to Rome, in order to clear themselves before Dama- 'sus, then bishop of that city, of the charges that had been 'brought against them. In their journey they made con- 'verts at several places. When they came to Bourdeaux, 'Delphinus the bishop would not suffer them to make any 'stay there; however, they were entertained at the country- 'seat of Euchrocia.'

Here the historian, whom I transcribe, makes reflections upon their manner of travelling; they having women in their company, particularly Euchrocia, wife or widow of Elpidius, and her daughter Procula. Concerning whom too it was said, that she had been with child by Priscillian, and had procured an abortion. Indeed such a way of travelling will be liable to some censures, though people behave with the utmost purity and sobriety. But, possibly, the violent proceedings of Ithacius might dispose some of

plicante, elicitur a Gratiano tum imperatore rescriptum, quo universi hæretici excedere non ecclesiis tantum et urbibus, sed extra omnes terras propelli jubebantur. Quo comperto, Gnostici diffisi rebus suis, non ausi judicio certare, sponte cessere, qui episcopi videbantur. Cæteros metus dispersit. Ib. cap. 47. al. c. 62, et 63.

At tum Instantius, Salvianus, et Priscillianus, Romam profecti, ut apud Damasum, Urbis eâ tempestate episcopum, objecta purgarent. Sed iter eis præter interiorem Aquitaniam fuit; ubi dum ab imperitis magnifice suscepti, sparsere perfidiæ semina. Maximeque Elusanam plebem, sane tum bonam et religioni studentem, pravis prædicationibus pervertere. A Burdigalâ per Delphinum repulsi, tamen in agro Euchrociæ aliquantisper morati, infecere nonnullos suis erroribus. Inde iter cœptum ingressi, turpi sane pudibundoque comitatu, cum uxoribus, atque alienis etiam feminis, in quîs erat Euchrocia, ac filia ejus Procula: de quâ fuit in sermone hominum, Priscilliani stupro gravidam, partum sibi graminibus abegisse. Hi ubi Romam pervenere, Damaso se purgare cupientes, ne in conspectum quidem ejus admissi sunt. Regressi Mediolanum, æque adversantem sibi Ambrosium repererunt. Tum vertere consilia, ut, quia duobus episcopis, quorum eâ tempestate summa auctoritas erat, non illuserant, largiendo et ambiendo ab imperatore cupita extorquerent. Ita corrupto Macedonio, tum Magistro Officiorum, rescriptum eliciunt, quo, calcatis quæ prius decreta erant, restitui ecclesiis jubebantur. Hoc freti Instantius et Priscillianus repetivere Hispanias. Nam Salvianus in urbe obierat. Ac tum sine ullo certamine ecclesias, quibus præfuerant, recepere. Ib. cap. 48. al. c. 63, et 64.

Priscillian's friends to accompany him in this journey, as the only means of their safety; and they might be unwilling to be left behind at that season. Euchrocia, in particular, whose habitation was at Bourdeaux, or near it, might be under some apprehensions from Delphinus, bishop of Bourdeaux, and one of those bishops of Aquitain, who was present at the late council at Saragossa, and had joined in the sentence of condemnation there passed upon Priscillian and his adherents.

'When they came to Rome, desirous to clear themselves 'to Damasus, he would neither hear them nor see them. 'From thence therefore they went back to Milan; but nei- 'ther would Ambrose hear their apology. Whereupon they 'altered their design of trying bishops, and applied to 'court; where they obtained a repeal of the fore-mentioned 'rescript of Gratian, with an order, that they should be re- 'stored to their churches.'

Sulpicius says, that this was owing to sums of money, wherewith they bribed the emperor's officers. Whether this be truly said or not, there are no writings of Priscillian, or his friends, remaining, to give us any information. But this rescript seems to have continued in force in Spain throughout the reign of Gratian, and the reigns of Theodosius and Valentinian, to the time of[u] Honorius; for we find, from the first council of Toledo, in 400, (of which more hereafter,) that the Priscillianist bishops of that country were then in possession of their sees.

'Now then Instantius and Priscillian returned to Spain, 'and took possession of their churches without difficulty; 'but Salvian had died at Rome.'

'Volventius[v] the proconsul, paying a due regard to Gra- 'tian's rescript, favoured them: and Ithacius, who still had 'a mind to be troublesome, was checked, and was in danger 'of being taken up, as a disturber of the peace of the 'churches; he therefore went away into Gaul.' Soon after

[u] That edict of Gratian is by Baronius esteemed a great crime: for which God suffered him to be afterwards assassinated by Maximus. Immane profecto piaculum, quo suggestione Macedonii Gratianus, princeps maxime pius, ejus, quod pie sancteque sanxerat, prævaricator est factus. Ex quo quidem facinore sibi necem comparavit. Nam ad immane scelus vindicandum, et hæreticos liberâ voluntate indulgentiâ Gratiani vagantes comprimendos, atque dignâ animadversione plectendos, suscitavit adversus eum Deus Maximum tyrannum, qui imperatori necem tulit, et in principes hæreticorum gladio animadvertit. Baron. Ann. 381. n. cx.

[v] Verum Trachio [Ithacio] ad resistendum non animus, sed facultas, defuit: quia hæretici, corrupto Volventio proconsule, vires suas confirmaverant. Quinetiam Ithacius ab his quasi perturbatur ecclesiarum reus postulatus, jussusque per atrocem exsecutionem deduci, trepidus profugit in Gallias.—Jam

this, Maximus, a Spaniard, who had assumed the purple in Britain, invaded Gaul, and also became master of Spain, and had Gratian assassinated in August or September, 383. 'When Maximus made his public entrance at Treves, Itha-'cius was there; and in a short time he presented to the 'usurping emperor a petition against Priscillian and his 'adherents, filled with invidious charges of many crimes. 'Whereupon the emperor appointed a council to be held at 'Bourdeaux, and sent orders to the præfect of Gaul, and 'the vicar of Spain, to take care that all persons concerned 'should appear there. Instantius was first heard, and his 'defence being judged invalid, he was deposed. Priscil-'lian, declining the judgment of the bishops, appealed to 'the emperor.'

Priscillian might think he had good reason to decline the judgment of the synod of Bourdeaux; for as much as Delphinus bishop of that city had already declared against him at the council of Saragossa. This council of Bourdeaux was held in 384, or rather in 385.

'The affair was now brought before the emperor: and 'the bishops Idacius and Ithacius, the accusers, were very 'forward to appear.' Here Sulpicius says, 'he would not 'blame their zeal against heretics, if they had not been too 'intent upon victory;' intimating, I think, that there was somewhat blamable in their manner of proceeding. He here also gives a very indifferent character of Ithacius, which I may take farther notice of hereafter. 'Martin bishop of 'Tours had occasion to come to Treves at this time: and he 'did not cease to reprove Ithacius, and to charge him to 'give over the prosecution: he also waited on the emperor,

rumor incesserat, Clementem Maximum intra Britannias sumsisse imperium, ac brevi in Gallias erupturum. Ita tum Ithacius statuit, licet rebus dubiis, novi imperatoris adventum exspectare; interim sibi nihil agitandum. Igitur ubi Maximus oppidum Trevirorum victor ingressus est, ingerit preces plenas in Priscillianum ac socios ejus invidiæ atque criminum. Quibus permotus imperator, datis ad præfectum Galliarum atque vicarium Hispaniarum literis, omnes omnino, quos labes illa involverat, deduci ad Synodum Burdegalensem jubet. Ita deducti Instantius et Priscillianus: quorum Instantius prior jussus causam dicere, postquam se parum expurgabat, indignus esse episcopatu pronuntiatus est. Priscillianus vero, ne ab episcopis audiretur, ad principem provocavit. Permissumque id nostrorum inconstantiâ.—Cap. 49. al. c. 64.

Ita omnes, quos causa involverat, ad regem deducti. Secuti etiam accusatores, Idacius et Ithacius episcopi; quorum studium in expugnandis hæreticis non reprehenderem, si non studio vincendi plus quam oportuit certâssent.—— Namque tum Martinus apud Treviros constitutus, non desinebat increpare Ithacium, ut ab accusatione desisteret; Maximum orare, ut sanguine infelicium abstineret; satis superque sufficere, ut episcopali sententiâ hæretici judicati ecclesiis pellerentur; novum esse et inauditum nefas, ut causam ecclesiæ judex seculi judicaret. Denique, quoad usque Martinus Treviris fuit, dilata cognitio

'and entreated him not to touch the lives of these unhappy 'men. It was sufficient, he said, and more than sufficient, 'that heretics be expelled from the churches by the autho- 'rity of bishops; but it was a new and unheard-of thing, 'that a secular judge should take cognizance of the affairs 'of the church. In a word, as long as Martin was at Treves, 'the hearing was deferred: and when he was going away, 'with a resolution that can never be too much commended, he 'demanded and obtained a promise from the emperor, that 'nothing should be done to affect the lives of those persons. 'But afterwards, the emperor being misled by the bishops 'Magnus and Rufus, and diverted by them from the milder 'counsels first resolved upon, referred the hearing of the 'cause to the præfect Evodius, a man of a morose and 'severe disposition. There were two hearings of the cause 'before him: and Priscillian being convicted of practising 'magic, and not denying that he had taught obscene doc- 'trines, and held nocturnal assemblies with lewd women, 'and been wont to pray naked among them; Evodius 'pronounced him guilty, and put him into custody, till 'he could make his report to the emperor. When the 'proceedings at the trial were brought to the palace, the 'emperor pronounced sentence, that Priscillian and his ad- 'herents ought to be put to death.'

'But Ithacius, perceiving how disagreeable it would be to 'the bishops, if he should assist at the last proceedings 'against men who were to receive sentence of death, (for 'the cause was to be reheard,) withdrew himself from the 'hearing: though to no purpose, after having completed 'his wicked design. Thereupon Maximus appointed that 'Patricius, an advocate of the treasury, should perform the 'part of accuser. Upon his motion judgment was given,

est. Et mox discessurus, egregiâ auctoritate a Maximo elicuit sponsionem, nihil cruentum in reos constituendum. Sed postea imperator per Magnum et Rufum episcopos depravatus, et a mitioribus consiliis deflexus, causam præfecto Evodio permisit, viro acri et severo. Qui Priscillianum gemino judicio auditum, convictumque maleficii, nec diffitentem obscœnis se studuisse doctrinis, nocturnos etiam turpium feminarum egisse conventus, nudumque orare solitum, nocentem pronuntiavit, redegitque in custodiam donec ad principem referret. Gestis ad Palatium delatis, censuit imperator, Priscillianum sociosque ejus capitis damnari oportere. Cap. 50. al. c. 64, et 65.

Cæterum Ithacius videns, quam invidiosum sibi apud episcopos foret, si accusato etiam postremis rerum capitalium judiciis adstitisset, (etenim iterari judicium necesse erat,) subtrahit se cognitioni, frustra, callido jam scelere perfecto. At tum per Maximum accusator adponitur Patricius quidam, fisci patronus. Ita eo insistente, Priscillianus capitis damnatus est, unaque cum eo Felicissimus et Armenius, qui nuper a catholicis clerici Priscillianum secuti, desciverant. Latronianus quoque et Euchrocia gladio peremti, Instantius, quem superius ab episcopis damnatum diximus, in Sylinam insulam, quæ ultra

'and Priscillian was condemned to die; and with him 'Felicissimus and Armenius, two presbyters, who had lately 'left the catholics to follow Priscillian: Latronian also and 'Euchrocia were put to death. Instantius, who, as before 'said, had been condemned by the bishops, was banished 'to one of the British isles, called Sylina [Scilly]. The 'sentences passed upon the rest were as follows: Asarinus 'and Aurelius, deacons, were put to death; Tiberian was 'banished to the island Sylina, and his goods were confis-'cated; Tertullus, Potamius, and John, men of low rank, 'and thought worthy of mercy because they had confessed 'their own fault, and informed against their associates be-'fore they were put to the question, were banished for a 'time only, and within the limits of Gaul.——Nevertheless, 'after that Priscillian had been executed, the heresy which 'sprang from him was not suppressed, but was rather the 'more confirmed, and farther spread. For his followers, 'who before honoured him as a holy man, afterwards began 'to respect him as a martyr. The bodies of those who had 'been executed were carried into Spain, and there interred 'with much solemnity: and to swear by him was reckoned 'a very sacred oath. And among our people (that is, the 'catholics in Gaul) has been enkindled an irreconcileable 'war, which for these fifteen years past has been carried 'on with fierce contentions, impossible by any means to be 'composed.'

Thus I have carried on the history of Priscillian, and his followers, from their first appearance to the time of his death, and the death of several of his friends with him; and as we have the advantage of a contemporary historian, I have taken his account very much at large.

It is not easy to say exactly the time of these events. Tillemont [w] thinks, these executions were made at Treves in 385: Basnage [x] not till 387. And they both seem

Britanniam sita est, deportatus. Itum deinde in reliquos sequentibus judiciis, damnatique Asarinus et Aurelius diaconi gladio. Tiberianus, ademtis bonis, in Sylinam insulam datus. Tertullus, Potamius, et Joannes, tanquam viliores personæ, et digni misericordiâ, quia ante quæstionem se ac socios prodidissent, temporario exilio intra Gallias relegati.———Cæterum Priscilliano occiso non solum non repressa est hæresis, quæ illo auctore proruperat, sed confirmata, latius propagata est. Namque sectatores ejus, qui eum prius ut sanctum honoraverant, postea ut martyrem colere cœperunt. Peremtorum corpora ad Hispanias relata, magnisque obsequiis celebrata eorum funera. Quin et jurare per Priscillianum summa religio putabatur. Ac inter nostros perpetuum discordiarum bellum exarserat: quod, jam per quindecim annos fœdis dissensionibus agitatum, nullo modo sopiri poterat. Cap. 51. al. c. 65, et 66.

[w] Les Priscillianistes, art. ix. et note x.

[x] Ann. 386. n. xi. et 387. n. vi.

to argue plausibly. Other learned men[y] are for the year 386.

VII. May it not be proper for us now to make some remarks, and try whether we can form a reasonable judgment concerning the innocence or the guilt of Priscillian and his followers? And I think, we may for the present take little notice of the charge of magic, few of us now-a-days knowing what it means: and perhaps in old times, when the charge of magical practices was more common, many who talked about it, had no distinct notion of it. Moreover, the charge of magic has been so often found, upon examination, to be false and malicious, that of late little regard is had to it: we may therefore dismiss that part of the accusation as frivolous and insignificant, and confine our observations to other things, such as the obscene doctrines, and indecent actions, which Priscillian, in particular, was charged with. And it is likely, that many considerations may offer themselves tending to vindicate him, and show the innocence of his followers.

1. And first of all, it is not unlikely, that the calling them by the name of Gnostics, and their being said to resemble the Manichees, was one ground of the charges brought against them. The Manichees were in disrepute: to the Gnostics in general almost every kind of impurity was ascribed. When once these men were called Manichees, many would impute to them all the supposed erroneous principles and evil practices of that sect, and believe that they were really guilty of them. Sulpicius, entering upon the history of what related to them in his time, says, it[z] was a Gnostic heresy; and again in the course of his narration[a] he calls them Gnostics. It was commonly said, that the Priscillianist doctrine was brought into Spain by Mark of Memphis, said to be a disciple of Manes. Maximus, the emperor, in his letter to Syricius bishop of Rome, endeavouring to justify himself in putting them to death, calls them[b] Manichees. And if it be not improper to allege here later writers, Jerom says, they[c] were a branch of the Manichees,

[y] Vid. Cav. H. L. De Priscilliano.

[z] Namque tum primum infamis illa Gnosticorum hæresis intra Hispanias deprehensa. H. S. L. ii. c. 46. in.

[a] Quo comperto, Gnostici diffisi rebus suis, &c. cap. 47. fin.

[b] Cæterum quid adhuc proxime proditum sit Manichæos sceleris admittere, non argumentis, neque suspicionibus dubiis vel incertis, sed ipsorum confessione inter judicia—tua sanctitas—cognoscat. Ap. Baron. Ann. 387. n. lxvi.

[c] Priscillianus in Hispaniâ pars Manichæi—Qui quidem partem habent Gnosticæ hæreseos, de Basilidis impietate venientem. Ad Ctes. ep. 43. T. iv. p. 476.

Gnostics, and Basilidians. How their agreement, or supposed agreement, with the Manichees, was improved against them, to their prejudice, is evident from Pope[d] Leo; whose manner of insinuating the worst things against them, upon that account, must, I think, appear offensive to all candid persons.

2. Another thing that deserves consideration, is the character of the persons who were accused, and suffered in the time of Maximus, and were the leaders of the sect.

(1.) Priscillian, as[e] Sulpicius says, was of a noble family, rich, ingenious, always in action, eloquent, learned, and a good disputant, having read a great deal. He had a happy genius, if it had not been perverted; for he had many good qualities both of body and mind: he slept little, and was very sparing in his diet, disinterested and moderate, spending little upon himself. Moreover, he had a modesty of countenance and behaviour, which gained him the esteem and respect of many.

It is not likely, that such a man should teach lewd doctrines, and pray naked among lewd women. Indeed, it is also said of him, that[f] he was proud and conceited of his learning; nevertheless, I do not perceive how pride should lead a man into scandalous indecencies: it would rather secure him against all such things.

There is therefore no good reason to believe that account: if he confessed such things, it was upon the rack; for it is very probable, that he was tortured. Sulpicius is a very concise writer, and does not say it expressly of Priscillian; but there can be no doubt made, but the torture was used at this trial: for he says of Tertullus and two others, that they 'made confession before they were put upon the rack,' as we saw just now. Tillemont[g] also infers this from some

[d] Sequentes dogmata Cerdonis atque Marcionis, et cognatis suis Manichæis per omnia consonantes. Leo. ep. 15. c. 4.

Faciunt hoc Priscillianistæ, faciunt Manichæi, quorum cum istis tam fœderata sunt corda, ut solis nominibus discreti, sacrificiis autem suis inveniantur uniti. Ibid. c. 16. et passim.

[e] Ab his Priscillianus est institutus, familiâ nobilis, prædives opibus, acer, inquies, facundus, multâ lectione eruditus, disserendi ac disputandi promtissimus. Felix profecto, si non pravo studio corrupisset optimum ingenium. Prorsus in eo animi et corporis bona cerneres. Vigilare multum, famem et sitim ferre poterat, habendi minime cupidus, utendi parcissimus.——Quippe humilitas speciem ore et habitu prætendens honorem sui et reverentiam cunctis injecerat. Ib. cap. 46.

[f] Sed idem vanissimus, et plus justo inflatior profanarum rerum scientiâ; quin et magicas artes ab adolescentiâ eum exercuisse creditum est. cap. 46. p. 280.

[g] Il semble, selon Pacatus, que l' on ait employé les tourmens et la question pour examiner cette affaire, et que cela soit fait en

things said by Pacatus. But forced confessions are often false. However, of this some farther notice may be taken hereafter.

(2.) Another of the sufferers is Euchrocia, widow of Elpidius: she too was beheaded, or otherwise put to death with Priscillian, as we have seen in Sulpicius. Of her Pacatus says in his Panegyric: 'What[h] were the crimes, 'for which the widow of an illustrious poet was dragged to 'punishment with a hook? She had no other fault, but that 'of being too religious, and worshipping the Deity with 'more than common zeal.' Euchrocia's moral character therefore was unblemished: she had no other fault, but that she was a Priscillianist.

Ausonius celebrating Elpidius among the other professors of Bourdeaux, of whom he had been one, commends his eloquence, and says, 'he[i] was happy in dying before 'he reached old age, as he was not witness to the violent 'death of his wife, nor the fault of his daughter.' By which we perceive, that the story told of Procula by Sulpicius was common. Nevertheless it might not be true: it might be only common report, as the expressions of Sulpicius[k] seems to imply; for such stories, when once raised concerning some persons, can never be dropt or forgotten. And that it was not true, may be argued from the character of Euchrocia, and from her continued respect for Priscillian; to which may be added, that, if our historians say right, Elpidius likewise had been a favourer of Priscillian, and even his master. And it may be reckoned very improbable, that Elpidius should either instil into Priscillian lewd principles, or receive them from him.

(3.) Another put to death with Priscillian was Latronian, or Matronian; of whom Jerom writes, as before quoted, that he was a learned man, and for his poetical works worthy to be compared with the ancients. It is not likely that

présence même des Evêques accusateurs. Les Priscillianistes, Art. ix. T. viii. ——— cum gemitus et tormenta miserorum auribus ac luminibus hausissent. Pacat. Paneg. cap. 29.

[h] Sed nimirum graves suberant, invidiosæque causæ, ut unco ad pœnam clari vatis matrona raperetur. Objiciebatur enim, atque etiam exprobabatur mulieri viduæ nimia religio, et diligentius culta Divinitas. Pacat. Paneg. c. 29.

[i] Facunde, docte, linguâ et ingenio celer.

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Minus malorum munere expertus Dei,
Medio quod ævi raptus es:
Errore quod non deviantis filiæ,
Pœnâque læsus conjugis.
Auson. Profess. n. v.

[k] De quâ fuit in sermone hominum, Priscilliani stupro gravidam.

Latronian should be an associate with any man in such things as were laid to the charge of Priscillian.

(4.) Beside these, several others suffered at this time; Felicissimus and Armenius, presbyters; Asarinus and Aurelius, deacons; these were put to death; Instantius and Tiberian were banished. Of all whom we know nothing amiss, but that they were followers or friends of Priscillian.

(5.) Among whom there were likewise many others of rank and quality, and several bishops, particularly Salvian, who died at Rome. And I think it is very observable, that Hyginus of Corduba, who first sent informations against them to Idacius bishop of Emerita, afterwards entertained a favourable opinion of them, and received them to communion. For which too he was soon after deposed and excommunicated by the council of Saragossa, in 380, or 381. I can conceive no reason for this alteration of his conduct, but that he now embraced their principles, as right and true; or had found, that they were not so absurd and unreasonable, as he once supposed them to be; and therefore he disliked the heat and violence with which Idacius and others prosecuted those who held them; and the better to secure them from the hard treatment of others, he received them to communion.

(6.) Beside the numbers, and the rank and quality of the followers or friends of Priscillian, their good character in general is another thing very much in his favour. Tiberian's daughter had devoted herself to virginity, whilst he was a Priscillianist; and to show that he had altered his mind, he induced her to enter into the state of marriage: which seems to show, that these people were rather of an austere, than a loose kind of life. Sulpicius in his account of Priscillian's journey through Aquitain to Rome, with the bishops Instantius and Salvian, says, they[l] perverted many of the people of Elusa, which were a good sort of people, and much devoted to religious exercises.

After[m] the executions before mentioned, the emperor Maximus, at the instigation of the bishops whom he had about him, gave a commission to some tribunes with power

[l] —Sparsere perfidiæ semina: maximeque Elusanam plebem, sane tum bonam et religioni studentem, pravis prædicationibus pervertere. H. S. l. ii. cap. 48. sub in. al. cap. 63.

[m] Et jam pridie imperator ex eorum sententiâ decreverat, tribunos summâ potestate armatos ad Hispanias mittere, qui hæreticos inquirerent, deprehensis vitam et bona adimerent. Nec dubium erat, quin sanctorum etiam maximam turbam tempestas ista depopulatura esset, parvo discrimine inter hominum genera. Etenim tum solis oculis judicabatur, cum quis pallore potius, aut veste quam fide hæreticus æstimaretur. Dial. 3. cap. xi.

of the sword to go into Spain, to make inquiry after these heretics, and to confiscate their goods, or put to death such as should be apprehended. This Martin earnestly opposed, dreading the consequences, and at length prevented it. 'Nor can there be any question made,' says Sulpicius, 'that if the commission had proceeded, it would 'have been fatal to multitudes of good men. For at that 'time little regard was had to men's real characters: if 'a man looked pale, or was modest in his garb, it was 'reckoned a mark of heresy, and sufficient to cast him, 'without making any particular inquiry concerning his 'faith.' In another place Sulpicius says, that[n] if the bishop Martin had not put a stop to that commission, it would have been the ruin of the churches in Spain.

(7.) The good opinion, which such men had of Priscillian to the last, wipes off all suspicion of lewd practices in him: for how was it possible that they should honour him as an holy man when living, or respect him as a martyr when dead, who had been wont to pray naked among lewd women!

3. There are some circumstances to be observed, which appear to be in favour of Priscillian and his friends. After they had been condemned in the council of Saragossa, in 380, or 381, and after an edict had been obtained from Gratian, to the prejudice of all called heretics; Instantius and Salvian and Priscillian went into Italy, first to Damasus at Rome, and then to Ambrose at Milan, to apologize for themselves; which seems to imply, that they were not conscious of any very notorious misconduct, and that they hoped to be able to justify themselves before those eminent bishops. And though they did not obtain a hearing, they did not despond: but with a consciousness of their innocence, as it seems, applied to Gratian, and procured a repeal of the former edict against them, which had been given at the request of Idacius and Ithacius; and they obtained from the emperor a new edict, whereby they were restored to their churches. And whatever Sulpicius may say of the methods by which this new rescript was obtained, it remained in force throughout the reigns of Theodosius and Valentinian to the time of Honorius and Arcadius: for the Priscillianists were in possession of their churches when the council of Toledo met, in the year 400, as may appear hereafter.

What I would now argue from hence is, that when Priscillian and Instantius applied to Gratian for a repeal of the

[n] ———Dummodo ut et tribuni jam in excidium ecclesiarum ad Hispanias missi retraherentur. Dialog. 3. cap. xiii.

former rescript, and obtained a new rescript for restoring them and their friends to their churches, the odious and infamous doctrines and actions, afterwards alleged against Priscillian at his trial, were not generally known to the catholics, or not believed by them: for if they had, a rescript would not have been granted to restore them to their churches. I think likewise, that it may be argued, that the infamous charges against Priscillian and others were not universally credited, even after their execution; for if they had, some care would have been taken about the repeal of this new rescript, before the year 400.

Another thing, which may be reckoned a circumstance in their favour, is, that Tiberian of Bætica wrote an Apology for himself and his sect: but no apology can be made for the things laid to the charge of Priscillian, if true. It is likely, therefore, that the design of that work was to show his own, and his friends' innocence. Evil things were laid to their charge by some; and others admitted suspicions of them: he endeavoured to show, that those suspicions were unreasonable.

4. In the next place let us observe, who were accusers, and what was the management of the prosecution. Says Sulpicius, entering upon the account of this affair, when[o] it was brought before Maximus: 'I should not blame the zeal of 'the bishops Idacius and Ithacius against heretics, if they 'had not been too intent upon victory: and therefore in my 'opinion, both accusers and accused were to blame. As 'for Ithacius, he was a man of no honour, and had no regard 'to right or wrong. He was audacious, impudent, proud, 'extravagant in his expenses, and indulged himself to a 'great degree in eating and drinking. At length he pro-'ceeded to such excess of folly that he was ready to charge 'all good men as associates or disciples of Priscillian, who 'were studious in reading, and practised fasting. Yea, this 'wretch had the assurance to charge the bishop Martin 'with heresy, a man who might be compared with the 'apostles!'

[o] Ita omnes, quos causa involverat, ad regem deducti. Secuti etiam accusatores Idacius et Ithacius episcopi; quorum studium in expugnandis hæreticis non reprehenderem, si non studio vincendi plus quam oportuit certâssent. Ac mea quidem sententia est, mihi tam reos quàm accusatores displicere. Certe Ithacium nihil pensi, nihil sancti, habuisse definio. Fuit enim audax, loquax, impudens, sumtuosus, ventri et gulæ plurimum impertiens. Hic stultitiæ eo usque processerat, ut omnes etiam sanctos viros, quibus aut studium inerat lectionis, aut propositum erat certare jejuniis, tanquam Priscilliani socios aut discipulos, in crimen arcesseret. Ausus etiam miser est eâ tempestate Martino episcopo, viro plane apostolis conferendo, palam objectare hæresis infamiam. Cap. 50. sub. in.

5. This was the chief prosecutor: and as for the manner of the prosecution, there are many things said by Sulpicius in his account of this affair, which show the earnestness with which it was carried on, from the beginning to the end. When Hyginus bishop of Corduba had given Idacius of Emerita some information concerning these people, Sulpicius says, that 'Idacius presently acted with such heat and 'violence, as was more likely to exasperate than reclaim 'men: that he was like a man who thrusts a lighted torch 'into combustible matter.' Sulpicius afterwards blames Idacius and Ithacius for going to the court of Gratian, and 'presenting there requests unbecoming the episcopal charac-'ter,' whereby they obtained an edict against all heretics. He also says, that when Ithacius first applied to Maximus at Treves, he 'presented a petition against Priscillian[p] and 'his adherents, filled with invidious charges of many crimes.' In these last expressions especially, and in several expressions made use of in the characters of Idacius and Ithacius just transcribed; that 'they were too intent upon victory;' that 'Ithacius had no regard to right or wrong,' and that he was 'audacious and impudent:' I think it is intimated, that Ithacius (and perhaps Idacius likewise) told lies against Priscillian and his adherents. And it seems to me, that about this time were forged those charges of infamous doctrines and actions, which brought on their execution.

Beside all this, we have perceived, that the question was used in the trial of these persons before the præfect Evodius. But there is no relying upon confessions extorted in that way: the accused might be thereby compelled to speak against their own conviction, and be made to say all their accusers wanted them to say.

There is one thing mentioned by Sulpicius, which very much disparages the evidence, upon which these unhappy men were convicted. 'Tertullus, Potamion, and John, men 'of low condition, were judged worthy of mercy, because 'they had confessed their own crimes, and discovered their 'associates, before they were put to the question.' These, so far as we can perceive, were the only witnesses, beside the accusers; persons of low condition, who had been among the followers of Priscillian, and would say any thing to save themselves from the torture, or other punishment, which the circumstances of things made them apprehensive of.

6. We cannot forbear to observe, who were the judges;

[p] Ingerit preces plenas in Priscillianum ac socios ejus invidiæ atque criminum. Cap. 49. p. 287.

the supreme judge was the usurping emperor Maximus,[q] who was a man of a severe temper; and when he came into Gaul, was elated with the successes of a civil war. Again, it is said of him, that[r] he had many good properties, but was of a severe temper, and was covetous, and at this time in want of money; and therefore, as may be supposed, too willing to seize the estates of those who were decried as heretics. For which reason there was danger of involving many good men, and of easily admitting evidence against those who were brought into suspicion; Sulpicius assures us, that such things were then said by many. And if the emperor was not of himself covetous, his circumstances at that time rendered him necessitous; which could not but have some influence upon his counsels with regard to divers matters.

Then Evodius, the præfect of the prætorium, before whom the cause of Priscillian and his friends was heard, was of a rigid and severe temper, as before mentioned.

7. Finally, let us observe the judgments of men at that time concerning this affair. And I think it must have been already taken notice of in the process of this history, that all did not approve of these proceedings. However, it may be worth the while to be a little more particular; and then, possibly, we may perceive that there were many who disliked them, and condemned them.

(1.) Martin, bishop of Tours, generally allowed to be an understanding and holy man, very much disliked these proceedings. Whilst the cause was depending, 'he said, it 'was sufficient, and more than sufficient, that those men, if 'convicted of being heretics, should be condemned by 'bishops, and cast out of the churches.' He blamed Ithacius, and earnestly charged him to give over the prosecution before the emperor: and he interceded with Maximus, 'that the lives of those men might not be touched.'

The conduct of Ithacius, and some others, who had been active in this affair, being censured by some, there was a

[q] —Imperatorem Maximum, ferocis ingenii virum, et bellorum civilium victoriâ elatum. Sulp. de Vit. Martin. c. xx. p. 337.

[r] Maximus imperator, alias sane bonus, depravatus consiliis sacerdotum. S. Sev. Dialog. 3. c. xi. p. 495.

Virum primo die, atque altero, suspendit hominem [Martinum] callidus imperator, sive ut rei pondus imponeret, sive quia nimis sibi implacabilis erat, seu quia, ut plerique tum arbitrabantur, avaritia repugnabat; siquidem in bona eorum inhiaverat. Fertur enim ille vir multis bonisque artibus præditus, adversus avaritiam parum consuluisse: nisi forte regni necessitate, quippe exhausto superioribus principibus ei publicæ ærario, pene semper in expeditione atque procinctu bellorum civilium constitutus, facile excusabitur, quibuslibet occasionibus subsidia imperio paravisse. Ibid. p. 498.

synod of bishops at Treves, in 387, as [s]Basnage supposes, in which their behaviour was examined. The sentence, as may be well supposed, was in his favour: he was acquitted. One bishop however there was, Theognostus by name, who had the generosity openly to declare against him, and refused to communicate with him and the other bishops his favourers.

At[t] this time Martin had occasion to come to Treves, to intercede with Maximus for the lives of some officers, now in his custody, who had acted with great zeal in the service of their master Gratian. He was very unwilling to communicate with Ithacius, and the bishops who sided with him. However, he complied at last, upon these two conditions, that the lives of the officers for whom he interceded should be spared, and that the tribunes, sent to Spain to try heretics there, should be recalled. And though his communion with them was but for a day only, as soon as he was got out of Treves, in his way home, he humbled himself for what he had done.

Some expressions of Sulpicius, relating to Martin's concern to prevent the tribunes going to Spain to try heretics, appear very remarkable. 'The[u] bishop Martin had several

[s] Ann. 387. n. vii.

[t] Interea episcopi, quorum communionem Martinus non inibat, trepidi ad regem concurrunt, prædamnatos se consequerentes, actum esse de suo omnium statu, si Theognosti pertinaciam, qui eos solus palam latâ sententiâ condemnaverat, Martini armaret auctoritas.———Sed ille, licet episcopis nimio favore esset obnoxius———aliâ longe viâ Sanctum vincere parat. Ac primo secreto accersitum blande appellat: hæreticos jure damnatos more judiciorum publicorum, potius quam insectationibus sacerdotum: non esse causam, quâ Ithacii, cæterorumque partis ejus communionem putaret esse damnandam: Theognostum odio potius, quam caussâ, fecisse discidium: eundemque tamen solum esse, qui se a communione interim separârit: a reliquis nihil novatum. Quinetiam ante paucos dies habita synodum Ithacium pronuntiaverat culpâ non teneri. Quibus cum Martinus parum moveretur, rex irâ accenditur, ac se de conspectu ejus abripuit. Ex mox percussores his, pro quibus rogaverat, diriguntur. Dialog. 3. c. 12.

Quod ubi Martino compertum jam noctis tempore est, palatium inrupit. Spondet, si parceretur, se communicaturum; dummodo ut et tribuni jam in excidium ecclesiarum in Hispanias missi retraherentur. Nec mora intercessit. Maximus indulget omnia. Postridie Felicis episcopi ordinatio parabatur, sanctissimi sane viri, et plane digni qui meliore tempore sacerdos fieret. Hujus diei communionem Martinus iniit, satius æstimans ad horam cedere, quam his non consulere, quorum cervicibus gladius imminebat. Verum tamen summâ vi episcopis nitentibus, ut communionem illam subscriptione firmaret, extorqueri non potuit. Postero die se inde proripiens, cum revertens in viâ mœstus ingemisceret, se vel ad horam noxiæ communioni fuisse permixtum. Ib. c. xiii.

[u] Postridie palatium petit. Præter multas, quas evolvere longum est, has principales petitiones habebat: pro Narsete Comite, et Leucadio præside, quorum ambo Gratiani partium erant, pertinacioribus studiis, quæ non est

'petitions,' he says, 'to ask of Maximus, when he was admitted into his presence. Beside others, he was to intercede for the Count Narses, and the president Leucadius, who had exerted themselves for Gratian. But his principal care was, that tribunes might not be sent to Spain with power of the sword. For it was the kind concern of Martin, not only to save the catholics, who were in great danger to be harassed thereby, but the heretics also.' Which is a strong testimony to the iniquity of the proceedings of those times. It also shows, I think, that neither Martin, nor the historian Sulpicius, supposed the followers of Priscillian to be guilty of the things laid to their charge by Ithacius and his friends.

(2.) In 386 or 387[v] Ambrose, bishop of Milan, was sent ambassador to Maximus by Valentinian the younger. When he was at Treves, he refused to communicate with the bishops there. In his letter to the emperor Valentinian he says: 'Maximus seeing[w] that I separated myself from the bishops 'of his communion, who also solicited the death of certain 'persons who erred from the faith, in great anger bid me 'depart immediately; which I was not unwilling to do. I 'was more concerned to see them sending into banishment 'the bishop Hyginus, an old man who had nothing left but 'the last breath. And when I desired his courtiers not to 'send away the old man without clothing, and other neces-'saries, I was sent away myself.' All that Ambrose says, therefore, of the Priscillianists is, that they 'erred from the 'faith.' And it is plain, he did not approve of putting them to death. And if this be Hyginus, bishop of Corbuda, as is

temporis explicare, iram victoris meriti. Illa præcipua cura, ne tribuni cum jure gladiorum ad Hispanias mitterentur. Pia enim erat solicitudo Martino, ut non solum christianos, qui sub illâ erant occasione vexandi, sed ipsos etiam hæreticos liberaret. Dial. 3. c. xi.

[v] Tillemont (Les Priscillianistes, note x.) allows, that Ambrose was at Treves in 387: he says, that the execution of the Priscillianists was then over. But Basnage, an. 387. n. vi. (who also says that Ambrose was with Maximus in 387,) thinks it plain that the executions were still depending. Which affords a strong argument, that Priscillian was not put to death before 387. Undoubtedly Sulpicius knew the time very well; and, in the year 400, speaks of its being then fifteen years since that event: but fifteen may be used by him as a round number, and be equivalent to thirteen or fourteen.

[w] Postea, cum videret me abstinere ab episcopis, qui communicabant ei, vel qui aliquos, devios licet a fide, ad necem petebant; commotus eis jussit me sine morâ regredi. Ego vero libenter, etsi me plerique insidias evasurum non credebant, ingressus sum iter: hoc solo dolore percitus, quod Hyginum episcopum senem in exilium duci comperi, cui nihil jam nisi extremus superesset spiritus. Cum de eo convenirem comites ejus, ne sine veste, sine plumario, paterentur extrudi senem extrusus ipse sum. Ambros. Epist. cl. i. 24. T. ii. p. 891.

generally supposed, can it be imagined, that such a feeble old bishop should countenance the lewd conduct and principles, which were by some ascribed to Priscillian? No, for certain he knew not of any such things taught and practised by Priscillian, or his followers; if he had, he would not have favoured them. And do we not here also evidently see the cruelty of the courtiers of Maximus, and of the bishops, by whom he was influenced?

(3.) Pacatus, a heathen, and therefore a disinterested man, of Gaul, and therefore well acquainted with these transactions, in his Panegyric pronounced at Rome in the presence of Theodosius the emperor, and the senate, in 389, about a year after the death of Maximus, among other instances of his mal-administrations, reckons this, of which he speaks in this manner: 'But[x] why do I stay to recount the deaths of 'so many men, when their cruelty was such as to spill the 'blood of women? For they practised the utmost rigour 'toward a sex that is usually spared even in war. And 'what were the causes of this barbarity? What were the 'crimes for which the widow of an illustrious poet was 'dragged to punishment with a hook? She had no other 'fault, but that of being too religious, and too exact in the 'worship of the Deity. And is it not fit, that these should 'be the greatest crimes, when bishops become accusers? for 'these were the informers in that affair, bishops by name, but 'indeed dragoons and executioners: who not content with 'having spoiled unhappy men of the estates of their ances-'tors, sought also their lives; and when they had made them 'poor, loaded them with crimes, that they might put them 'to death:' and what follows, which I transcribe below without translating. For here is enough to show, that he did not think the charges brought against Priscillian and

[x] De virorum mortibus loquor, cum descensum recorder ad sanguinem feminarum, et in sexum, cui bella parcunt, non parce sævitum? Sed nimirum graves suberant, invidiosæque causæ, ut unco ad pœnam clari vatis matrona raperetur. Objiciebatur enim, atque etiam exprobabatur mulieri viduæ nimia religio, et diligentius culta Divinitas. Quid hoc majus poterat intendere accusator sacerdos? Fuit enim fuit et hoc delatorum genus, qui nominibus antistites, revera autem satellites, atque adeo carnifices, non contenti miseros avitis evolvisse patrimoniis, calumniabantur in sanguinem, et vitas premebant reorum, jam pauperum. Quinetiam cum judiciis capitalibus astitissent, cum gemitus et tormenta miserorum auribus ac luminibus hausissent, cum lictorum arma, cum damnatorum frœna tractâssent, pollutas pœnali manus contactu ad sacra referebant, et cæremonias, quas incestaverant mentibus, etiam corporibus impiabant. Hos ille Phalaris in amicis habebat; hi in oculis ejus, atque etiam in osculis erant: nec injuriâ, a quibus tot simul votiva veniebant avaro divitum bona, cruento innocentium pœna, impio religionis injuria. Pacat. Paneg. Theod. cap. 29.

his followers to be true. Moreover, he afterwards calls them innocent men; and speaks of the covetousness of Maximus, as what disposed him to receive informations against men, that he might seize their estates. And what Pacatus says in the presence of Theodosius, and his court, may be supposed to be approved by them. Tillemont here observes, that [y] Pacatus was a heathen, and in what he says of Euchrocia, he only has an eye to the exterior profession which the Priscillianists made, of a very austere and retired course of life. Very right. This was their profession. Therefore their master had not taught them obscene doctrines, nor set them an example of extravagant indecency, by frequently praying naked with lewd women.

(4.) After the executions were over, Ithacius[z] was often blamed in conversation; and to excuse himself he would say, that he had acted according to the direction of others: which is not unlikely. And[a] it looks as if Sulpicius could have named some of them; but he judged it more prudent not to do so.

(5.) When Maximus had been put to death in 388, Ithacius and his party lost their principal support; and Ithacius was soon afterwards deposed. Prosper in his Chronicle, at the year next after that in which Maximus lost his life, says, 'that Ithacius[b] and Ursacius were deprived of the 'communion of the church, on account of the death of Pris-'cillian, whose accusers they had been.' And Isidore of Seville, as before quoted,[c] says, that Idacius, together with Ursacius, was deprived of the communion of the church, and sent into banishment, where he died. But Sulpicius says, that[d] Ithacius was the only bishop that was deposed

[y] C'est un Payen qui parle, et qui ne s' arreste qu' à la professione extérieure que faisoient les Priscillianistes d'une vie plus austère, et plus retirée. Les Priscill. Art. x. T. viii.

[z] Quod initio jure judiciorum et egregio publico defensum, postea Ithacius in jurgiis solitus, ad postremum convictus, in eos retorquebat, quorum id mandato et consiliis effecerat. H. S. l. ii. c. 51. p. 391.

[a] Maximus imperator, alias sane bonus, depravatus consiliis sacerdotum, post Priscilliani necem, Ithacium episcopum, Priscilliani accusatorem, cæterosque illius socios, quos nominari non est necesse, vi regiâ tuebatur, ne quis ei crimini daret, operâ illius cujuscumque modi hominem fuisse damnatum. ———Congregati apud Treviros episcopi tenebantur, qui quotidie communicantes Ithacio communem sibi caussam fecerant. Dial. 3. cap. xi. in.

[b] Ithacius et Ursacius episcopi ob necem Priscilliani, cujus accusatores fuerant, ecclesiæ communione privantur. Prosp. p. 389. Ap. Scalig. Thes. Temp.

[c] See note [e], p. 498.

[d] ———ad postremum convictus, in eos retorquebat, quorum id mandato et consiliis effecerat. Solus tamen omnium episcopatu detrusus. Nardacius, [f. Nam Idacius, 'Vorst.'] licet minus nocens, sponte se episcopatu abdica-

upon this account. He adds, 'Nardacius, though less guilty, 'of his own accord resigned his bishopric; which might be 'said to have been wisely and modestly done, if he had 'not endeavoured to recover his lost station. Who is this Nardacius, and who Ursacius, mentioned by Prosper and Isidore, is not certain. As Ursacius is never mentioned by Sulpicius, nor Nardacius any where else by him, some have thought, that hereby is meant Idacius. On the other hand, as many bishops had some concern in this affair, and Idacius has not been mentioned lately by Sulpicius, Nardacius may be reckoned a different person. However that be, I suppose Sulpicius ought to be relied upon, that Ithacius only was now deposed.

(6.) Another thing, as I apprehend, manifesting the different judgments of men concerning this affair, is what Sulpicius says at the conclusion of his narration, of the perpetual feuds and contentions, which there had been among the catholics in Gaul for fifteen years past, from the time of those executions to the time of his finishing his history, in the year of our Lord 400. There were very few Priscillianists in Gaul; the divisions betwixt the bishops and other christians in that country were owing, therefore, as seems probable, to different sentiments concerning this affair. Some vindicated the proceedings against Priscillian and his followers, others blamed them; and these disputes ran so high, that sometimes they could scarce communicate with one another. Ambrose, in the year 392, said, that[e] he had been oftentimes hindered from going into Gaul by the frequent divisions of the bishops there.

(7.) There are two councils, whose debates may probably afford some further light in this affair. The first is the council of Saragossa, mentioned by Sulpicius, and supposed to have been held in 380, or 381: in the decrees of this council several things are condemned; as[f] fasting on the

verat. Sapienter id, et verecunde, nisi postea amissum locum repetere tentàsset. H. S. l. ii. c. 5. p. 392.

[e] ———propter quorum frequentes dissensiones crebro me excusaveram. De Obitu Valentin. n. 25. T. ii. p. 1181.

[f] Item legit: ne quis jejunet Die Dominico.—Item legit: Eucharistiæ gratiam si quis probatur in ecclesiâ non consumsisse, anathema sit in perpetuum. ——Item legit: Viginti et uno die, quo a 16 Kalendas Januarii usque in diem Epiphaniæ, quæ est 8. Idus Januarii, continuis diebus, nulli liceat de ecclesiâ se absentare, nec latere in domibus, nec secedere ad villam, nec montes petere, nec nudis pedibus incedere, sed concurrere ad ecclesiam.—Item lectum est, ut hi per disciplinam, aut sententiam episcopi ab ecclesiâ fuerint separati, ab aliis episcopis non sint recipiendi. Item legit: Si quis de clericis propter luxum, vanitatemque præsumtam, de officio sponte discesserit, ac velut observatorem legis monachum voluerit esse magis quam clericum, ita de ecclesiâ repellen-

Lord's day, and some other days usually reckoned festivals by the catholics; absenting from church on these days; assembling in private houses and country places; receiving the eucharist, without consuming it [or swallowing it] at church; going barefoot; taking upon them the character of teachers, without authority; referring perhaps to Agape, Elpidius, and Priscillian, who was yet a layman: bishops receiving those who had been excommunicated; clergymen leaving their stations, and betaking themselves to a retired monastic kind of life, because of the luxury, or other faults observable among ecclesiastics. These, and some other such like things are forbidden, which may be reckoned erroneous or irregular. Here are no sentences of condemnation upon those who teach obscene doctrines, and practise gross indecencies; but here are intimations of pretensions to more than ordinary strictness and mortification. And, if I mistake not, the decrees of this council, and their silence about the shameful things imputed to Priscillian at his trial, very much confirm the conjecture formerly proposed to be considered; that no such things had been heard of, till they were invented by Ithacius, and others: who, when once they had begun to prosecute Priscillian before the civil magistrate, were too intent upon victory, as Sulpicius observed, and without any regard to truth, forged calumnies, and heaped upon him reproaches of infamous actions, till they gained their end, and had him executed.

The other council was held at Toledo, in the year 400, or thereabout; of which a sufficient account[g] may be seen in several authors, so far as relates to this affair. Here were reconciled to the church Symphosius and Dictinius, noted Priscillianists, and several others of that sect. It seems, that they two had been with Ambrose at Milan, to entreat his favourable interposition in their behalf: if that is not certain, it is however manifest, that Ambrose became their mediator, and proposed terms upon which they might be received. Ambrose died in 397. Why the affair was deferred is not known: but it appears from the acts of the council, that Simplician had then succeeded him in the see of Milan. Ambrose had proposed, that[h] they should be received to

dum.——Item lectum est: Ne quis doctoris sibi nomen imponat, præter has personas, quibus concessum est ——Concil. Cæsaraugust. Ap. Labb. T. ii. p. 1009, 1010.

[g] Baron. Ann. 405. n. xliii.—lix. Pagi Crit. in Baron. Ann. 405. n. xii.—xvii. Tillemont, Les Priscillian. art. xiv.—xvii. T. viii. Beausobr. Diss. sur les Adamites, Part. ii. p. 377—379.

[h] Arduum nobis esset audire jam dictos. Literis tamen sanctæ memoriæ Ambrosii, quas post illud concilium ad nos miserat: Ut si condemnâssent quæ perperam egerant, et implêssent conditiones, quas præscriptæ literæ contine-

the peace of the church upon retracting their errors, and confessing the faults which they had been guilty of; and they were now received. Symphosius's Priscillianism had many aggravations; he[i] seems to have been a follower of Priscillian from the beginning, and to have declined the judgment of the council of Saragossa in 380. Moreover, the terms proposed by Ambrose were, that[k] for the present all should abide in the stations they were in, without alteration. Nevertheless, in the mean time, before those terms were accepted and executed, Symphosius had ordained Dictinius bishop, who before was only presbyter: which, he said, had been extorted from him by the importunate requests of the people. Symphosius likewise, or he and Dictinius together, had lately ordained in the vacant sees of the province of Galicia several bishops, who were in the Priscillianist scheme. In particular they had ordained Paternus bishop of Braga, the chief city of Galicia; who, however, now renounced Priscillianism before the council, having been convinced of his error, he said, since his ordination, by reading the works of Ambrose bishop of Milan.

Dictinius had been a forward Priscillianist; he had written several books much esteemed by the sect; particularly a book called Libra, the Pound, consisting of twelve parts or arguments, as the Roman pound had twelve ounces. Augustine[l] speaks of him and his book. I have put some

bant, reverterentur ad pacem, [adde, quæ sanctæ memoriæ Siricius Papa suasisset,] magnam nos constat præstitisse patientiam. Conc. Tolet. i. ap. Labbe, T. ii. p. 1230.

[i] Etsi diu deliberantibus verum, post Cæsaraugustanum concilium, in quo sententia in certos quosque dicta fuerat, solâ tamen unâ die, præsente Symphosio, qui postmodum declinando sententiam præsens audire contemserat. Ibid.

—— In synodo Cæsaraugustanâ, anno 381, adversus Priscillianum coactâ; cujus judicium declinâsse dicitur Symphosius in sententiâ Toletanæ i. synodo, se subducens. Pagi ann. 405. n. xiii.

[k] Cæterum extortum sibi de multitudine plebis, probaret Symphosius, ut ordinaret Dictinium episcopum, quem sanctus Ambrosius decrevisset bonæ pacis locum tenere presbyterii, non accipere honoris augmentum. Confitentur etiam illud, quod alios per diversas ecclesias ordinâssent, quibus deerant sacerdotes; habentes hanc fiduciam, quod cum illis propemodum totius Galliciæ sentiret plebium multitudo. Ex quibus ordinatus est Paternus Bracarensis ecclesiæ episcopus. In hanc vocem confessionis primus erupit, et sectam Priscilliani se scisse, sed factum episcopum liberatum se ab eâ lectione librorum S. Ambrosii esse juraret. Conc. Tol. i. ibid.

[l] ——et Dictinii episcopi——famam laudare mordaciter. Est hoc tolerabilius adhuc, quia ille putatur fuisse catholicus, atque ex illo errore correctus—cum deinde Dictinii librum, cujus nomen est Libra, eo quod pertractatis duodecim quæstionibus, velut unciis explicatur, tantis extulerit laudibus, ut talem libram———multis librarum auri millibus pretiosiorem esse testetur. Contr. Mendac. ad Consent. cap. 3. n. 5. T. vi.

of his passages, where he speaks of them, in the margin. Pope Leo likewise speaks of Dictinius. He[m] complains of the Priscillianists, that they still read his writings, and followed his errors, though he had renounced them.

These two learned Priscillianist bishops, and leading men among them, Symphosius and Dictinius, were received by the catholics in the council of Toledo, upon abjuring their former errors, embraced by them, or advanced and promoted by them in their discourses or writings. Their form[n] of renunciation and confession I have placed below somewhat at large. Now likewise was received Comasius, presbyter under Symphosius; his confession is in the passage just transcribed. Isonius[o] was also now received upon confession, who had lately been baptized, and ordained bishop by Symphosius. In[p] like manner Vegetinus, who had been bishop before the council of Saragossa.

From the reception of these ecclesiastics by the council,

Quæ cum ita sint, quoniam nimis longum est omnia pertractare quæ in illâ Librâ Dictinii sunt posita, velut imitanda, exempla mentiendi. Ibid. cap. 17. n. 35. Vid. et cap. 21. n. 41.

[m] Postremo autem capitulo hoc prodidit justâ querimoniâ, quod Dictinii tractatus, quos secundum Priscilliani dogma conscripsit, a multis cum veneratione legerentur: cum, si aliquid memoriæ Dictinii tribuendum putat, reparationem ejus magis debeant amare quam lapsum. Non ergo Dictinium, sed Priscillianum legunt; et illud probant quod errans docuit, non quod correctus elegit. Leon. Ep. 15. cap. xvi. al. ep. 93.

[n] Symphosius dixit: Juxta id quod paulo ante lectum est, in membranâ nescio quâ, in quâ dicebatur Filius innascibilis, hanc ego doctrinam, quæ aut duo principia dicit, aut Filium innascibilem, cum ipso auctore damno, qui scripsit.—Item dixit: Omnes libros hæreticos, et maxime Priscilliani doctrinam, juxta quod hodie lectum est, ubi innascibilem Filium scripsisse dicitur, cum ipso auctore damno. Comasius presbyter dixit: Nemo dubitet, me cum domino meo episcopo sentire, et omnia damnare quæ damnavit, et nihil ejus præferre sapientiæ, nisi solum Deum.—Dictinius episcopus dixit: Sequor sententiam domini mei, et patris mei, et genitoris et doctoris mei Symphosii. Quæcumque locutus est loquor.—Et idcirco omnia quæ Priscillianus aut male docuit, aut male scripsit, cum ipso auctore condemno. Ibid. p. 1229.

Post aliquanta.———Dictinius episcopus dixit: Audite me, optimi sacerdotes. Corrigite omnia.———Hoc enim in me reprehendo, quod dixerim unam Dei et hominis esse naturam. Item dixit: Ego non solum correctionem vestram rogo, sed et omnem presumtionem meam de scriptis meis arguo atque condemno.———Item dixit:———Quæcumque conscripsi, omnia me toto corde respuere. In eâd. pag. sub in.

[o] Item Isonius nuper baptizatum se a Symphosio, et episcopum factum, hoc se tenere, quod in præsenti concilio Symphosius professus est, respondit. Ibid. p. 1230.

[p] Vegetinus vero, olim ante Cæsaraugustam concilium episcopus factus, similiter libros Priscilliani cum auctore damnaverat, ut de cæteris acta testantur. Ibid.

Vegetinum autem, in quem nulla specialiter dicta fuerat ante sententia, datâ professione, quam synodus accepit, statuimus communioni nostræ esse reddendum. Ib. p. 1231. in.

ariseth a strong argument, that the Priscillianists were not guilty of the evil practices laid to the charge of Priscillian, and generally imputed to Gnostics; if they had, they would not have been received upon renouncing their former errors; if that had been the case, I suppose they would have been deposed, and put into a state of penance, and declared incapable of ever holding any office in the church.

I would just take notice of one thing more, mentioned in the account of the acts of this council, relating to Herenas bishop of some place in Spain: that[q] all his clergy in general, without being asked, cried out aloud before the council, that Priscillian was a catholic and a holy martyr. Herenas himself likewise said the same, and that Priscillian had suffered persecution from the bishops of his time. Which judgment of his, the bishops of the council said, was a reflection upon many holy men, some deceased, others still living; they therefore declared Herenas, and his clergy, and divers other bishops adhering to him in that sentiment, to be deposed from their offices.

This serves to satisfy us of two things: First, that about thirteen or fourteen years after the event, the Priscillianists (and, it is likely, many others) were of opinion, that Priscillian had been falsely accused, and unjustly put to death. Secondly, it shows, that lewd principles and practices were no part of their religion; but they disapproved them, and reckoned the imputation of them to any man to be reproachful and dishonourable.

(8.) Once more, the testimony of Jerom in favour of Priscillian is not unworthy of our regard; for in his book of Illustrious Men, as cited at the beginning of this chapter, he says, that 'by means of the faction of Idacius and Ithacius, Priscillian had been put to death at Treves; that to 'that day he was accused by some as having been of the 'Gnostic heresy; whilst others defended him, saying, that 'he did not hold the opinions which had been imputed to 'him.' And in the next chapter he gives an account of Latronian and Tiberian of Bætica, two followers of Priscillian, and particularly commends the former for his learning and poetical writings. It is true, in another work, written

[q] Herenas clericos suos sequi maluerat, qui sponte, nec interrogati, Priscillianum catholicum, sanctumque martyrem clamassent; atque ipse usque ad finem catholicum hunc esse dixisset, persecutionem ab episcopis passum. Quo dicto omnes sanctos, jam plurimos quiescentes, aliquos hac luce durantes, suo judicio deduxerit in reatum. Hunc cum his omnibus, tam suis clericis, quam diversis episcopis, hoc est, Donato, Acurio, Emilio; qui ab eorum professione recedentes maluissent sequi consortium perditorum, decernimus ab sacerdotio submovendum. Ib. p. 1230, 1231.

about the year 415, he says, that[r] Priscillian had been condemned by the civil magistrate, and by the judgment of all the world; which has led some to say, that Jerom was now better informed concerning the Priscillianists, than when he wrote the former work in 392. But,[s] as Quesnell says, Jerom could not be then ignorant of the affairs of the church. That learned man therefore would suppose, that the chapter in the book of Illustrious Men had been interpolated. To which Du Pin well answers, that[t] conjecture, though unsupported by any manuscript, might have been of some moment, if it were not well known, that Jerom has oftentimes spoken very differently of one and the same person. The case, I think, is this; in the book of Illustrious Men he writes with the calmness of an historian; in the other he is out of humour, and writes in the heat of controversy. We may then be well assured, that in the year 392, when Jerom wrote his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, there were different opinions among men concerning Priscillian; and that there were some, who did not allow him to have held the opinions imputed to him, or to have been guilty of the crimes laid to his charge.

We may therefore, I think, after this long discussion of the affair, and after weighing what can be said on both sides, assent to the judgment of that wise and good man, Martin, bishop of Tours, who lived at that time, who was several times at the court of Maximus, before and after the trial of Priscillian, and was well acquainted with the bishops chiefly concerned in that prosecution. He said, 'It was 'sufficient, and more than sufficient, that being convicted of 'heresy by the bishops, they should be turned out of the 'church.' And when that was done, I presume, they ought to have been allowed to live quietly in the world, and to worship God in separate assemblies, in their own way, under the protection of the civil government. Which likewise may be supposed to have been Martin's intention: for, as it seems, neither he, nor his disciple and historian Sulpicius, approved that magistrates should interpose in things of religion. They therefore did not like, that civil penalties should be inflicted upon erroneous christians, but only church-censures: and it is likely, that they judged this method to be most conducive to the interests of religious truth. They hoped, that by such censures, men might be

[r] Quid loquar de Priscilliano, qui et seculi gladio, et totius orbis auctoritate damnatus est? Ad Ctesiph. ep. 43. T. iv. p. 4. [s] Vir, nihil eorum, quæ in ecclesiâ gerebantur, ignarus. Quesnell. Not. et Observation. in Leon. Ep. xv. p. 449. [t] Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. ii. p. 241.

awakened to consideration; and that by reasons and arguments, calmly proposed, they who had been seduced, might be convinced of their error, brought back to the catholic church, and to the acknowledgment of the right faith.

VIII. Hitherto we have chiefly considered the origin of this sect, and the history of its author, and his first followers, with their sufferings, as related by Sulpicius, who has given but a very general account of their opinions. And it may be expected, that some farther notice should be taken of these by us.

1. There is no account of this sect in Epiphanius. Fabricius[u] indeed has referred us for a knowledge of them to Epiphanius and Damascenus; but it is a mistake of that excellent man, through haste. Epiphanius speaks there only of the Montanists, sometimes called Priscillians from Priscilla, one of Montanus's prophetesses; and Damascenus's article in the place referred to is only Epiphanius's summary or recapitulation. Quesnell[v] says, Epiphanius takes no notice of this sect. The reason, he thinks, may be, that he did not distinguish it from the Gnostic or Manichæan, with whom the Priscillianists very much agreed. But I should think that there is another very obvious reason of Epiphanius's silence, and more likely to be the true reason; which is, that this sect did not become famous, till after Epiphanius had finished his work. Nor are they expressly mentioned by Philaster; whether he has quite omitted them, will be considered hereafter. However, there are several writers, which may be of use to us, beside Sulpicius Severus, the historian already transcribed: Augustine has a long article concerning them in his book Of Heresies; Orosius, of Spain, sent or delivered to Augustine a Memoir or Commonitorium relating to them. And other writers have mentioned them.

2. Augustine, at the beginning of his article concerning them, which I transcribe below, says, 'The[w] Priscillianists, 'followers of Priscillian of Spain, have a mixture of the 'doctrines of the Gnostics and Manichees, together with 'errors borrowed likewise from other heresies.'

[u] De Priscilliano—ejusque hæresi—Epiphanius et Damascenus hæresi 49. Fabric. not. ad Hieron. de V. I. cap. 121. Ap. Bib. Ec.

[v] De hac hæresi nihil apud Epiphanium, qui forte eam a Gnosticorum, Manichæorum, aliorumque sectis, quibuscum pleraque habebant Priscillianistæ communia, non distinxit. Quesn. Not. et Observ. in Ep. xv. S. Leon. p. 447.

[w] Priscillianistæ, quos in Hispaniâ Priscillianus instituit, maxime Gnosticorum et Manichæorum dogmata permixta sectantur. Quamvis et ex aliis hæresibus in eos sordes, tanquam in sentinam quandam, horribili confusione confluxerint. De Hær. cap. 70. T. viii.

3. Let that suffice for his general character of this people. I shall now add some particulars, though not in the order in which they lie in Augustine.

4. I therefore in the first place observe their opinion concerning the scriptures. 'In[x] which respect,' he says, 'they 'are more cunning than the Manichees; for they reject not 'any part of the canonical scriptures, but receive them all, 'and endeavour to support themselves by their authority. 'And when any texts are alleged against them, they strive 'to evade them by allegorical interpretations. They like-'wise use apocryphal scriptures, and argue from them in 'favour of their opinions.'

5. And in divers places, Augustine speaks to the like purpose, saying, that[y] they received all the canonical scriptures entire; using also apocryphal books. And says, whatever is alleged against them from scripture, they evade sometimes by cunning and artful, at other times by ridiculous and stupid interpretations. He also observes, that[z] they had a hymn, said by them to be the hymn which Christ sung at the last supper with the disciples. He moreover says, that hymn was to be found in apocryphal scriptures, not peculiar to the Priscillianists, but used by other heretics likewise. A main[a] part, if not the whole of that hymn, may be seen in Augustine's letter to Ceretius just quoted. What respect they had for that, or other apocryphal scriptures, is not very clear; there does not appear any thing heterodox in that hymn; they owned it was not in the canonical scriptures, and they[b] explained it by them, and agreeably to them.

6. Orosius, Augustine's friend, and of Spain, says, that[c]

[x] Hoc versutiores etiam Manichæis, quod nihil scripturarum canonicarum repudiant, simul cum apocryphis legentes omnia, et in auctoritatem sumentes, sed, in suos sensus allegorizando, vertentes quicquid in sanctis libris est, quod eorum evertat errorem. Ibid.

[y] Priscillianistæ vero accipiunt omnia et canonica et apocrypha simul. Sed quæcunque, quæ contra eos sunt, in suæ perversitatis sensus aliquando callidâ et astutâ, aliquando ridiculâ et hebeti expositione pervertunt. Ad Ceret. ep. 237. n. iii. T. ii.

[z] Hymnus sane, quem dicunt esse Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui maxime permovit venerationem suam, in scripturis solet apocryphis inveniri. Quæ non proprie Priscillianistarum sunt, sed alii quoque hæretici eis nonnullarum sectarum impietate vanitatis utuntur, inter se quidem diversa sentientes:——sed scripturas istas habent in suâ diversitate communes, easque illi præcipue frequentare assolent, qui legem veterem et prophetas non recipiunt. Ibid. n. 2.

[a] Habes verba eorum in illo codice ita posita: 'Hymnus Domini, quem dixit secrete sanctis apostolis discipulis suis, quia scriptum est in evangelio: Hymno dicto adscendit in montem.'—[Matt. xxvi. 30.] Ibid. n. 4.

[b] Deinde, quid caussæ est, ut eundem hymnum isti secundum scripturas canonicas conentur exponere? Ibid. n. 5.

[c] Priscillianus, primum

the Priscillianists, differing from the Manichees, endeavour to support their doctrine by the scriptures of the Old, as well as of the New Testament. He also says, they[d] had a book entitled the Memoir, or Memoirs of the Apostles: in which, possibly, the above-mentioned hymn was inserted.

7. Priscillian is one of those heretics, who, as Vincent of Lerins[e] says, in almost every page of their works insert quotations of the books of the Old or New Testament.

8. Pope Leo, with a partiality well becoming a man that uses authority in things of religion, and loves to make the worst of every thing relating to those called heretics, says, the[f] Priscillianists pretend to receive the books of the Old Testament. However, he cannot deny, but that therein they differ from the Manichees. As[g] for their apocryphal books, he not only prohibits them, but directs also, that they should be sought for, and burnt.

9. Turibius bishop of Astorga in Spain, who[h] is supposed to have flourished about the year 447, speaks[i] of their using apocryphal scriptures, the same with those used by the Manichees; as the Acts of Andrew, Thomas, and John: and he particularly mentions the Memoir of the Apostles, taken notice of by Orosius.

in eo Manichæis miserior, quod ex Veteri quoque Testamento hæresim confirmavit. Oros. Comm. ad Augustin. n. 2. T. viii.

[d] Et hoc ipsum confirmant ex libro quodam, qui inscribitur Memoria Apostolorum: ubi Salvator interrogari a discipulis videtur secreto, et ostendere, quia de parabolâ evangelicâ, quæ habet: 'Exiit seminans seminare semen suum.' [Matt. xiii. 3.] Ibid.

[e] Lege Pauli Samosateni opuscula, Priscilliani, Eunomii, Joviniani, reliquarumque pestium: cernas infinitam exemplorum congeriem, prope nullam omitti paginam, quæ non Novi aut Veteris Testamenti sententiis fucata et colorata sit. Vincent. Comm. p. 356. Paris. 1669.

[f] ———Quia etsi Vetus Testamentum, quod isti se suscipere simulant, Manichæi refutant, ad unum tamen finem utrorumque tendit intentio; cum quod isti abdicando impugnant, isti recipiendo corrumpunt. Ad Turib. ep. 15. cap. 16. p. 230.

[g] Apocryphæ autem scripturæ, quæ sub nominibus apostolorum multarum habent seminarium falsitatum, non solum interdicendæ, sed etiam penitus auferendæ sunt, atque ignibus concremandæ. Quamvis enim sint in illis quædam, quæ videantur speciem habere pietatis, nunquam tamen vacua sunt venenis, et per fabularum illecebras hoc latenter operantur, ut mirabilium narratione seductos laqueis cujuscunque erroris involvant. Ibid. cap. 15.

[h] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 440. et Tillemont, S. Leon. art. xvii.—xix. Tom. xv.

[i] ———specialiter autem Actus illos, qui vocantur S. Andreæ; vel illos, qui appellantur S. Joannis, quos sacrilego Leucius ore conscripsit; vel illos, qui dicuntur S. Thomæ, et his similia; ex quibus Manichæi, et Priscillianistæ, vel quæcumque illis est secta germana, omnem hæresim suam confirmare nituntur; et maxime ex blasphemissimo illo libro, qui vocatur Memoria Apostolorum, in quo ad magnam perversitatis suæ auctoritatem doctrinam Domini mentiuntur. Turib. cap. v. ap. S. Leon. p. 232.

10. According to Jerom[k] the Priscillianists made use of apocryphal books of the Old, as well as of the New Testament; particularly, the Ascension of Isaiah, and the Revelation of Elias.

11. It must therefore, I think, be allowed, that the Priscillianists, beside the canonical scriptures of the Old and New Testament, made use of apocryphal books: what respect they had for them, is not certain; but from these testimonies it may be reckoned probable, that they showed them a good deal of respect, more than catholics generally did: though, after all, they need not to be supposed to have equalled them to those scriptures, which are usually called canonical. This then was their doctrine concerning the scriptures.

12. By several they are said to have held the Sabellian doctrine concerning the Deity. So [l]Augustine in his book of Heresies, and[m] elsewhere; so likewise [n]Orosius. It is the last particular in Orosius's Memoir, and in Augustine's chapter concerning the Priscillianists in his book of Heresies: but it makes the first[o] in Pope Leo's letter concerning the errors of the Priscillianists written in the year 447.

13. Pope Leo presently afterwards[p] charges them with agreeing with the Arians in their sentiment concerning the person of Christ: whether consistently, or not, let others determine.

14. They are supposed to have had some doctrine concerning the innascibility of Christ: we[q] see it in the con-

[k] Ascensio enim Isaïæ et Apocalypsis Eliæ hoc habent testimonium. Et per hanc occasionem, multaque hujusmodi, Hispaniarum et Lusitaniæ deceptæ sunt mulierculæ, &c. In Is. cap. lxiv. T. iii. p. 473, 474. Conf. ad Theodor. ep. 53. al. 29. p. 581. T. iv.

[l] De Christo Sabellianam sectam tenent, eundem ipsum esse dicentes, non solum Filium, sed etiam Patrem, et Spiritum Sanctum. De Hær. cap. 70.

[m] Contra quam veritatem Priscillianus Sabellianum antiquum dogma restituit, ubi ipse Pater qui Filius, qui et Spiritus Sanctus perhibetur. Ad. Oros. cap. 4. T. viii.

[n] Trinitatem autem solo verbo eloquebatur. Nam unionem absque ullâ existentiâ aut proprietate asserens—Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, hunc esse unum Christum dicebat. Oros. Comm. ap. S. Aug. T. viii.

[o] Primo itaque capitulo demonstratur, quam impie sentiant de Trinitate, qui et Patris, et Filii, et Spiritûs Sancti, unam atque eandem asserunt esse personam, tanquam idem Deus nunc Pater, nunc Filius, nunc Spiritus Sanctus nominetur. Ep. 15. cap. i. p. 227.

[p] In secundo capitulo ostenditur ineptum vanumque commentum de processionibus quarundam virtutum ex Deo.——In quo Arianorum suffragantur errori, dicentium, quod Pater Filio prior sit.—Ibid. cap. 2.

[q] Symphosius episcopus dixit:——Hanc ego doctrinam, quæ, aut duo principia dicit, aut Filium innascibilem, cum ipso auctore damno, qui scripsit. Concil. Tolet. i. ap. Labb. Conc. T. ii. p. 1229. Vid. et supr. not. [n] p. 362.

fessions of those who renounced Priscillianism before the council of Toledo, and returned to the catholics. Pope[r] Leo seems not to have understood the meaning of this, though it be one of his articles of accusation against them, and he talks a good deal about it. I do not perceive Orosius or Augustine to say any thing distinctly about this point.

15. They had also some opinions concerning the soul, which were disliked by many of the catholics. They[s] are said to have held, that the soul was consubstantial to the Deity: so says Leo; nor is this denied, but supposed to be their opinion, both[t] by Orosius and Augustine. To the like purpose Jerom,[u] in a passage which I transcribe below, showing, that there were among christians, as well as among the philosophers, different opinions concerning the origin of the soul.

16. Farther, Pope Leo adds, It[v] was also said, that they believed the pre-existence of human souls, and that they had sinned in heaven, before they were sent into bodies. And[w] Orosius and[x] Augustine both speak of their believ-

[r] Tertii vero capituli sermo designat quod iidem impii asserant, ideo Unigenitum dici Filium Dei, quia solus sit natus ex virgine. Quod utique non auderent dicere, nisi Pauli Samosateni et Photini virus hausissent: qui dixerunt, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, antequam nasceretur ex virgine Mariâ, non fuisse. Si autem isti aliud de suo sensu intelligi volunt, neque principium de matre dant Christo: asserant necesse est, non unum esse Filium Dei.—Quoquoversum igitur se contulerint, in magnæ tendunt impietatis abruptum.———Ib. cap. 3.

[s] Quinto capitulo refertur, quod animam hominis, divinæ asserant esse substantiæ, nec a naturâ Creatoris sui conditionis nostræ distare naturam. Quam impietatem, ex philosophorum quorundam et Manichæorum opinione manantem, catholica fides damnat. Ib. cap. v. p. 228.

[t] Vid. Aug. ad. Oros. cap. i. et iv. T. viii.

[u] Super animæ statu memini vestræ quæstiunculæ, imo maximæ ecclesiasticæ quæstionis: Utrum lapsa de cœlo sit, ut Pythagoras philosophus, omnesque Platonici, et Origenes, putant; an a propriâ Dei substantiâ, ut Stoici, Manichæus, et Hispana Priscilliani hæresis suspicantur; an in thesauro habeantur Dei, olim conditæ, ut quidam ecclesiastici stultâ persuasione confidunt; an quotidie a Deo fiant, ut mittantur in corpora;—an certe ex traduce, ut Tertullianus, Apollinaris, et maxima pars Occidentalium autumant, &c. Ad Marcellin. et Anaps. ep. 78. [al. 82.] T. iv. p. 642.

[v] Decimo autem capitulo feruntur asserere, animas, quæ humanis corporibus inseruntur, fuisse sine corpore, et in cœlesti habitatione peccâsse. Leo. ib. c. 10.

[w] ———docens animam, quæ a Deo nata sit, de quodam promtuario procedere, profiteri ante Deum, se pugnaturam, instrui adhortatu angelorum; dehinc descendentem per quosdam circulos a principatibus malignis capi, et secundum voluntatem victoris principis in corpora diversa contrudi, eisque adscribi chirographum. Oros. Comm. ap. Aug. T. viii.

[x] Hi animas dicunt ejusdem naturæ atque substantiæ, cujus est Deus, ad agonem quendam spontaneum in terris exercendum, per septem cœlos, et per quosdam gradatim descendere principatus, et in malignum principem incur-

ing the pre-existence of human souls, and their descent from heaven, through several regions, into bodies allotted to them. But they do not say, that they supposed those souls to have sinned in their pre-existent state.

17. Another opinion ascribed to them by Pope Leo is, that the[y] sons of promise are born of women, but conceived by the Holy Spirit. I do not observe this in Orosius or Augustine: perhaps it is a consequence, which some deduced from their principles. Whether allowed by them, may not be certain; nor is it very intelligible: and perhaps there is nothing heretical in it.

18. Several other opinions are imputed to them: whether rightly, or not, cannot be certainly said, as we have none of their writings; and what their enemies say is not easy to be understood. However, I observe farther,

19. Pope Leo says, they[z] fasted on the day of Christ's nativity, and on the Lord's-day; which may be true, so far as I know: and though herein was an irregularity, yet in their way they honoured those days. Moreover, I think, it ought to be allowed, that this adds not any credit to the charge of licentiousness.

20. Another article imputed to them is a disadvantageous opinion of marriage. Pope Leo says, 'They[a] condemn 'marriage, and the procreation of children: in which, as in 'almost every thing else, they agree with the Manichees. 'And, as their manners show, they therefore dislike mar-'riage, because of the confinement of that state, and it is 'an obstruction to lewdness.'

21. Augustine expresseth himself to this purpose: 'With[b] regard to diet, they look upon the flesh of animals 'as impure. Where this sect prevails, it is a common thing 'with them to separate men from their wives, and women

rere, a quo istum mundum factum volunt, atque ab hoc principe per diversa carnis corpora seminari, &c. De Hær. cap. 70.

[y] Non autem annotatio manifestat, quod filios promissionis ex mulieribus quidem natos, sed ex Spiritu Sancto dicant esse conceptos. Ibid. cap. 9.

[z] Quarto autem capitulo continetur, quod Natalem Christi———non vere isti honorent, sed honorare simulent, jejunantes eodem die, sicut et die Dominico, qui est dies resurrectionis Christi. Ubi supr. c. 4.

[a] Septimo loco sequitur, quod nuptias damnant, et procreationem nascentium perhorrescunt. In quo, sicut pene in omnibus, cum Manichæorum profanitate concordant. Ideo, sicut eorum mores probant, conjugalem copulam detestantur: quia non est illic libertas turpitudinis, ubi pudor et matrimonii servatur et sobolis. Ib. cap. 7.

[b] Carnes, tanquam immundas, esca ipsa devitat. Conjuges, quibus hoc malum potuit persuadere, disjungens, et viros a nolentibus feminis, et feminas a nolentibus viris. Opificium enim omnis carnis non Deo bono et vero, sed malignis angelis tribuunt. Hær. 70. T. viii.

'from their husbands, without mutual consent. For all 'fleshly productions, they ascribe not to the good and true 'God, but to malignant angels.'

This, probably, was the reason of their disliking marriage: and they must consequently have condemned fornication, and every kind of uncleanness.

22. Pope Leo says, 'that upon this head the Priscil-'lianists agreed with the Manichees.' We have no writings of Priscillianists, to give us light, and but very imperfect accounts of their opinions: concerning the Manichees we have fuller information; and we can be satisfied, that as they had a disadvantageous notion of marriage, they absolutely condemned fornication, and such like things. This I suppose to have been made out[c] formerly; I would now confirm it by a passage of Faustus not yet alleged: 'We[d] 'do not think,' says that Manichean bishop, 'that the lives 'and manners of robbers are to be approved, because Jesus 'showed mercy to a robber on the cross: or that we are to 'approve the lives of publicans and harlots, because Christ 'declared their sins to be forgiven, and that they went into 'the kingdom of heaven before those who behaved proudly. 'For when he absolved a woman taken in adultery, whom 'the Jews brought before him, he said to her, "Go, and 'sin no more."' And Pope Gregory the first, surnamed the great, as well as Leo, says, the[e] Manichees condemned marriage, because they had observed virginity to be commended in the sacred oracles. If therefore the Priscillianists condemned marriage, it may be supposed, that they went upon the like grounds with the Manichees: and if they judged marriage itself not sufficiently pure, they loudly condemned fornication, and all sins of the flesh.

IX. We are now led to the consideration of two branches of immorality charged upon the Priscillianists, by some writers of the fourth and fifth centuries. One is lying, to conceal their principles; the other is the practice of impurity: I shall transcribe in the margin these charges as expressed by Augustine and Jerom; afterwards I shall take

[c] Vol. iii. p. 296—299.

[d] ——Sed tamen non idcirco dicemus, et latronum vitas et mores nobis probabiles esse debere, quia Jesus latroni indulgentiam dederit: aut quia publicanis ignoverit errata, dixeritque, quod etiam præcederent ipsi ad regnum cœlorum eos qui superbe gesserunt. In injustitiâ namque et in adulterio deprehensam mulierem quandam, Judæis accusantibus, absolvit ipse, præcipiens ei, ut jam peccare desineret. Faust. l. 33. cap. i. ap. Augustin. T. viii.

[e] Quia autem in sacro eloquio Manichæus virginitatem laudari comperit, conjugia damnavit. Jovinianus, quia concedi conjugia cognovit, virginitatis munditiam despexit. Gregor. Moral. in Job. l. xix. c. 18. T. i. p. 618. D.

notice of what is said by Pope Leo: and if I speak to both these charges together, for the sake of brevity, I hope it will not be taken amiss.

1. Of their falsehood Augustine speaks in the article[f] for this sect, in his book of Heresies and[g] in another work. He says, they approved of lying, to conceal from others their real principles and actions: they were said to have this among the rules of their sect, Swear, forswear: but never betray a secret.

2. Augustine[h] speaks of lewd women among the Priscillianists.

3. Jerom[i] speaks of the Priscillianists, as practising lewdness in a very shameful manner.

But there are considerations, which may dispose us to think, that here is some misrepresentation or aggravation of both these points.

(1.) It is very likely, that the charge of falsehood against these people, as well as of impurity, was partly owing to their being reckoned a branch of the Gnostics, to whom such things were generally imputed. A passage of Sulpicius, which[k] I place below, may justify this supposition.

(2.) Augustine seems not to have full proof of the falsehood, which he imputes to them. He says, it was reported of them, and it had been confirmed by some who had once been of the sect and had left them. But the testimony of such persons I take to be of little or no value; some such people might be willing to say any thing, to ingratiate themselves with their new friends.

[f] Propter occultandas autem contaminationes et turpitudines suas habent in suis dogmatibus et hæc verba: Jura, perjura, secretum prodere noli. De Hær. cap. 70. T. viii.

[g] Possunt enim aliqui hæretici reperiri fortasse immundiores. Sed nullus istis fallacia comparatur. Alii quippe, ut sunt hominum vitia, de hujus vitæ consuetudine vel infirmitate mentiuntur. Isti autem in ipsâ nefariâ doctrinâ hæresis suæ præceptum habere perhibentur, ut occultandorum dogmatum suorum causâ etiam falsâ juratione mentiantur. Hi, qui eos experti sunt, et ipsorum fuerant, atque ab eis Dei misericordiâ liberati sunt, etiam verba ipsa præcepti hujus ista commemorant: Jura, perjura, secretum prodere noli. Ep. 237. [al. 253.] n. 3. T. ii.

[h] Quod si enim ex numero Priscillianistarum impudicarum aliqua femina injiciat oculum in catholicum Joseph. Contr. Mendac. ad Consent. cap. vii. n. 17. T. vi.

[i] Priscillianus in Hispaniâ, pars Manichæi (de turpitudine cujus te discipuli diligunt plurimum) soli cum solis clauduntur mulierculis, et illud eis inter coïtum amplexusque decantant.—Qui quidem partem habent Gnosticæ hæreseos de Basilidis impietate venientem. Ad. Ctesiph. ep. 43. T. iv. p. 476.

[k] Namque tum primum infamis illa Gnosticorum hæresis intra Hispanias deprehensa, superstitio exsecrabilis, arcanis occultata secretis. Hist. Sa. l. ii. c. 46. al. 61. in.

(3.) There were martyrs among the Priscillianists, as[l] Augustine allows. Therefore, probably, there were seasons when they reckoned themselves obliged to declare the truth; though at other times, from prudential considerations, they might judge it proper to be upon the reserve, as indeed most people will think, who lie under difficulties and discouragements.

(4.) Augustine himself acquits them of excessive lewdness. For he says, 'A[m] more impure sect, possibly, may 'be found; but never were there any men comparable to 'them for falsehood.'

(5.) According to Augustine, the Priscillianists had an argument in behalf of lying from Thamar. Whereupon he says, 'Why[n] do they think, that Thamar is to be imitated 'when she lied, and that Judah may not be imitated in 'the commission of uncleanness?' Augustine therefore knew very well, that the Priscillianists did not approve of fornication, or adultery, or any other such sins of the flesh.

(6.) Jerom, in his letter to Ctesiphon, speaks of[o] Priscillianism as a doctrine of perfection, and that they pretended to uncommon degrees of knowledge and holiness. If therefore they transgressed, it was not by principle, but through infirmity, and the force of sudden temptation, as the men of other sects too often do.

(7.) In another work he speaks of the Priscillianists, as[p] asserting, that with due care men may arrive at such perfection, as to be free from sin, even in thought. They who had this notion, must have aimed at perfection, and could not by principle indulge themselves in evil actions.

(8.) I do not observe Orosius, in the account which he gives Augustine of the Priscillianists, to charge them either with falsehood or lewdness.

X. We now proceed to Pope Leo; for I have thought it worth the while to place him by himself, and to consider distinctly what he says; I[q] therefore transcribe him largely

[l] —Exsecrantur Priscillianistarum falsa martyria. Contr. Mendac. cap. v. n. 9. T. vi.

[m] See before, note [g].

[n] Cur autem isti imitandum sibi Thamar existimant mentientem, et imitandum Judam non existimant fornicantem? Contr. Mendac. cap. xiv. n. 30. T. vi.

[o] Priscillianus in Hispaniâ, pars Manichæi—verbum perfectionis et scientiæ sibi vindicantes. Ad Ctesiph. ep. 43. p. 476. in.

[p] ———ut præteream Manichæum, Priscillianum,—quorum omnino ista sententia est: posse ad perfectionem, et non dicam ad similitudinem, sed æqualitatem Dei humanam virtutem et scientiam pervenire: ita ut asserant se ne cogitatione quidem et ignorantiâ, quum ad consummationis culmen ascenderunt, posse peccare. Adv. Pelag. Dial. i. T. iv. p. 484. in.

[q] In exsecrabilibus autem mysteriis eorum quæ quanto immundiora sunt,

below. The sum of what he says is this: 'The Priscillianists agree with the Manichees in sentiments, consequently in practice. Wicked and obscene mysteries had been proved upon the Manichees; and therefore they were also used by the Priscillianists. Moreover, such things had been proved upon the Priscillianists in former times.'

In answer to which I say; 1. I am of opinion, that obscene mysteries never were proved upon the Manichees by Pope Leo, or any others. And I would willingly refer to what has been already observed relating to this point in[r] a preceding volume, and particularly to the Remarks upon Mr. Bower's account of the Manichees.[s] 2. Supposing such things to have been proved concerning the Manichees, it does not follow, that they may be righteously ascribed to the Priscillianists. For allowing the Priscillianists to have agreed with the Manichees in some of their peculiarities, it cannot be thence reasonably concluded, that they embraced them all; yea, it is apparent, that they differed from them, and in a material point, receiving the scriptures of the Old Testament; not now to mention any thing else. 3. Pope Leo says, obscene mysteries had been proved upon the Priscillianists in former times; referring, I suppose, to the trial of Priscillian and his friends. To which I answer; I am of opinion, that they were not then proved upon Priscillian nor his followers; and of this let every one judge, who has perused the preceding part of this chapter. 4. I think, it appears, that Pope Leo had not any positive proof, that the Priscillianists used obscene mysteries, or practised any wickedness by principle; for he alleges not any such proof; and founds his charges against them upon their supposed agreement with the Manichees, and the transactions of former times.

XI. As yet I have taken nothing from Philaster, because the Priscillianists are no where mentioned by him under that name. But he has an article of heretics, whom he calls Abstinents, which[t] I shall now transcribe at the bottom of the page.

tanto diligentius occulantur, unum prorsus nefas est, una est obscœnitas, et similis turpitudo. Quam etsi eloqui erubescimus, solicitissimis tamen inquisitionibus indagatam, et Manichæorum, qui comprehensi sunt, confessione detectam, ad publicam fecimus pervenire notitiam. Quod autem de Manichæorum fœdissmo scelere, hoc etiam de Priscillianistarum incestissimâ consuetudine olim compertum, multumque vulgatum est. Qui enim per omnia sunt impietate sensuum pares, non possunt in sacris suis esse dissimiles. Ep. 15. cap. 16. p. 230, 231.

[r] Vol. iii. p. 295—298.

[s] P. 449—456.

[t] Sunt in Galliis, et Hispaniis, et Aquitaniâ, veluti Abstinentes, qui et

It is the opinion of[u] Fabricius, and[v] Tillemont, that the Priscillianists are the heretics here intended by Philaster.

What he says is briefly this: That in Gaul, and Spain, and Aquitain, there was a sort of Abstinents, a branch of the Gnostics and Manichees, who dissolved marriages without mutual consent, and enjoined abstinence from some kinds of food. And he shows the inconveniences of the former of those doctrines, and confutes it by texts of scripture, as he does also the latter. He moreover says, that they captivated many people.

Whenever this article was written by Philaster, it tends greatly to wipe off some aspersions which were cast upon the Priscillianists. Their distinguishing character was not licentiousness, but rigour and abstinence; this was their profession, this their outward appearance; and thereby they gained upon many people. If this article of Philaster was written soon after the rise of Priscillianism, and before the trial of Priscillian at Treves, (which may be reckoned very probable,) it confirms the conjecture mentioned some while ago, that the charges brought against him were first invented about that time.

The only two articles imputed to these Abstinents by Philaster, are their rigid doctrines about marriage and diet. These, as I apprehend, first induced men to call them Manichees: and having once given them that denomination, or

Gnosticorum et Manichæorum particulam perniciosissimam æque sequuntur, eandemque non dubitant prædicare: separantes persuasionibus conjugia hominum, et escarum abstinentiam promittentes, quæ non ex legis præcepto, sed promotionis cœlestis, et dignitatis causâ voluntati hominum talis a Christo concessa est gratia. Dicit enim Dominus Petro: 'Non omnes capiunt hoc verbum.' [Matt. xix. 11.] Et iterum idem Dominus ait: 'Qui dimiserit uxorem suam sine causâ criminis, facit eam mœchari.' [ib. ver. 9.] Aliud est itaque consensu communi hoc fieri, laudis causâ majoris consequendæ a Domino, et aliud contra legem suadere, contraque amborum facere voluntatem. Et iterum: 'Qui non manducat, manducantem non spernat: et qui manducat, non manducantem non judicet.' [Rom. xiv. 3.] Quod ex voluntate est itaque, laudis est amplioris, immo potius mercedis cœlestis est desiderium. Quod autem extra legem est, non a Deo Christo est traditum, sed inani hominum præsumtione et errore inventum. Scriptum est enim, 'Do vobis omnia edere, sicut fœnum.' [Gen. ix. 3.] Hoc autem ideo faciunt, ut escas paulatim spernentes, dicant eas non esse bonas, et ita non a Deo hominibus escæ causâ fuisse concessas sed a diabolo factas ut adserant, ita sentiunt. Inque hoc jam creaturam non a Deo creatam, sed a diabolo eam factam prædicare nituntur. Perque hoc mendacium multorum animas captivârunt. Philast. H. 84. Abstinentes.

[u] Perspicuum vero est a Philastrio perstringi Priscillianistas, qui circa A. C. 380, proferre se cœperunt. Fabric. Annot. in Philast. p. 161.

[v] Si les hérétiques qu' il nomme Abstinens sont les Priscillianistes, comme il y a assez d' apparence, il n' a écrit, qu' après l' an 380, auquel cette hérésie commença à éclater dans l'Espagne. S. Philastre, Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. viii.

said that they were a branch of the Gnostics and Manichees, men were led to ascribe to them all the enormities, which were generally imputed to those people.

XII. Upon the whole, from what has passed before us in this chapter, I think it appears, that the Priscillianists received the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, which were generally received by other christians. They likewise made use of apocryphal books; but what respect they had for them cannot be now clearly determined. Some ecclesiastics, who went under this denomination, are represented, from an ill-judged zeal and without sufficient reason, to have deserted their stations in the church, to betake themselves to a retired and solitary course of life. They had errors concerning the soul, and some other matters. They seem to have had a disadvantageous opinion of marriage, and thereby sometimes made unhappy breaches in families, if their adversaries do not aggravate. They also had rules about diet, not founded in reason, nor scripture. Some of these people are blamed for not consuming the eucharist at church: and they were irregular in fasting, when other christians feasted. But as we have none of their writings remaining, we do not know their whole system with certainty. By some they have been charged with obscene doctrines, and lewd practices. But so far as we are able to judge upon the evidence that has been produced, they rather appear to have made high pretensions to sanctity and purity, and to have practised uncommon mortifications.

CHAP. CVIII.

DIODORUS, BISHOP OF TARSUS.

DIODORUS, of[a] a good family, and probably born at Antioch, in which city he long resided, was ordained bishop of Tarsus in Cilicia, by [b]Meletius bishop of Antioch, about the year 378. He died in 394, or sooner.

2. St. Jerom, whom[c] I place below, reckons the time

[a] Και την μεν τα γενες ακ ελογιζετο περιφανειαν, την ὑπερ της πιστεως ταλαιπωριαν ασπασιως ὑπεμεινε. Theod. H. E. l. iv. c. 25. p. 188. B.

[b] Ib. l. v. c. 4. in.

[c] Diodorus, Tarsensis episcopus, dum Antiochiæ esset presbyter, magis cla-

when he was presbyter the most shining period of his life. He does not assign the reasons of that judgment: but they may be collected from other writers, particularly the ecclesiastical historians of those times.

3. Diodorus, whilst presbyter, seems to have had the direction of some monastery, or school, in or near the city of Antioch. At[d] which time he instructed divers young men in the knowledge of the scriptures, and the principles of religion: among whom three, who were afterwards very eminent, are particularly mentioned; Maximus bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, Theodore bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia, and John Chrysostom bishop of Constantinople. Chrysostom in an oration calls Diodorus[e] his father, and boasts of the share he had in his esteem.

4. Moreover, Jerom may have an eye to some sufferings which he underwent from the Arians in the time of Valens: whereas his episcopate was peaceable. Chrysostom says, he[f] was more than once banished from his native country, for his freedom in speaking the truth. Theodoret, in divers places, celebrates Diodorus's courage in those difficult times. He says, 'that[g] when Leontius was bishop of Antioch, he 'and Flavian, though they were then but laymen, not only 'openly professed the apostolic doctrine, but were also very 'diligent in keeping the people in the right faith. He elsewhere calls them[h] lights of the truth.'

To these, and some other like things, Jerom may refer.

5. Jerom says farther, that 'Diodorus wrote Commentaries upon St. Paul's Epistles, and many other things, imitating the manner of Eusebius of Emesa;' of whom, it may be remembered, we spake[i] formerly. To the like purpose [k] Socrates, and [l] Sozomen: who say, that Diodorus wrote

ruit. Extantque ejus in apostolum commentarii, et multa alia, ad Eusebii magis Emiseni characterem pertinentia; cujus cum sensum secutus sit, eloquentiam imitari non potuit propter ignorantiam sæcularium literarum. De V. I. cap. 119.

[d] Τηνικαυτα ην οτοι [Ιωαννης, Θεοδωρος, και Μαξιμος] σπουδαιοι περι την αρετην γενομενοι, μαθητευσοιν εις τα ασκητικα Διοδωρῳ και Καρτεριῳ· οιτινες τοτε μεν ασκητηριῳ προϊσταντο· Socr. l. vi. c. 3. p. 302. B. Et conf. Soz. l. viii. c. 2. p. 757. A. Et Thdrt. l. v. c. ult.

[e] In Diod. T. iii. p. 748. A.

[f] Αλλα και ητος πολλακις της πατριδος εξεπεσε δια την ὑπερ της πιστεως παῤῥησιαν. Ibid. p. 749. B.

[g] ——Ἡ δε αξιαγαστος ξυνωρις Φλαβιανος και Διοδωρος, ἱερατικης μεν λειτουργιας μηδεπω τετυχηκοτες, τῳ δε λαῳ συντεταγμενοι, νυκτωρ και μεθ' ἡμεραν εις τον ὑπερ της ευσεβειας ζηλον διηγειραν ἁπαντας. Theod. L. ii. c. 24. p. 107. A. B. Vid. et l. iv. cap. 25.

[h] ——οἱ της αληθειας φωστηρες. L. iv. c. 27. p. 190. c.

[i] See Vol. iii. p. 593, 594.

[k] ——πολλα βιβλια συνεγραψε, ψιλῳ τῳ γραμματι των Θειων προσεχων γραφων, τας Θεωριας αυτων εκτρεπομενος. Socr. l. vi. c. 3. p. 302. C.

[l] Soz. l. viii. c. 2. p. 757. A.

many books, representing the literal or historical sense of scripture, omitting the mystery.

6. I formerly[m] had occasion to take notice of Diodorus's work against the Manichees, in five and twenty books, of which there is mention made in [n] Photius. The same learned critic mentions a book of Diodorus[o] concerning the Spirit, and[p] gives a large account of his work against Fate, in eight books, and three and fifty chapters.

7. By Theodoret we are assured, that [q] Diodorus wrote against Paul of Samosata, Sabellius, Marcellus, and Photinus.

8. Suidas[r] says, 'that Diodorus lived in the time of Julian 'and Valens: and adds, as from Theodoret the reader, that 'he wrote Commentaries upon all the books of the Old 'Testament, Genesis, Exodus, and the books following, and 'upon the Psalms, and the four books of the Kingdoms, 'and the difficult places of the Chronicles, and upon the 'Proverbs: the[s] Difference between Theory and Allegory: 'upon Ecclesiastes: upon the Canticles; upon the Pro-'phets—[t] upon the four Gospels: upon the Acts of the 'Apostles: upon the epistle of the evangelist John:— 'Against the Melchizedekians:—Against the Jews: of the 'Resurrection of the Dead: of[u] the Soul, and the different 'opinions about it—of Providence: against [v] Plato, con-'cerning God and the gods: of Nature and Matter: against 'the Astronomers and Astrologers, and of Fate: of[w] God, 'and the fictitious matter of the Greeks, or Gentiles—against 'the philosopher Euphronius, by way of question and 'answer: against Porphyry of animals and sacrifices:' and divers others, which need not to be here rehearsed.

9. Ebedjesu, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers found in the Syriac language, says, that Diodorus[x] wrote sixty books, which the Arians had burned. However he mentions eight, which had remained, having escaped the diligence of his enemies; one of which is the work against the Manichees; another is an explication of a part of St. Matthew's gospel.

[m] Vol. iii. p. 269, 280. [n] Cod. 85. p. 204. [o] Cod. 102. p. 275.
[p] Cod. 223. p. 662, &c. [q] Hæret. Fab. l. ii. cap. xi.
[r] V. Διοδωρος. [s] Τις διαφορα θεωριας και αλληγοριας.
[t] Εις τα δ' ευαγγελια· εις τας Πραξεις των Αποστολων· εις την επιστολην Ιωαννε τε ευαγγελιστε. Ibid. [u] Περι ψυχης· κατα διαφορων περι αυτης αἱρεσεων. [v] Κατα Πλατωνος περι θεε και θεων.
[w] Περι θεε και ὑλης Ἑλληνικης πεπλασμενης.
[x] Composuit libros numero sexaginta, quos Ariani combusserunt——— Remanserunt vero ex illis quæ sequuntur—et Expositio in partem Matthæi. Ebed. Cat. n. 18. ap. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 39.

10. One book, in Suidas, and which may be supposed to relate to the right interpretation of scripture, is entitled, 'The Difference between Theory and Allegory.' In the enumeration of his works, it is placed, as we have seen, next after the Commentary upon the book of the Proverbs; and[y] therefore may have been a Dissertation subjoined to it. But the design of it is not very obvious. Fabricius thinks, it[z] showed the difference of the mystical sense from the allegorical and moral. Ludolf Kuster, in his notes upon Suidas, says, that[a] theory denotes the abstruse and mystical sense in opposition to the literal sense: and moreover, that the theory is more sublime than the allegory.

11. Diodorus seems to have been an apologist for the christian religion. He wrote, as we have seen, against the Jews, as well as against heretics. And it may be reckoned very probable, that in some of his works, he confuted heathenism, or some of its principles: it may be fairly argued from the titles of several of them above mentioned from Suidas. And, if Facundus may be relied upon, the emperor Julian wrote a letter to Photinus, in [b] which he reviled Diodorus, as ignorant of the mysteries of the gods, but well versed in the fishermen's theology; a large part of which letter Facundus has left us in a sad Latin translation.

12. The respect shown to Diodorus appears, in part, in some things already said.

13. Theodoret[c] speaks of him in terms of the highest respect, and often commends him. Basil, who was acquaint-

[y] 'In Proverbia:' cui addidit dissertationem de 'Differentiâ Theoriæ et Allegoriæ,' sive sensûs mystici ab allegorico atque morali. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 362.

[z] See note [y].

[a] Θεωρια hic significat sensum abstrusiorem et mysticum: cui opponitur το ῥητον, sive sensus literalis. Sozomenus de Diodoro nostro: ——περι δε το ῥητον των ἱερων λογων τας εξηγησεις ποιησασθαι, τας θεωριας αποφευγοντα: id est: 'Quem accepi multos libros a se conscriptos posteris reliquisse, et sa-'cram scripturam ad literam exposuisse, omisso sensu mystico.' Et Socrates —ψιλῳ τῳ γραμματι των θειων προσεχων γραφων, τας θεωριας αυτων εκτρεπομενος. 'Diodorus vero——multos conscripsit libros, simplicem tantum 'atque obvium scripturarum sensum inquirens, mysticam vero earum interpre-'tationem refugiens.' Θεωρια igitur quid significet, hinc patet. Ab eâ differt allegoria, quod hæc in inferioribus subsistat, nec in tam sublimi argumento versetur, quam theoria. Kuster.

[b] Julianus enim, Christo perfidus imperator, sic Photino hæresiarchæ adversus Diodorum scribit—Diodorus autem Nazaræi magus,—auctus apparuit sophista religionis agrestis——usque adeo ignorans paganorum mysteria, omnemque miserabiliter imbibens, ut aiunt, degenerum et imperitorum ejus theologorum piscatorum errorem. Facund. l. iv. cap. 2. p. 59.

[c] Και Διοδωρος μεν ὁ σοφωτατος τε και ανδρειοτατος, οια τις ποταμος διειδης τε και μεγας, τοις μεν οικειοις την αρδειαν προσεφερε, τας δε των εναντιων βλασφημιας επεκλυζε. Theod. l. iv. c. 25. p. 188. B. Vid. et l. v. cap. ult.

ed with Diodorus, testifies[d] his esteem and affection for him, as an excellent and useful man. They who are pleased may also consult[e] Facundus.

14. Many learned moderns have been very sensible of his merit. Cave[f] speaks honourably of his method of interpreting scripture. And as he imitated Eusebius of Emesa, so, as it seems, to[g] him we are indebted for Chrysostom and Theodore, whose taste was formed by his. I place in the margin a part[h] of Beausobre's character of our Diodorus of Tarsus, and Theodore of Mopsuestia. 'He 'calls them two of the most learned bishops of antiquity: 'both which, as he says, banished from their Commentaries 'allegorical interpretations, confining themselves to the 'literal sense. The loss of their works has been a great 'detriment to the christian interest. But the Greeks sacri-'ficed them to their hatred and envy, because Nestorius had 'been their scholar.'

15. The usefulness of Diodorus's Commentaries, if they had been extant, may be collected from what Montfaucon says: That[i] from the remaining fragments of them, to be found in the Chains, he appears to have been well acquainted with Origen's Hexapla.

16. I have allowed myself to enlarge in the history of Diodorus and his works, because they are most of them lost, and many of them were designed for illustrating the holy scriptures. But for farther accounts of them, and the reflections cast upon his and Theodore's memory, after the rise of the Nestorian and Pelagian controversies, I refer to

[d] Bas. Ep. 244. [al. 82.] p. 378. D.

[e] Fac. l. iv. c. 2.

[f] Vir sane undequaque doctissimus, qui in indagando S. Scripturarum sensu, repudiatis allegoriis, simplicem duntaxat atque obviam verborum intelligentiam sectatus est. Cav. H. L. T. i. in Diodoro.

[g] Præcipuus Diodori labor fuit, quo plerosque scripturæ libros interpretando imitatus est Eusebium Emesenum. Atque ipse præivit Joanni Chrysostomo atque Theodoro Mopsuesteno, ita ut sensum literalem, potius quam, ex recepto apud plerosque alios illis temporibus more, allegorias sectarentur, &c. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 362.

[h] Je ne say, si Theodore de Mopsueste, et Diodore de Tarse, deux des plus savans evêques de l' antiquité, decouvrirent cette vué des loix Mosaïques: [pour être un préservatif contre l'idolatrie:] mais ils bannirent, l'un et l' autre, de leurs commentaires sur le V. T. tout ce fatras d' allégories, s' attachant uniquement à bien expliquer le sens literal. Quelle perte pour l' eglise que celle le leurs excellens ouvrages, que les Grecs ont sacrifié à leur haine et leur envie, parce que ces savans hommes avoient été les maîtres de Nestorius. Beaus. H. de Manich. l. i. ch. iv. T. i. p. 288.

[i] Diodorus Tarsensis, in sacrâ scripturâ apprime versatus, Hexaplorum plenam notitiam habuisse videtur: ut ex ejus fragmentis, quæ in Catenis supersunt, deprehenditur. Montf. Prælim. in Hexapl. Orig. p. 95.

other[k] writers; though I have made some use of them, and have been assisted by them in composing this article.

CHAP. CIX.

A COMMENTARY UPON THIRTEEN OF ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES.

I. *The time and author of this work.* II. *His testimony to the books of the New Testament.*

I. I HAVE already more than once[a] taken notice of a Commentary upon thirteen of St. Paul's Epistles, usually joined with St. Ambrose's works, and of late ascribed by many to Hilary, deacon of Rome.

1. And as I have not yet given any account of him, I shall do it now, but briefly. He[b] was born in Sardinia, and made deacon of Rome about the year 354. He is mentioned by Jerom in his book of Ecclesiastical Writers, in the chapter concerning[c] Lucifer of Cagliari, and several times in his book against the Luciferians. Hilary was always a zealous Homoüsian. Afterwards he became a rigid Luciferian, and even exceeded the bishop, from whom those people received their denomination. Jerom[d] pleasantly calls him another Deucalion, as if he would bring again an universal deluge on the world, because he was for rebaptizing Arians, and other heretics, when they came over to the church: whereas it had been the general usage of christians in former times, and of the church of Rome in

[k] Vid. Cav. H. L. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 358—363. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. viii. et Du Pin, T. ii.

[a] See Vol. iii. p. 26, 27, 303.

[b] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 317.

[c] De V. I. cap. 95.

[d] Est præterea aliud quod inferemus, adversum quod ne mutire audeat Hilarius, Deucalion orbis. Si enim hæretici baptisma non habent, et ideo rebaptizandi ab ecclesiâ sunt, quia in ecclesiâ non fuerunt, ipse quoque Hilarius non est christianus. In eâ quippe ecclesiâ baptizatus est, quæ semper ab hæreticis baptismum recepit.—Diaconus eras, o Hilari, et a Manichæis baptizatos recipiebas. Diaconus eras, et Ebionis baptisma comprobabas. Repente, postquam exortus est Arius, totus tibi displicere cœpisti. Segregas te cum tuis vernulis, et novum balneum aperis.——Quod si negandum quispiam putaverit, hæreticos a majoribus nostris semper fuisse susceptos, legat beati Cypriani epistolas.——Legat et ipsius Hilarii libellos, quos adversus nos de hæreticis rebaptizandis edidit: et ibi reperiet, ipsum Hilarium confiteri, a Julio, Marco, Silvestro, et cæteris veteribus episcopis similiter in pœnitentiam omnes hæreticos susceptos. Hieron. Adv. Lucifer. T. iv. P. ii. p. 305. Vid. ib. p. 302. infr. m.

particular, to receive heretics upon repentance. Upon the ground of this notion Hilary separated from the church. He also wrote treatises in favour of his opinion. So says Jerom.

2. Cave readily allows this Hilary, deacon of Rome, to be author of the fore-named Commentary, written, as he supposeth, before 384, as also of Quæstiones in Vetus et Novum Testamentum, written about 370, and usually joined with [e] St. Augustine's works. Pagi [f] likewise contends, that Hilary, deacon of Rome, was author of both these works. Du Pin [g] carefully examines this point. Tillemont says, it [h] is now thought by many, that Hilary is author of the fore-mentioned Commentary, but that this opinion is not without its difficulties. James Basnage, without determining who is the author, says, he [i] lived in the time of Damasus, before the end of the fourth century. Samuel Basnage [k] hesitates. And as for the Quæstiones, &c. he will not deny them to have the same author with the Commentaries, because they agree in several things. But [l] he says, they are written in a manner much inferior to the Commentaries. None, in my opinion, have treated this question more fully, or more judiciously, than the Benedictine editors of St. Ambrose's works: they say, that [m] the manuscript copies of the Commentaries are very different from one another; and that in some parts of those Commentaries there appear to be interpolations of long passages. Nor are they certain that the Quæstiones were written by the author of the commentaries. And if they were, they also have been interpolated: which, indeed, I take to be very probable, or even manifest, concerning both these works.

II. I shall make some extracts out of the Commentaries; but I forbear to transcribe any thing out of the Quæstiones in V. et N. Testamentum.

1. In these Commentaries upon thirteen Epistles of St. Paul, most books of the Old and New Testament are quoted: as the four gospels, Mark's [n] in particular; the Acts of the

[e] Tom. iii. edit. Lovan. T. iv. edit. Benedict.

[f] Ann. 362. n. xxv. xxvi. [g] Bib. Ec. T. ii.

[h] St. Ambroise, art. xci. Mem. Ec. T. x. et Lucifer de Cagliari, Art. ix. et not. 9, 10. Mem. T. vii.

[i] Histoire de l' Eglise, l. xix. ch. 7. n. 15. p. 1181.

[k] Ann. 362. n. 21, 22.

[l] Commentarius porro operi Quæstionum longissime præstat. Ib. n. 22.

[m] In Commentar. Admonit. ap. S. Ambrosii. Opp. T. ii. in Append p. 21, &c.

[n] Quamvis dicat Marcus evangelista de dæmonibus: 'Sciebant enim Christum ipsum esse Jesum.' [Marc. i. 34.] In 1 ep. ad Cor. cap. ii. 8. Ap. Ambros. T. ii. Append. p. 118. D.

Apostles very often; the first and [o] second epistle of Peter; St. John's first epistle often, his [p] third epistle once at least; the [q] Revelation he ascribes to John the apostle, and quotes it very freely: whether the author received the epistle to the Hebrews as Paul's, may be questioned; since he wrote commentaries upon his acknowledged thirteen epistles, and not upon that. However, the epistle to the Hebrews is mentioned in [r] these commentaries.

2. I shall now put down some remarkable observations and explications of this author.

3. He says, that [s] all the apostles were chosen out of the Jewish nation, and that it was fit it should be so.

4. Upon Gal. i. 19, he says, that [t] James, there mentioned, and called "brother of the Lord," was son of Joseph by a former wife; but some impiously asserted, that Joseph had children by Mary.

5. He supposeth, that the christians at Rome had no apostle with them, before the time of St. Paul's writing to them; which to me appears very probable: it may be argued from the whole of his epistle to them, though from some parts of it more especially. However, Pelagius manifests a different opinion in [v] his commentary upon that epistle.

Upon Col. iv. 14, "Luke the beloved physician and Demas greet you:" he says, 'That [w] Luke was justly dear to Paul, because he constantly accompanied him. Moreover, he is said to have written the gospel and the Acts of the

[o] Sicut Petrus apostolus inter cætera dicens: 'Ut sitis,' inquit, 'consortes divinæ naturæ.' [2 Pet. i. 4.] In Philip. i. p. 251. F.

[p] Hic est Caius, ut arbitror, ad quem scribit Joannes apostolus, exsultans in caritate ejus, quam exhibebat fraternitati. In Rom. xvi. p. 110. E.

[q] Sicut dictum est in Apocalypsi Joannis apostoli. In 2 Thess. c. ii. p. 286. C. Vid. et in 2 Cor. xi. p. 198. B. in 1 Thess. iv. p. 282. A. Et passim.

[r] Nam simili modo et in epistolâ ad Hebræos scriptum est, quia Levi, qui decimas accepit, decimas dedit Melchisedec. In 2 Tim. i. p. 305. B.

[s] Hoc est quod dicit, quia dispensatio prædicationis his decreta est a Deo, qui ex Judæis crediderunt in Christum. Unde nullus ex gentibus ad apostolatum electus est. Dignum enim erat, ex his eligi prædicatores, qui ante speraverunt salutem, quæ illis promissa est in Christo. In Eph. i. ver. 11, 12. p. 233. B.

[t] In Galat. i. p. 213. F.

[u] Romanis autem [ut Galatis] irasci non debuit, sed et laudare fidem illorum: quia nulla insignia virtutum videntes, nec aliquem apostolorum, susceperunt fidem Christi, ritu licet judaïco. Proleg. in ep. ad Rom. p. 25. B.

[v] Romanos Petri prædicatione fidem tenentes confirmare se velle Paulus dicit; non quo minus accepissent a Petro, sed ut duobus apostolis testibus atque doctoribus, eorum roboretur fides. Pelag. in Rom. i. 11. Ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 927.

[w] Vere carissimus apostolo fuit Lucas, quia, omnia postponens, apostolum semper sequutus est. Qui et evangelium et Actus Apostolorum scripsisse perhibetur. In Col. p. 276. C.

Apostles.' Which manner of expression seems to intimate some doubt about the truth of that tradition; or, whether Luke here mentioned, and called physician, was the evangelist.

7. He supposeth[x] the epistle, called To the Ephesians, to have been written to them.

8. The translation of Col. iv. 16, followed by him, is,[y] "that ye read the epistle of the Laodiceans." The same is in[z] the commentary ascribed to Pelagius. Which expression I take to be ambiguous; it may import an epistle written by the Laodiceans; or an epistle which was their property, as having been written to them. In which of those two senses Pelagius understood the expression does not appear; but this author, I think, understood it in the latter sense; and supposed, that hereby was meant a letter sent to the Laodiceans by the apostle. Since, therefore, he allowed the epistle, called to the Ephesians, to have been written to them; and that there was an epistle sent to the Laodiceans, mentioned, Col. iv. 16, he must have looked upon this as a lost epistle. For it does not appear, that there was any epistle of the apostle Paul received by him, which was inscribed to the Laodiceans.

9. The first epistle to the Thessalonians is inscribed in this manner: 'Paul, and Silvanus, and Timothy, to the church of the Thessalonians.' Upon which the author observes: 'The[a] letter has the names of three bishops, [or of bishops, without three,] but the sense and words are the apostle's alone.' A somewhat like observation may be seen in Pelagius's[b] Commentary upon the beginning of the first epistle to the Corinthians. And it is very just. All the authority of the epistle is derived from the apostolical character and commission.

10. His reading at 1 Tim. iii. 16, is,[c] 'which was manifested in the flesh.' That must have been in many Latin copies at that time.

[x] Vid. Proleg. in ep. ad Eph. et Comm. in c. i. v. 1.

[y] 'Et vos ut eam, quæ est Laodicensium, legatis.'] Quia generales sunt apostolorum, et ad omnium profectum ecclesiarum scriptæ epistolæ:—idcirco, etiam Laodicensibus epistolam hanc legi præcepit, ut per hanc quid agendum sibi esset addiscerent: et Colossenses ut eorum legerent, juxta sensum supradictum. In Col. iv. p. 276. D.

[z] Et ea, quæ Laodicensium est, vobis legatur. Pelag. in Col. ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 1076.

[a] Trium quidem episcoporum nomina literæ continent. [Al. episcoporum nomine literæ continentur.] Sed sensus et verba solius apostoli sunt. In 1 Thess. p. 277. A.

[b] 'Et Sosthenes frater.'] 'Frater,' inquit, non apostolus. Hunc autem idcirco secum scribentem inducit, quia ex ipsis doctor est, et pro his valde solicitus. Pelag. in 1 Cor. ap. S. Hieron. T. V. p. 974.

[c] P. 296. B.

11. In the note upon Tit. iii. 13, he makes no question, but[d] that Zenas was a Jewish lawyer; which appears to me very probable, though then a christian.

CHAP. CX.

PHILASTER, BISHOP OF BRESCIA.

1. ACCORDING to Cave,[a] Philaster, bishop of Brixia or Brescia, in Italy, and author of a work Concerning Heresies, flourished about the year 380. Tillemont likewise[b] thinks it probable, that the fore-mentioned work must have been written in the year 380, or soon after. Fabricius not only thinks that[c] Philaster wrote after Epiphanius, but that he also borrowed from him; which does not appear certain to me. Some few instances of agreement between authors, who have the same design, will not amount to a full proof. If Philaster had read Epiphanius, in all probability he would have mentioned him. It needs not to be reckoned at all strange, if he was wholly unacquainted with Epiphanius's work, even supposing him not to have written before 380, or somewhat later, which is not certain. Augustine, long after that, had seen only the Summary or Synopsis of Epiphanius, as all allow. Philaster is often quoted by Augustine in his book of Heresies. It may not be amiss to put down[d] a passage of Augustine in his letter to *Quod vult Deus* concerning that work, in which he gives the preference to Epiphanius above Philaster. The year of Philaster's death is not certainly[e] known; but it is generally supposed that[f] he died in 386, or 387.

2. Philaster has a catalogue of the books of scripture;

[d] Quamvis enim Zenam legisperitum vocitet, Apollo tamen perfectus erat in scripturis. Sed quia Zenas hujus professionis fuerat in synagogâ, sic illum appellat. In Tit. iii. p. 317. A.

[a] Hist. Lit. T. i. [b] See S. Philastre, Mem. Ec. T. viii.

[c] Etiam ante Philastrium scripsit Epiphanius, ex cujus libris ille profecit. Fabric. Not. ad Vit. Philast. per Gaudentium.

[d] Philastrius quidam Brixiensis episcopus, quem cum sancto Ambrosio Mediolani etiam ipse vidi, scripsit hinc librum——Neque enim putandum est, aliquas ignorâsse Epiphanium, quas noverat Philastrius: cum Epiphanium longe Philastrio doctiorem invenerimus. Epist. 222. T. ii.

[e] See St. Philaster, in Tillemont, near the end.

[f] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. et Basnag. ad ann. 386. n. x.

which, omitting some things relating to apocryphal writings, is to this purpose. 'It[g] was appointed by the apostles, and their successors, that nothing should be read in the catholic church, but the law, and the prophets, and the gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, and thirteen epistles of Paul, and seven other, two of Peter, three of John, one of Jude, and one of James, which seven are joined with the Acts of the Apostles. But the hidden, that is, apocryphal scriptures, though they ought to be read by the perfect, for the improvement of men's manners, may not be read by all.'

3. In that article are omitted the epistle to the Hebrews, and the book of the Revelation. Nevertheless, perhaps, they are not quite rejected, but only denied to be publicly read. Let us therefore observe some other places.

4. The very next article relates to the epistle to the Hebrews, and is to this effect: 'There[h] are others also, who do not allow the epistle of Paul to the Hebrews to be his; but say, it is either an epistle of Barnabas the apostle, or of Clement bishop of Rome. But others say, it is an epistle of Luke the evangelist. And some receive an epistle to the Laodiceans. Some pretend, that additions have been made to it by some heterodox persons, and that for that reason, it ought not to be read in the churches, though it is read by some. But in the church are read to the people his thirteen epistles only, and that to the Hebrews sometimes. Moreover some reject it as more eloquent than the apostle's other writings, and because Christ is here said[i] to be "made:" and because of what he says of[k] repentance, which the Novatians make an advantage of.'

A part of this chapter was alleged[l] formerly.

5. By this we perceive, that there were at that time not a

[g] Propter quod statutum est ab apostolis, et eorum successoribus, non aliud legi in ecclesiâ debere catholicâ, nisi legem, et prophetas, et evangelia, et Actus Apostolorum, et Pauli tredecim epistolas, et septem alias, Petri duas, Joannis tres, Judæ unam, et unam Jacobi, quæ septem Actibus Apostolorum conjunctæ sunt. Scripturæ autem absconditæ, id est, apocrypha, etsi legi debent morum causâ a perfectis, non ab omnibus legi debent. Phil. de Hær. cap. 88.

[h] Sunt alii quoque, qui epistolam Pauli ad Hebræos non adserunt esse ipsius, sed dicunt, aut Barnabæ esse apostoli, aut Clementis de urbe Româ episcopi. Alii autem Lucæ evangelistæ aiunt. Epistolam etiam ad Laodicenses scriptam. Et quia addiderunt in eâ quædam non recte sentientes, inde non legitur in ecclesiâ, etsi legitur a quibusdam. Non tamen in ecclesiâ legitur populo, nisi tredecim epistolæ ipsius, et ad Hebræos interdum. Et in eâ quia rhetorice scripsit, sermone plausibili, inde non putant esse ejusdem apostoli. Et quia et *factum* Christum dicit in eâ, inde non legitur. De pœnitentiâ autem propter Novatianos æque. Ibid. cap. 89.

[i] Hebr. iii. 2.

[k] Hebr. vi. 4. and x. 26.

[l] See Vol. iii. p. 17.

few, who on one account or other had doubts about the writer of this epistle, which has not St. Paul's name at the beginning, as his other epistles have. The objection taken from the superior elegance of the style of this epistle above the rest deserves notice. It affords an argument, that the ancient christians read the scriptures with care. How Origen expresseth himself upon this head we saw[m] formerly.

6. Philaster himself received the epistle to the Hebrews; for he reckons it a heresy to reject it. And in the remaining part of the chapter, just cited, he proposeth answers to the two last-mentioned objections. And in this his work, of Heresies, he has[n] several times referred to this epistle, or quoted it as the apostle Paul's.

7. Philaster received likewise the book of the Revelation. For one of his heresies is that[o] of those who reject the gospel of John and his Revelation. I put that article at the bottom of the page; where he observes, there are some who dare to say, that the Revelation is not a writing of John the apostle and evangelist, but of Cerinthus.

8. I do not think it needful to make any more remarks upon these articles, nor to transcribe any more chapters of this author. But it hence appears, that he received the same books of the New Testament which we do. If ever we come to that part of this work, which is allotted for the history of the heretics of the first two centuries, we shall have occasion to take farther notice of Philaster.

[m] See Vol. ii. p. 495.

[n] Cum apostolus doceat, quod omnem hominem mori oportet, postque hoc jam judicari. cap. 122. p. 255. Vid. Hebr. ix. 27. Et honorandæ nuptiæ. cap. 117. p. 239. A. Vid. Hebr. xiii. 4.

[o] Post hos sunt hæretici, qui evangelium secundum Joannem, et Apocalypsim ipsius non accipiunt: et cum non intelligunt virtutem scripturæ, nec desiderant discere, in hæresi permanent pereuntes: ut etiam Cerinthi illius hæretici esse audeant dicere, et Apocalypsim ibidem non beati Joannis evangelistæ et apostoli, sed Cerinthi hæretici, qui tunc ab apostolis beatis hæreticus manifestatus, abjectus est ab ecclesiâ. Hær. 60. p. 120, 121. Et conf. Fabricii, not. (*b*).

CHAP. CXI.

GAUDENTIUS, BISHOP OF BRESCIA.

1. GAUDENTIUS, successor of Philaster in the bishopric of Brescia, is placed by Cave at the year 387. For a more particular account of him and his works, I refer to[a] others. I shall only take his testimony to the books of the New Testament, and some select passages.

2. He expressly says, there[b] are four evangelists; and he has frequently quoted all the four gospels, St. Mark's[c] in particular.

3. The[d] book of the Acts of the Apostles is expressly quoted, and ascribed to St. Luke, who had also written a gospel.

4. I need not produce any particular quotations of St. Paul's epistles. I only observe that[e] he has several times quoted the epistle to the Hebrews as Paul's.

5. Gaudentius takes but little notice of the catholic epistles. However, he has quoted[f] the epistle of St. James, and[g] the first epistle of St. Peter. And, very probably, he received all the rest.

6. He likewise quotes[h] the book of the Revelation.

7. There is no notice taken by Gaudentius of any apocryphal christian books. And it is likely, that his canon of the New Testament was the same with that now generally received.

8. It appears, that[i] Gaudentius was wont to compare the

[a] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 282. Du Pin, Bib. T. iii. Tillem. Mem. T. x.

[b] In quatuor evangelistarum testimonio. Ab. Bib. PP. T. v. p. 947. A.

[c] Vid. p. 950. F. 951. G.

[d] Sicut in principiis Actuum Apostolorum Lucas evangelista testatur. p. 959. A. Lucas evangelista, qui beatos apostolos pari merito subsequutus est, et evangelii librum et Actus Apostolorum imitandâ examinatione conscripsit. p. 969. C.

[e] Sicut scriptura testatur in epistolâ Pauli beatissimi ad Hebræos. p. 975. G. et passim.

[f] P. 972. F.

[g] P. 960. C.

[h] Et sicut in Apocalypsi de Babylone scribitur, vel urbe, vel gente, vel unâquâque animâ, errorum caligine, vitiorumque carnalium permixtione confusâ. [Apoc. c. xvii. ver. 6.] p. 943. C. et alibi.

[i] —— dicens: 'Nunc judicium est hujus mundi. Nunc hujus mundi princeps mittetur deorsum,' sive, 'expelletur foras,' ut in Græcis exemplaribus legimus. [Joh. xii. 31.] p. 969. B.

'Sine,' inquit, 'eam,' sive 'sinite.' Utrumque enim et in Græcis et Latinis

Latin and Greek copies of the New Testament, or the Latin translation with the Greek original. And as he had travelled in the East, it is not improbable, that he was well skilled in the Greek language.

9. He has divers good observations upon Christ's showing himself to Thomas, and takes notice[k] of the advantage which we have from the scrupulousness of that apostle, in the fuller evidence of our Lord's resurrection.

10. Gaudentius supposed[l] our Lord's ministry to have been of but one year's duration only from his baptism to his death.

11. He often speaks[m] of the Lord's-day, or the first day of the week, sanctified by Christ's resurrection from the dead.

12. He asserts free-will very strongly. He says, 'That[n] things are not done, because they were foretold: but the divine prescience knows beforehand what will happen, and therefore they are foretold. It is, he says, inconsistent with the perfections of God, that he should command, or compel men to do what he blames, if done. What the Jews did, they did voluntarily, though it had been foretold. And do you think, that if the Jews had repented at the preach-

exemplaribus invenitur. Sed magis congruere videtur sensui, cum legitur. 'Sinite,' &c. [Conf. Marc. xiv. 6. John xii. 7.] p. 964. A.

[k] Sufficiat nobis, quoniam sancti Thomæ curiositas et ambiguitas futuræ scrupulositatis finem fecit. Quod enim absens fuit, quod avidius et videre et attrectare Dominum perquisivit, totum nostræ procurabatur saluti, ut evidentius nosceremus resurrectionis Dominiciæ veritatem. p. 969. B.

[l] Anniculus est, quia post illud baptismum, quod pro nobis in Jordane susceperat, usque ad passionis suæ diem, unius anni tempus impletur. Et ea tantum scripta sunt in evangeliis, quæ in illo anno vel docuit vel fecit. Nec ipsa tamen omnia. p. 948. H.

[m] Nam sextâ feriâ, quâ hominem fecerat, pro eodem passus. Et die dominicâ, quæ dicitur in scripturis prima sabbati, in quâ sumserat mundus exordium, resurrexit. p. 945. F. Vid. et p. 960. D. et 959. B.

[n] Synagoga Judæorum quod erat crudeliter factura, prædictum est: non, ui fieret, jussum est. Nec ideo factum est, quia prædictum erat. Sed ideo prædictum est, quia erat futurum; ut prescientiam suam Deus, in his quæ per libertatem arbitrii hominum futura erant, ostenderet. Libertatem diximus arbitrii, quia voluerunt Judæi facere quod fecerunt: et utique si voluissent, [f. noluissent,] non fecissent. Certe ingentis sacrilegii est, vel cogitare quod Deus, qui non solum bonus et justus, sed ipsa bonitas est et ipsa justitia, vel jubeat aliquid vel cogat fieri, quod factum damnet. An fortasse putamus, quia, si pœnituissent Israëlitæ, aliter omnipotens Filius Dei salvare non potuerit mundum? 'Quis enim cognovit sensum Domini? aut quis consiliarius ejus fuit?' Considera in evangelio, quomodo expectaverit Christus pœnitentiam Judæorum; ubi exprobat civitatibus, in quibus factæ sunt plurimæ virtutes ejus, quod non egerint penitentiam.——Præscientia quidem Dei non fallitur. Sed nec homini concessa semel voluntatis libertas aufertur, &c. p. 948. F. G. Vid. et p. 963. B.

ing of Jesus, the world could not have been saved? I think we are not to limit the divine power or wisdom. "For who has known the mind of the Lord? or who has been his counsellor?" Consider, how in the gospel Christ waited for the repentance of the Jewish people, and how he upbraided the cities, in which most of his mighty works were done, because they repented not.'

13. Descanting upon the notice taken of the value of the ointment, with which Mary had anointed the Lord, as mentioned, John xii. 4, 5, he[o] has some uncommon thoughts concerning our Saviour's treatment of Judas.

14. He[p] seems to have read the decree of the council at Jerusalem, Acts xv. as we now have it. By "blood" he does not understand homicide, but the blood of animals. Moreover he says, there was no occasion to insert there a prohibition of homicide, adultery, and such great crimes, which were punished even by human laws, but only those particulars, "things offered to idols, blood, things strangled, and fornication." If the reader pleases, he may recollect what was formerly[q] said by us concerning the true reading of that place.

15. He[r] asserts the reality of natural religion: and says, that by the exercise of their own reason men may learn the existence of God, and discern the obligation of an equitable conduct one toward another.

16. He[s] celebrates the progress of the christian religion,

[o] Quamvis ergo Dominus Jesus conscientiæ judex esset, noluit tamen Judam de occultis ejus acrius increpare, ne, quoniam verisimili ratione videbatur locutus, putaretur forsitan injuste correptus, atque hinc iracundiam ejus tantam concepisse causam, ut inimicis necandum traderet, quem sine ullo peccamine habuisset infensum. Nihil ergo acerbum Christus voluit pro merito sceleratæ mentis illius loqui, ne Judas eum tradere videretur iratus, &c. p. 964. D. E.

[p] Et idcirco beatus Jacobus cum cæteris apostolis decretum tale constituit in ecclesiis observandum: 'Ut abstineatis vos,' inquit, 'ab immolatis, et a sanguine,' id est, 'a suffocatis.' Prætermiserunt 'homicidium, adulterium, veneficia:' quoniam nec nominari ea in ecclesiis oporteret, quæ legibus etiam Gentilium punirentur. Prætermiserunt quoque illas omnes minutias observationum legalium. Et sola hæc, quæ prædiximus, custodienda sanxerunt, ne vel sacrificatis diabolo cibis profanemur immundis, vel ne mortuo per viscera suffocatorum animalium sanguine polluamur, vel ne immunditiis fornicationum corpora nostra, quæ templa Dei sunt, violemus. p. 967. F. G.

[q] See Vol. iii. p. 22—36.

[r] Neque hodie aliquis reatum peccati incurrit, si eum non astringat aut naturalis lex, aut mandati lex, aut literæ lex. Naturalis lex est illa, quam Gentes, legem literæ non habentes, naturaliter ea quæ legis sunt faciunt: quia rationabilis animæ humanæ natura, ut Creatorem suum sentiat, ut proximum non lædat, ut non faciat quod pati non vult, naturali quâdam lege intelligit, &c. p. 960. F.

[s] Nam, priusquam pateretur et resurgeret Christus, notus erat tantum in

and the effects of it in turning men from darkness to light, and from vice to virtue and holiness.

17. I conclude my extracts with a pious observation of this writer: 'That[t] we are born again, that we know in part the works of God, that we endeavour to improve the time of this life so as to obtain a better, that in the hope of future recompences we act and speak religiously, is all owing to God: I say, it is owing to God.'

CHAP. CXII.

SOPHRONIUS.

1. AS St. Jerom has placed his learned friend Sophronius in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, I transcribe the chapter[a] below. And I likewise refer to some learned[b] moderns, who have made observations upon it.

2. Jerom says, that Sophronius was a very learned man; that when young he published a work entitled, The Praises of Bethlehem, and since, an excellent account of the Demolition of the Temple of Serapis. He had also translated several of Jerom's works into Greek.

3. All those things are lost. But we have a Greek version of St. Jerom's Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, called Sophronius's. But though many receive it as his, all do not. Its genuineness is denied, not only by[c] Isaac Vossius, who thought it to have been made by Erasmus himself, who first published it, but[d] by divers other learned men, who allowed the antiquity of it.

Judæâ Deus. Tunc in omnes gentes fulgor claritatis dominicæ pertransit.—p. 948. C.

[t] Nos ipsi etiam, quod renascimur, quod hæc ipsa opera Domini ex parte novimus, quod vivendo vitam quærimus, quod futurorum spem gerentes pie conversamur et loquimur, Dei, inquam, Dei sunt opera. p. 960. B.

[a] Sophronius, vir apprime eruditus, laudes Bethlehem adhuc puer, et nuper de subversione Serapis insignem librum composuit. De Virginitate quoque ad Eustochium, et Vitam Hilarionis monachi, opuscula mea, in Græcum eleganti sermone transtulit. Psalterium quoque, et prophetas, quos nos de Hebræo in Latinum vertimus. De V. I. cap. 134.

[b] Vid. Fabr. Bib. Ec. et Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 195—198. Cav. Hist. Lit. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. xii. St. Jerome, art. 39, et 58.

[c] Vid. Voss. citat. a Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 295, 296.

[d] Viro summo Isaaco Vossio facile largior, nec Sophronii illius, cui tribui-

4. Nevertheless, Robert Stephens and Mill have prefixed to the four gospels the several chapters or Lives of the four Evangelists, in that Greek version; and Mill, in like manner, the chapters of St. James and St. Jude to their epistles. He should have taken also the chapter concerning St. Paul, and have placed it before his epistle to the Romans. Why he omitted it I do not know, unless he thought it too long. Moreover, these chapters, so far as taken, are, in [e] Stephens, and [f] Mill, called Sophronius's. But if I may be allowed to speak my mind, it seems to me, that those articles had been better put in St. Jerom's own original Latin, even supposing that the Greek version had been made by his friend Sophronius: but as that is not certain, the version is still less proper. I formerly[g] took the liberty to make some remarks upon some of the testimonies prefixed by Mill to the gospels.

CHAP. CXIII.

THEODORE, BISHOP OF MOPSUESTIA IN CILICIA.

I. *His time and history.* II. *Accounts of his works, particularly of his commentaries, from Photius and others, and his testimony to the scriptures.* III. *A fragment concerning the four gospels, with remarks.* IV. *His character, as a preacher.* V. *Reflections upon him after his death.*

I. THEODORE was mentioned in the chapter of Diodorus of Tarsus. He was descended of an honourable family, and in all probability was a native of the city of Antioch. He[a] was an intimate friend and fellow-disciple of John

tur, nec valde antiquam esse Græcam Catalogi Hieronymiani versionem. Sed ut ab Erasmo, aut ab alio illius ævi confictam credam, adduci non possum. Nam cum ex eo quædam iisdem verbis in Lexico Suidæ, legantur, potius est, ut Suidà vetustiorem credam. Jo. Andr. Bosius Introductione in Notitiam Script. Ec. cap. 3. citat. a Fabr. Bib. Ec. p. 13.

Ac præterea Græcus interpres, qui adscito Sophronii nomine vetustatem mentitur, eam fideliter exhibeat. C. A. Heuman. Præf. ad Lactant. Symph. p. v. Hanover. 1722.

[e] Βιος—Ματθαιε κατα Σωφρονιον. Ap. Stephan.

[f] Σωφρονιος.

[g] See the chapter of Hippolytus, Vol. ii. p. 432, 433.

[a] Vid. Socr. l. vi. c. 3. Soz. l. viii. c. 2. Thdrt. l. v. c. ult.

Chrysostom under Libanius the sophist, and Andragathius the philosopher, and afterwards under the fore-mentioned Diodorus and Carterius.

Sozomen says, that[b] he was well skilled in the sacred scriptures, and in the liberal sciences of the rhetoricians and philosophers. Theodoret[c] calls him the doctor of the whole church: he says, he was bishop six and thirty years, and wrote against all heresies, particularly those of Arius, Eunomius, and Apollinarius.

And, as according to Theodoret's account, Theodore died in 429, it is concluded, that[d] he was ordained in 394. I do not therefore well know, why[e] Cave placed him as flourishing about the year 407: when, too, he supposeth him to have been bishop so soon as 392. And indeed there are others also, who think he[f] was ordained bishop in 392, and died in 428.

Theodore[g] had a brother, named Polychronius, who presided with honour over the church of Apamea, and was distinguished by his agreeable manner of preaching, and the holiness of his life.

II. Photius has given an account of several of Theodore's works.

1. The first in order is[h] his Defence of Basil against Eunomius, consisting of five and twenty books. 'Though 'his style is not clear,' Photius says, 'he is full of sense 'and argument, and abounds with texts of scripture. He 'confutes Eunomius, almost word for word; and largely 'shows him to have had little skill in profane learning, and 'yet less in our theology.'

2. The next is a Commentary upon the book of Genesis. Here Photius says, that[i] Theodore studiously shuns allegorical interpretations, and confines himself to the history. He moreover says, that in this work may be perceived the principles of Nestorianism, though the author was before Nestorius.

3. The third[k] is a small volume in three books, against[l]

[b] Μοψϐεστιας δε της Κιλικων Θεοδωρος, ανηρ και των ιερων βιβλων, και της αλλης παιδειας ῥητορων τε και φιλοσοφων ικανος επιστημων. Soz. l. viii. c. 2. p. 757. A. B. [c] —Θεοδωρος, ὁ Μοψϐεστιας επισκοπος, πασης μεν εκκλησιας διδασκαλος. κ. λ. Thdrt. l. v. c. ult.

[d] Vid. Pagi ann. 423. xvi. et 427. xii. Et conf. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 400. not. 3. [e] Claruit anno 407. Quin si mortis ejus tempus recte assequor, jam ab anno 392 episcopatum tenuit. Obiisse enim videtur anno 428, postquam ecclesiam Mopsuestenam per 36 annos gubernâsset. H. L. T. i. p. 385. [f] Vid. Basnag. ann. 428. n. v.

[g] Thdrt. ubi supra. [h] Cod. 4. p. 7. [i] Cod. 38. p. 24.

[k] Βιβλιδαριον—Cod. 81. p. 200. [l] Conf. Theod. de Mops. art. 6. Tillem. T. 12.

the Persian Magic, and showing the preference of true religion. Here again Photius says, that the author favours Nestorianism.

4. The fourth and last is[m] 'a work in five books, against 'those who said, that men sin by nature, not by will and 'choice. He considers it as a doctrine held by those in the 'west, and from thence brought into the east, especially by 'an author, called Aram; who he is I do not know, who 'had written several books in defence of it. The opinions 'of that sect he represents in this manner. One of them is 'that men sin by nature, not by choice. By nature, how-'ever, not meaning that, in which Adam was first formed; 'for that, they say, was good; but that which he afterwards 'had, when he had transgressed, being now bad instead of 'the good, and mortal instead of the immortal nature, which 'he before had. Hence men being bad by nature, who 'before were good, now[n] sin by nature, not by choice. 'Another opinion of theirs, and consequent upon that is, 'that[o] infants, though newly born, are not free from sin; 'forasmuch as from Adam's transgression a sinful nature, 'as they express it, is derived to all his posterity: for this 'they allege those words, "I was born in sin," and others. 'Here also,' as Photius proceeds, 'appear Nestorian princi-'ples, and the notion of Origen concerning the period of the 'punishments of the future state. He[p] also says, that man 'was at first made mortal; though death be represented 'as the consequence of his transgression, the better to con-'vince us of the evil of sin.' Photius concludes the article, saying, that this writer appeared to have studied the scriptures with care, though in many things 'he erred from 'the truth.'

5. Photius did not know who was meant by Aram, nor whether it was a real or fictitious name. But learned men are now well satisfied, that[q] hereby is to be understood St. Jerom; and that in this work Theodore aimed to confute Jerom's three Dialogues against the Pelagians. And it is supposed, that he had also an eye to Augustine.

[m] ——προς τους λεγοντας, φυσει και ου γνωμη πταιειν τους ανθρωπους.—Cod. 177. p. 396.

[n] ——εν τη φυσει, και ουκ εν προαιρεσει κακτησθαι την ἁμαρτιαν. Ib.

[o] ——μηδε τα παιδια, καν αρτιγενητα ᾖ, μη απηλλαχθαι ἁμαρτιας.

[p] Ετι δε ωδε το λεγειν αυτον, απ' αρχης μεν θνητον πεπλασθαι τον Αδαμ, ενδειξει δε μονον ἱνα μισησωμεν την ἁμαρτιαν, σχηματισαι ουτω τον Θεον. Ibid.

[q] Vid. T. Ittigii Diss. de Aramo scriptore ecclesiastico antipelagiano. In App. ad Diss. de Hæresiarchis, p. 466, &c. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 387. Tillem. Theodor. de M. Art. 7. Mem. T. xii. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 402. not. 4. Beaus. H. M. T. ii. p. 466, 467. Hod. de Bib. Text. p. 322. n. 18.

6. It is observable, that[r] in the copies which Photius had of all these works, they were said to be written by Theodore of Antioch. Nevertheless Photius perceived, that they were written by Theodore bishop of Mopsuestia; and had good evidence of it from some of his epistles, which he had read.

7. Theodore's works were translated into Syriac: Ebedjesu gives this account of them: 'Theodore[s] the commentator composed one and forty tomes.——A Commentary 'upon the book of Genesis in three tomes; upon David in 'five tomes; upon the Twelve Prophets in two tomes; upon 'Samuel [or the first two books of the Kings] in one tome; 'upon Job in two tomes; upon Ecclesiastes in one tome; 'upon Isaiah, and Ezekiel, and Jeremiah, and Daniel, each in 'one tome: there putting an end to his labours upon the 'Old Testament. Matthew he explained in one tome; Luke 'and John in two tomes; the Acts of the Apostles in one 'tome; the epistle to the Romans, the two epistles to the 'Corinthians, in two tomes; the epistles to the Galatians, to 'the Ephesians, to the Philippians, to the Colossians, and 'the two epistles to the Thessalonians, both the epistles to 'Timothy, the epistle to Titus, and to Philemon, and to the 'Hebrews; thus[t] completing his commentaries upon the 'whole apostle in five tomes. Ebedjesu afterwards mentions 'several other works of Theodore. A book concerning the 'sacraments: one book entitled, Of the Faith: one tome 'concerning the Priesthood: two tomes concerning the 'Holy Spirit: a tome concerning the Incarnation: two 'tomes against Eunomius: and[u] two other against an 'author, who asserted sin to be in our nature: two other 'against Magic:—and[v] moreover five tomes against the

[r] Vid. Cod. 177. p. 396. in. Et conf. Cod. 4. p. 8. Cod. 38. p. 24. Cod. 81. p. 200.

[s] Theodorus commentator
Composuit quadraginta et unum tomum, Ebedjesu, Catalog. cap. 19. ap. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 30. &c.

[t] Quinque autem tomis finem imposuit
Commentariis suis in totum apostolum.
Ibid. p. 33.

[u] Ac duo alii adversus asserentem
Peccatum in naturâ insitum esse.———Ib. p. 34.

[v] Quinque præterea tomos composuit
Adversus Allegoricos,
Et unum pro Basilio.
— — — — —
Item librum Margaritarum,
In quo epistolæ ejus collectæ sunt.
Demum Sermonem de Legislatione,
Quo finem lucubrationibus suis imposuit.
Ib. p. 34, et 35.

'Allegorists:—and a book of Jewels, in which his epistles 'are collected: and a Discourse of Lawgiving, wherewith 'he put an end to his labours.'

8. Simeon, who[w] was bishop of Beth-Arsam, or Arsamopolis, in Persia, from the year of Christ 510 to 525, says, that[x] Theodore wrote commentaries upon all the books of the Old and New Testament.

9. According to[y] the Edessen Chronicle, he began to write commentaries in the year of Christ 402, or the ninth year of his episcopate.

10. I forbear to transcribe[z] Gennadius's chapter concerning Theodore; but would refer to some learned moderns[a] for a farther account of his works. For the present let us make a stand, and review what we have seen in ancient authors.

(1.) Ebedjesu, having mentioned Theodore's Commentaries upon the Twelve Prophets, and upon Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and Daniel, adds, that he there put an end to his labours upon the Old Testament. Which may afford an argument, that Theodore did not receive, as sacred and divine scripture, any books written after those of the Jewish canon.

(2.) He is said[b] to have spoken in disrespectful terms of the book of Job, and the Canticles. But[c] as those accounts appear among the charges and accusations of enemies, there is, in all probability, some misrepresentation. Moreover, as we have seen in Ebedjesu, he wrote a Commentary upon the book of Job: which may amount to a confutation of one part of that charge.

(3.) Ebedjesu mentions commentaries upon the three gospels only of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John, saying nothing particularly of St. Mark. Nevertheless there can

[w] Vid. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. i. 341.

[x] A Diodoro accepit Theodorus, Mopsuestiæ in Ciliciâ, qui omnes quidem tum Veteris tum Novi Testamenti libros commentatus est. Sim. Beth—Ars. ap. Assem. ib. p. 348.

[y] Vid. ib. p. 400.

[z] Gennad. de Script. Ec. cap. 12.

[a] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. Oudin. de Scr. Ec. T. i. p. 895. Du Pin, Bib. T. iii. p. 90. Tillem. Mem. T. xii. Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. v. c. 33. T. ix. p. 153, &c. Pagi ann. 423. n. xv.—xix.

[b] Vid. Conc. Constant. ii. ap. Labbé. T. v. p. 451, 452. Conf. Tillem. T. xii. Theod. de M. art. v. et Du Pin, ubi supr. p. 90. b.

[c] On dit, que Theodore de Mopsueste [Garnier. ad Mar. Mercat. Dis. i. sect. 9. p. 320.] regardoit le livre de Job comme une fable tirée du paganisme,—le Cantique de Salomon comme une chanson d' amoreux—J' ai de la peine à le croire—Il n' y eut personne pendant sa vie, qui l' accusât d' erreur —Il ne fut condemné que près de cent cinquante ans après sa mort, par la cabale de Justinien. J. Basn. H. de l' Egl. l. viii. ch. v. n. 6. p. 430. Vid. ib. l. x. ch. 6. n. 4. p. 520.

be no question made, but he received four gospels, as other christians did: and we may see proof of it in a fragment to be alleged presently.

(4.) Theodore, as we are also assured by Ebedjesu, wrote commentaries upon St. Paul's fourteen epistles, particularly upon that to the [d] Hebrews.

(5.) None of the accounts of his commentaries, which we have seen, are sufficient to satisfy us, which of the catholic epistles were received by him. Unquestionably, he received those, which had been all along received by christians in general. But what was his opinion concerning the rest, and concerning the book of the Revelation, does not as yet clearly appear, that I know of.

(6.) Most of Theodore's works are lost. But fragments may be found, chiefly in Latin, and perhaps not fairly represented, in the Acts of the second general council of Constantinople, or the fifth general council, held in 553, as also in Facundus, and in the Greek Chains. We are likewise assured by Fabricius, that [e] his Commentary upon the Twelve Prophets is still in being in manuscript, in the emperor's library at Vienna. D. B. de Montfauçon, in his Diarium Italicum, in his account of things in the library of St. Mark at Venice, speaks [f] of its being there, and in the library at Vienna, and in the Vatican: of which [g] he speaks again in his Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum MSS. I am glad there is so good evidence that this work is still extant, and that there are several copies of it; I hope, it may some time be pub-

[d] Dr. Joseph Asseman, in a note upon Ebedjesu's Catalogue, says: Epistolas Pauli omnes a Theodoro fuse explicatas esse, testatur Theodoritus. Præfat. in Comment. in easdem. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 32. Which led me to consult Theodoret's preface to his Commentaries upon St. Paul's Epistles, and his argument to the Epistle to the Hebrews. But I have not found there any mention made of Theodore's Commentaries. It seems that Dr. Asseman borrowed this from Dr. Cave, who still says in the new edition of his H. L. T. i. p. 387, in his account of Theodore's Works: Commentarii in 14 D. Pauli Epistolas; quas omnes a Theodoro fuse explicatas esse, auctor est Theodoritus. Præf. in Comm. in Ep. S. Pauli. This mistake is corrected by Fabricius, who seems to have had the same fruitless task imposed upon him by Cave, that I have had from Asseman. Quod vero epistolas Pauli omnes fuse explicatas a Theodoro scripserit Theodoritus, in ejus Præfatione Commentarii in Epistolas Apostoli, quam laudat eruditissimus Caveus, non reperio. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. ix. p. 163. m.

[e] 'In duodecim Prophetas Commentarius.'——Integer foliorum 223 servatur Græce in Bibl. Cæsareâ, teste Lambecio. Fabr. B. G. T. ix. p. 162.

[f] 'Theodori Antiocheni in xii. Prophetas.' Hic liber nondum editus est. Exstat quoque in Bibliothecâ Cæsareâ Viennensi, et in Vaticanâ Bibliothecâ. Diar. Ital. p. 39.

[g] In Bibliothecâ Cæsareâ Vindebonorum. Codex clxiii. bombycinus Græcus, Theodori Mopsuesteni in duodecim Prophetas Minores. Biblioth. MSS. T. i. p. 546. Et vid. in Ind. Gen. Theodor. Mops. in Scripturam.

lished: it might let us know more fully this writer's manner of interpreting scripture; and, possibly, we might there see his sentiments concerning the disputed books of the New Testament, about which we do not yet distinctly know his opinion.

(7.) The last work of Theodore in Ebedjesu's Catalogue, is entitled, A Discourse of Lawgiving, or of the Lawgiver. As it is not now extant, we cannot say what was in it: but if a conjecture were to be formed, we might be apt to think, the[h] design of it was to show, that one and the same God was the author of the Old and the New Testament, or of the more ancient and the latter dispensation.

III. I shall now put down a fragment, or passage of Theodore concerning the four gospels, which is prefixed by Dr. Mill to St. John's gospel, taken[i] from Corderius's Chain upon that evangelist. As Dr. Mill's New Testament is very common, I need not transcribe the Greek here at length; but I shall endeavour to make a literal version of it.

Says Theodore: 'After[k] the Lord's ascension to heaven, the disciples stayed a good while at Jerusalem, visiting the cities in its neighbourhood, preaching chiefly to the Jews; until the great Paul, called by the divine grace, was appointed to preach the gospel to the Gentiles openly. And in process of time, Divine Providence, not allowing them to be confined to any one particular part of the earth, made way for conducting them to remote countries. Peter went to Rome, the others elsewhere. John, in particular, took up his abode at Ephesus, visiting however at seasons the several parts of Asia, and doing much good to the people of that country by his discourses. About[l] this time the other evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, published their gospels; which were soon spread all over the world, and were received by all the faithful in general with great regard. Nevertheless, the christians of Asia, having a great opinion of the abilities and faithfulness of John, and considering that he had been with Jesus from the beginning, even before Matthew, and that he had been greatly favoured by the Lord, brought to him the other books of the gospels, desiring to know his opinion concerning them. And he declared his approbation of them, saying, that what they

[h] Vid. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 35. not. 3.

[i] Ap. Balth. Corderii Caten. in. S. Joan. in Procem. Antv. 1630.

[k] Μετα την εις ερανες αναληψιν τε Κυριε, επι πολλω μεν τοις Ἱεροσολυμοις ενδιετριψαν οἱ μαθηται τω χρονω. κ. λ.

[l] Γινεται τοινυν εν τετοις των λοιπων εναγγελιστων εκδοσις, Ματθαιε τε και Μαρκε.——

had written was agreeable to truth; but that some miracles, which might be of great use if recorded, were omitted. He said, moreover, that whereas they had written of the coming of Christ in the flesh, it was fit that the things concerning his divinity also should be recorded. The brethren thereupon earnestly desired him to write those things, which he esteemed needful to be known, and which he saw to have been omitted by the rest: with which request he complied. And he was induced to begin immediately with the doctrine of Christ's deity. After which he proceeded to the account of the things said and done by the Lord in the flesh.'

It will now be proper to make some remarks.

1. This account of the occasion of St. John's writing his gospel agrees very much with that in [m] Eusebius of Cæsarea. I mention this observation in the first place, because it is likely, that the occasion of St. John's gospel was the thing primarily intended in that part of our author's work, from which this passage is taken.

2. The late date of the first three gospels is here supposed: they were not written until after that the first twelve disciples had for a good while preached the gospel to the Jews at Jerusalem, and in the neighbouring cities; nor until after St. Paul had been called, and had openly preached the gospel to the Gentiles; nor until after that St. Peter had been at Rome; nor, as it seems, until after, or at least, about the time of St. John's taking up his abode at Ephesus in Asia.

3. It seems to be supposed, that all the first three gospels were written about the same time.

4. Those gospels were soon spread abroad among christians all over the world. This is expressly said by our author, as well as that they were received by all with great regard. And indeed the accounts given, both by Theodore and by Eusebius, of the occasion of St. John's writing his gospel, afford good evidence, that the first three gospels soon came into the hands of many christians. Before St. John wrote his gospel, the christians in Asia had seen and read the other three; and they asked St. John his opinion concerning them, and he approved them. There can be no reason to doubt, that about this time, and soon after they were written, those three gospels were delivered to other christians, beside those in Asia.

5. The publishing of St. John's gospel, which he wrote now at the request of the believers at Ephesus, would con-

[m] See p. 94—96.

tribute to their being yet more public, and looked upon by all with the greatest veneration. And from this time forward, it is reasonable to think, the four gospels were collected in one code or volume. And St. John's gospel, now added to the rest, would occasion a diligent comparing of all of them together, and a careful attention to the several accounts of each.

I now proceed.

IV. That Theodore was a celebrated commentator, we have seen: that he was also a celebrated preacher, and admired as such, at Antioch and Constantinople, and all over the East, may be collected from testimonies in [n] Facundus.

V. 1. Theodore, as the same Facundus [o] says, lived and died in the communion of the church. And his great reputation is manifest from Sozomen and Theodoret, before cited. Nevertheless afterwards, upon occasion of the Pelagian and Nestorian controversies, there [p] were great debates about his sentiments; and not a few moderns [q] call him the parent both of Pelagianism and Nestorianism: whilst others allow [r] indeed his holding the Pelagian principle, but think the charge of Nestorianism not so clear. Divers passages of his, alleged by Facundus,[s] seem not reconcileable therewith: however, we have seen, that Photius, in his accounts of Theodore's works, scruples not to accuse him of being in the Nestorian principle. And in his epistles he says, that [t] Nestorius borrowed his abominable doctrine from Diodorus of Tarsus, and Theodore of Mopsuestia: but bishop R. Montague,[u] in a note upon Photius, vindicates both those great men.

[n] Theodosio imperatori, qui per idem tempus mundi regebat gubernacula, sic dicit: Theodorus enim, quem quando dicimus, virum dicimus in episcopatu clarum finem habentem, et quinquaginta pene annis fortiter repugnantem cunctis hæresibus, et in expositionibus, quas in omnibus ecclesiis orientalibus faciebat, et quibus in regiâ civitate valde esset comprobatus, apparet, &c. Facund. l. ii. c. 2. p. 23. Vid. et l. x. cap. 1. p. 148. E.

[o] —— in cujus pace atque honore defunctus idem Theodorus. Id. l. x. c. 1. p. 148. C. Vid. et l. ii. c. 2.

[p] Vid. S. Basnag. ann. 550. n. vii.—ix. 551. n. x. &c. 553. n. xvii. &c. Tillem. Theodore de M. art. 4. Mem. T. xii.

[q] Theodorus Mopsuestenus, Pelagianorum æque ac Nestorianorum parens. Assem. ad Chr. Edess. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 402. not. 3.

Hinc Theodorus merito Pelagianorum pater audit, ejusque sectatores Chaldæi Nestoriani de originali peccato usque in præsentem diem male sentiunt.—— Nam Nestoriani Pelagianum dogma expresse docuere, ut probat Pagius ad annum 428. n. xvi. hac in re a magistro suo Nestorio desciscentes, qui de peccato originali recte senserat. Assem. Bib. Or. T. iii. p. 34. not. 1. Conf. Pagi ann. 423. n. xv.—xviii.

[r] Vid. S. Basnag. ann. 428. n. 7.

[s] Facund. l. ix.

[t] Phot. Ep. 1. p. 7. f. Vid. et p. 11. m.

[u] Intelligit Mopsuestenum, et Tarsensem episcopos, qui et doctissimi et ortho-

2. I shall take here two passages of Theodore, one out of his commentary upon St. John's gospel, the other out of his commentary upon the Acts of the Apostles; as they are cited, in Latin, in [v] the Acts of the fore-mentioned council of Constantinople, in 553, and in Greek, in the emperor Justinian's confession of the right faith, or his edict issued in [w] 545, or rather in [x] 551, against the three chapters, as they are called, that is the works of our Theodore, the writings of Theodoret against Cyril of Alexandria, and the letter of Ibas bishop of Edessa, about the year 436, to Maris a Persian. They are alleged in the way of reproach, and are among charges brought against him: and perhaps the quotations are not quite exact and fair; nevertheless, they may be of some use to us, in forming an idea of Theodore's judgment, or way of thinking.

In [y] his Commentary upon St. John's gospel, he says, 'that when Thomas made that confession to Christ, "My Lord and my God," [John xx. 28.] he did not call Christ Lord and God: but being astonished at the great miracle of his resurrection, and the full evidence of it, which had been afforded to him, he praised God, who had raised Christ

doxi erant aut habebantur, præcipue Diodorus, et a Basilio, Chrysostomo, ac aliis laudantur. Nec nisi mortui in suspicionem hæreseos venere, et sequiorum calamis punguntur. Qui mihi non persuadent, fuisse hæreseos labe infectos. Montac. Not. ad Phot. Ep. i. p. 46.

[v] Thomas quidem, cum sic credidisset, 'Dominus meus et Deus meus' dicit; non ipsum Dominum et Deum dicens, (non enim resurrectionis scientia docebat et Deum esse eum qui resurrexit,) sed quasi pro miraculo facto Deum collaudat.

—Ut quum ad ipsum accessissent, tanquam Salvatorem, et omnium bonorum auctorem, et doctorem veritatis, ab ipso, utpote auctore bonorum, et doctore veritatis vocarentur: sicut omnibus hominibus, quamcunque sectam sequentibus, consuetudo est ab ipso dogmatis inventore vocari, ut Platonici et Epicuræi, Manichæi et Marcionistæ, et siquidem tales dicuntur. Eodem modo et nos nominari christianos judicaverunt apostoli, tanquam per hoc certum facientes, quod ipsius doctrinam oportet adtendere. Conc. Constantin. ii. Col. iv. ap. Labbé. T. v. p. 440, 441.

[w] Vid. Cav. de Justiniano, H. L. T. i. p. 509. et Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. xi. p. 441. [x] Pagi, ann. 551. n. v. Basnage, ann. 551. n. 7, 8.

[y] Ουτος δε και την ομολογιαν Θωμα, ην επι τη ψηλαφησει των χειρων και της πλευρας τε Κυριε μετα την αναστασιν, το, ὁ Κυριος με και Θεος με, ειπεν, μη ειρησθαι περι τε Χριστε παρα τω Θωμα, (ε γαρ ειναι λεγει τον Χριστον Θεον,) αλλ' επι τω παραδοξω της αναστασεως εκπλαγεντα τον Θωμαν ὑμνησαι τον Θεον εγειραντα τον Χριστον. Το δε χειρον, ὁτι εν τη των Πραξεων των Αποστολων γενομενη παρ' αυτε δηθεν ἑρμηνεια, συγκρινων ὁ αυτος Θεοδωρος τον Χριστον Πλατωνι, και Μανιχαιῳ, και Επικερω, και Μαρκιωνι, λεγει, ὁτι ὡσπερ εκεινων ἑκαστος εὑραμενος οικειον δογμα τες αυτω μαθητευσαντας πεποιηκε καλεισθαι Πλατωνικες, και Μανιχαιες, και Επικρειες, και Μαρκιωνιστας, τον ὁμοιον τροπον και τε Χριστε εὑραμενε το δογμα, εξ αυτε τες χριστιανες καλεισθαι. Ap. Chron. Pasch. p. 361. et Concil. Labb. T. v. p. 706.

from the dead. Nor is the being raised from the dead a proof of deity.' And in his Commentary upon the Acts of the Apostles, he says: 'As the Platonics and Epicureans, and the men of other sects, are called from their masters, who first taught the principles professed by them; so christians are called from Christ, whom they have received as the teacher of truth, and their Saviour, and the author of all good. And the apostles therefore gave us this denomination, that thereby we might be reminded of our obligation to adhere to Christ's doctrine.'

That is the sense of those two passages, as may appear to such as will compare the Latin and Greek at the bottom of the pages.

3. I conclude this chapter with transcribing below[z] the charges brought against Theodore, and the principles ascribed to him, by Simeon Beth-Arsam before mentioned, as the passage may entertain some of my readers: though indeed he there, and elsewhere,[a] speaks to the like purpose also of Diodorus, whom he considers as his master; and Paul of Samosata as master of both. But Theodore of Mopsuestia is the worst of all, having added to, and farther established the Unitarian Jewish sentiments, which he had received from them.[b]

[z] A Diodoro accepit Theodorus Mopsuestiæ in Ciliciâ, qui omnes tum Veteris tum Novi Testamenti libros commentatus est. Verum in cunctis ipsius commentariis et sermonibus judaïcam de Christo opinionem tradit, Diodoro, Pauloque Samosateno præceptoribus suis consentiens. Quæ vero a Simone Mago, a Paulo, et a Diodoro asserebantur, hæc ille amplificavit, confirmavitque, asserens Christum hominem esse creatum, factum, mortalem, consubstantialem nobis, Filium adoptivum, et templum Dei æterni, non filium naturalem Dei esse, sed per gratiam et adoptionem.—A Theodoro accepit Nestorius, &c. Ap. Assem. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 348, 349.

[a] A Paulo accepit Diodorus Tarsi Ciliciæ episcopus—Christum vero ipsum hominem existimavit creatum, factum, mortalem, consubstantialem nobis, et Filium per gratiam, Pauli Samosateni præceptoris sui vestigiis presse inhærens. Ib. p. 348. in.

[b] Some learned moderns think, that Diodorus of Tarsus, in his old age, in opposing the Apollinarians, espoused the same doctrine concerning Christ with Paul of Samosata, Marcellus of Galatia, and Photinus: which, as they say, was likewise the opinion of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius. Vid. Garner. ad Marium Mercatorem, T. ii. p. 317—319. et Pagi, ann. 428. xix. Et conf. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 361. et Tillem. Mem. T. viii. Diodere de Tarse.

CHAP. CXIV.

JEROM.

I. *His time.* II. *His history and character.* III. *A catalogue of the books of the Old Testament, from his prologue to the books of Samuel and the Kings, translated by him from Hebrew, with remarks.* IV. *Of the books called Hagiographa.* V. *A catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament, from his letter to Paulinus.* VI. *Another catalogue of the books of the Old and the New Testament.* VII. *His preface to his commentary upon St. Matthew, concerning the four evangelists, and their gospels.* VIII. *His history of the eight writers of the New Testament, from his book of Illustrious Men, with remarks.* 1. *Matthew.* 2. *Mark.* 3. *Luke.* 4. *John.* 5. *Paul.* 6. *James.* 7. *Peter.* 8. *Jude.* IX. *Apocryphal books mentioned by Jerom.* X. *His editions of the books of scripture, and commentaries upon them, and other works for explaining the scriptures.* XI. *His respect for the scriptures.* XII. *Various readings.* XIII. *Observations upon the original languages, and the style of the scriptures.* XIV. *Select passages concerning divers matters.*

I. EUSEBIUS HIERONYMUS,[a] or St. JEROM, was born of christian parents,[b] at Striden, on the confines of Dalmatia and Pannonia. It is generally allowed by learned men, that he died in the year 420; but it is not easy to determine with certainty the time of his birth. Some have supposed that[c] he was not born till about 342; others[d] place his birth in 329, or 330, or 331, and say that[e] he was about ninety years of age when he died. I cannot but accede to the former:

[a] Hieronymus, patre Eusebio natus, oppido Stridonis, quod, a Gothis eversum, Dalmatiæ quondam Pannoniæque confinium fuit, usque in præsentem annum, id est, Theodosii principis decimum quartum, hæc scripsi.—De Vir. Ill. cap. 135. [b] Quanto magis ego christianus, de parentibus christianis natus? Pr. in Job, T. i. p. 798, in.

[c] Baron. Ann. 372. n. lvii.—lxii. Tillem. S. Jerome, art. 2, et note 2. Mem. Ec. T. xii. [d] Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 267. Pagi, ann. 420. n. xxi. S. Basnag. ann. 378. n. xii.

[e] —qui natus est anno 329, denatus 420, ætatis 91. H. Hod. de Bib. Text. Orig. l. iii. P. ii. c. 2. p. 350——De Hieronymo ipso, qui anno 331 natus, et nonagenario propior, presbyter Bethleemiticus, A. C. 420 obiit, nihil dicere quam pauca præstat. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. viii. p. 376.

that date seems more agreeable to the whole course of his life, and in particular to what he says of[f] his being at a grammar school in the time of the emperor Julian, and his being[g] a youth only when he was in Gaul, which certainly was not till afterwards.

Jerom was ordained presbyter by Paulinus, at Antioch, in 378; but it was upon this condition he accepted that office, that[h] he should not be confined to any one church, or be drawn from his monastic, studious course of life.

He is placed by Cave as flourishing about the year 378, when he was ordained presbyter; but I presume it will not be much disliked that I place him at the year 392, when he wrote his book of Illustrious Men, which has been so often quoted by me in this work; and I take this opportunity to refer to [i] Tillemont's account of that book, as deserving particular notice.

Nor will it be amiss for me to transcribe below[k] a passage or two of Jerom himself relating to it. One of them is in a letter to Augustine, who had met with this work without a title, and did not know what to call it. Jerom tells him it should be entitled, Of Illustrious Men, or more particularly, Of Ecclesiastical Writers. I likewise refer to his preface or introduction to it, which is inscribed to his great friend Fl. L. Dexter, who was son of Pacian, bishop of Barcelona,[l] and had the honour to be for some time præfect of the prætorium.

[f] Dum adhuc essem puer, et in grammaticæ ludo exercerer, omnesque urbes victimarum cæde polluerentur, ac subito in ipso persecutionis ardore Juliani nuntiaretur interitus, &c. In Abac. cap. 3. T. iii. p. 1636. in.

[g] —quum ipse adolescentulus in Gallià viderim Atticotos gentem Britannicam, humanis vesci carnibus. Adv. Jovin. l. ii. p. 202. M. T. iv.

[h] Fac a te ordinatum, idem ab eo audies, quod a me misello homine sanctæ memoriæ episcopus Paulinus audivit: Num rogavi te, ut ordinarer? Si sic presbyterium tribuis, ut monachum non auferas, tu videris de judicio tuo. Sin autem sub nomine presbyteri tollis mihi propter quod seculum dereliqui, ego habeo quod semper habui, nullum dispendium in ordinatione passus es. Ad Pamm. ep. 38. [al. 61.] T. iv. p. 333. in.

[i] See S. Jerome, art. 58. T. xii.

[k] Dicis accepisse te librum meum a quodam fratre, qui titulum non haberet; in quo scriptores ecclesiasticos, tam Græcos quam Latinos, enumeraverim—Ergo hic liber, vel De Illustribus Viris, vel proprie De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, appellandus est; licet a plerisque emendatoribus imperitis De Auctoribus dicatur inscriptus. Ad Aug. ep. 74. [al. 89.] T. iv. P. ii. p. 818.—Scripsi librum De Illustribus Viris ab apostolis usque ad nostram ætatem, imitatus Tranquillum, Græcumque Apollonium; et post catalogum plurimorum, me quoque in calce voluminis, quasi abortivum, et minimum omnium christianorum, posui: ubi mihi necesse fuit usque ad decimum quartum annum Theodosii principis quæ scripserim breviter annotare. Ad Desider. ep. 48. [al. 144.] T. iv. p. 562.

[l] Vid. De. V. I. cap. 132; et adv. Ruf. l. ii. T. iv. p. 419.

Jerom, in the last chapter of that work, says he brought it down to the 14th year of Theodosius; it is therefore the common opinion of learned men, that it was finished in that year. Pagi, however, says that[m] it was not published till the fifteenth year of Theodosius, 393; and that the fourteenth year should be understood inclusively, not exclusively.

II. As I do not write at large the history of Jerom, it may not be proper for me to attempt his character: nevertheless, considering his great eminence and fame as a writer, I am unwilling quite to omit either.

He[n] studied grammar and other parts of literature at Rome, where[o] he was when the tidings of the emperor Julian's death was brought thither. One[p] of his masters was the celebrated grammarian Donatus, author of Commentaries upon Terence and Virgil: he seems[q] to have had other masters for logic, and the several branches of philosophy. Having studied some while at Rome, he went into[r] Gaul. Whilst he was at Treves, as[s] we learn from one of his epistles, he wrote out for the use of his friend Rufinus the Commentaries of Hilary of Poictiers upon the Psalms, and his long treatise of Synods, composed in 358. He afterwards returned into Italy; and now, whilst he was in the western part of the empire, he[t] seems to have collected a good library; to which, undoubtedly, additions were made afterwards. From Italy he went into the east, where he spent several years, partly in the deserts of Syria, partly at An-

[m] Nam Hieronymus librum illum anno trecentesimo nonagesimo tertio, quo Theodosius die xix. Januarii annum decimum quintum iniit, et quindecennalia celebravit, in lucem emisit. Solebant quippe auctores (ut toties a me monitum est) annis hujusmodi solenniis dicatis opera sua publicare. Quare eo in opere Hieronymus loquitur de scriptoribus qui usque ad annum Theodosii xiv. inclusive, non vero exclusive floruere; ipsumque in lucem dedit anno decimo quinto Theodosi. Pagi ann. 389. n. iv.

[n] Puto quod puer legeris—Victorini in Dialogos Ciceronis, et in Terentii Comœdias præceptoris mei Donati, atque in Virgilium. Adv. Ruf. l. i. p. 367. ———Dum adhuc essem puer, et liberalibus studiis erudirer, solebam cum cæteris ejusdem ætatis et propositi diebus dominicis sepulcra apostolorum et martyrum circuire, &c. In Ez. cap. xl. T. iii. 979.

[o] See before, note [f]. [p] Victorinus rhetor, et Donatus grammaticus meus, Romæ insignes habentur. Chr. p. 184.

[q] Stultus ego, qui me putaverim hæc absque philosophis scire non posse ——nequicquam me doctus magister per εισαγωγην introduxit in logicam. Ad. Domn. ep. 32. [al. 51.] T. iv. p. 245. in.

[r] Vid. supra, note [g]; et conf. Pr. ii. in Ep. ad Gal.

[s] Interpretationem quoque Psalmorum Davidicorum, et prolixum valde de Synodis librum sancti Hilarii, quem ei apud Treviros manu meâ ipse descripseram, ut mihi transferas, peto. Ad. Flor. ep. 4. [al. 6.] T. iv. p. 6.

[t] ——Bibliothecâ, quam mihi Romæ summo studio et labore confeceram, carere non poteram. Ad Eustoch. cap. 18. [al. 22.] T. iv. P. ii. p. 42. Conf. et Ep. ad Florent. ubi supra.

tioch, partly at Constantinople. In 382 he came to Rome, and was made secretary to Pope Damasus. Near the end of 385 he returned into the east: I place below[u] the description of his voyage, in his own words. In the year 386 he settled at Bethlehem, where he resided the remaining part of his life; excepting, perhaps, an excursion into Egypt, and some journies in Palestine.

As Jerom owes a large part of his reputation to his acquaintance with Hebrew, an uncommon thing among christians at that time, some particular notice may be fitly taken of it. He seems to have begun his acquaintance with that language in his younger[v] days, which he afterwards improved by great application and diligence. He had at least two Hebrew masters, of great note for skill in their own tongue; one[w] an unbeliever, another[x] a christian. To[y] these, or other learned rabbins, he often refers in his Commentaries upon the scriptures of the Old Testament; mentioning some of their observations, or interpretations of texts which he had received from them. In his preface to the book of Job, translated by him from Hebrew, he says, that[z] at a great expense he had procured the instructions

[u] Mense Augusto, fiantibus Etesiis, cum saneto Vincentio presbytero, et adolescente fratre, et aliis monachis navim in Romano portu securus ascendi—Veni Rhegium—Malui per Maleas et Cycladas Cyprum pergere. Ubi susceptus a venerabili episcopo Epiphanio, cujus testimonio gloriaris, veni Antiochiam, ubi fruitus sum communione pontificis confessorisque Paulini, et deductus ab eo mediâ hieme, et frigore gravissimo, intravi Ierosolymam—Inde contendi Ægyptum, lustravi monasteria Nistriæ—Protinus concito gradu Bethleem meam reversus sum. Adv. Ruf. l. iii. p. 459. F.

[v] Hebræam linguam, quam ego ab adolescentiâ multo labore ac sudore ex parte didici, et indefatigabili meditatione non desero, ne ipse ab eâ deserar, &c. Ad Eustoch. ep. 86. [al. 27.] T. iv. p. 686.

[w] Veni rursum Ierosolymam et Bethleem. Quo labore, quo pretio, Baraninam nocturnum habui præceptorem! Timebat enim Judæos, et mihi alterum exhibebat Nicodemum. Horum omnium frequenter in opusculis meis facio mentionem. Ad Pamm. et Ocean. ep. 41. [al. 65.] ib. p. 342. Conf. adv. Ruf. l. i. ib. p. 363. et 369, in.

[x] Ad quam edomandam cuidam fratri, qui ex Hebræis crediderat, me in disciplinam dedi: ut post Quintiliani acumina, Ciceronis fluvios, gravitatemque Frontonis, et lenitatem Plinii, alphabetum discerem, et stridentia anhelantiaque verba meditarer. Ad Rustic. ep. 95. [al. 4.] p. 774.

[y] Verbum Hebraïcum—lxx. transtulerunt—Hebræus, quo ego præceptore usus sum, Arcturum interpretatus est. In Is. cap. xiii. T. iii. p. 109.—Referebat mihi Hebræus, præsentem visionem non pertinere ad illud tempus quo Nabuchodonosor Jerusalem cepit—sed ad Sennacherib tempora. In Is. cap. xxii. p. 138.—Hebræus autem, qui nos in Veteris Testamenti lectione erudivit, &c. Ib. p. 200.—Est vir quidam, a quo ego plura didicisse me gaudeo, et qui Hebræum sermonem ita elimârit, ut inter scribas eorum Chaldæus existimetur. Is longe aliâ viâ ingressus est. Ad Damas. de Seraphim et Calculo. T. iii. p. 220. Vid. ib. p. 222. Vid. et in Naum. cap. ii. T. iii. p. 1568. M.

[z] Memini me ob intelligentiam hujus voluminis Lyddæum quendam præ-

of a very learned Jew, to lead him into the right interpretation of that difficult book. He [a] speaks to the like purpose in the preface to his translation of the book of Chronicles, from the Seventy; and says that he had travelled over the land of Judea in the company of some Jews, in great reputation for learning; supposing that a distinct knowledge of the situation and names of places in that country might contribute more than a little to the understanding of the scriptures, especially the historical books. In his Comment upon the book of Nahum he says, that [b] in his perambulation over the land of Judea, he had been shown by his learned Jewish conductor the place of the nativity of that prophet, which was then a small village in Galilee, almost in ruins.

It is pleasant to observe how [c] Jerom represents the harshness which the study of the Hebrew language, and the reading of their authors, had brought upon his Latin style

ceptorem, qui apud Hebræos primus haberi putabatur non parvis redemisse nummis; cujus doctrinâ an aliquid profecerim, nescio. Hoc unum scio, non potuisse me interpretari nisi quod ante intellexeram. Pr. in Job. T. i. p. 795.

[a] Quomodo Græcorum historias magis intelligunt, qui Athenas viderint—ita sanctam scripturam lucidius intuebitur, qui Judæam oculis contemplatus est. Unde et nobis curæ fuit, cum eruditissimis Hebræorum hunc laborem subire, ut circumiremus provinciam, quam universæ Christi ecclesiæ sonant. Fateor enim, mi Domnion et Rogatione carissimi, nunquam me in divinis voluminibus propriis viribus credidisse, nec habuisse magistrum opinionem meam; sed ea etiam, de quibus scire me arbitrabar, interrogare solitum. Quanto magis de his, super quibus anceps eram? Denique, quum a me nuper literis flagitâssetis, ut vobis Paralipomenon librum Latino sermone transferrem, de Tiberiade legis quondam doctorem, qui apud Hebræos admirationi habebatur, assumpsi; et contuli cum eo a vertice, ut aiunt, usque ad extremum unguem. Et sic confirmatus, ausus sum facere quod jubebatis. Pr. in Paral. T. i. p. 1418.

[b] Porro, quod additur: 'Naüm Elcesæi,' [cap. i. 1.] quidam putant, Elcesæum patrem esse Naüm—quum Elcesi usque hodie in Galilææ viculus sit; parvus quidem, et vix ruinis veterum ædificiorum indicans vestigia; sed tamen notus Judæis, et mihi quoque a circumducente monstratus. Pr. in Naum, T. iii. p. 1559.

[c] Nos, ut scis, Hebræorum lectione detenti, in Latinâ linguâ rubiginem obduximus, in tantum ut loquentibus quoque nobis stridor quidam non Latinus interstrepat. Ad Marcell. de Ephod et Teraphim, T. ii. p. 616. [al. ep. 130.] Scripta Romæ, 384.—Loquar? Sed omnem sermonis elegantiam, et Latini eloquii venustatem, stridor lectionis Hebraïcæ sordidavit. Nôstis enim et ipsæ, quod plus quam quindecim anni sunt, ex quo in manus meas nunquam Tullius, nunquam Maro, nunquam Gentilium literarum quilibet auctor ascendit. Pr. iii. in Galat. T. iv. p. 287. Scr. A. C. 388. vel circiter.—Obsecro te, lector, ut ignoscas celeri sermone dictanti; nec requiras eloquii venustatem, quam multo tempore Hebrææ linguæ studio perdidi. In Agg. cap. ii. T. iii. p. 1704. F.

and pronunciation. He speaks after this manner in a letter supposed to be written so early as the year 384.

I may not give any account of his controversial writings against Helvidius, Jovinian, Vigilantius, and others; I am obliged to decline it for avoiding too great prolixity; besides, the history of those controversies is well known, and may be seen in many [d] authors. Nor may I remark here upon his difference with his friend Rufinus; though I fear it cannot be quite passed over, and will come in our way hereafter. And in showing his testimony to the scriptures, I shall be led to take notice of many of his works relating to them, for explaining and illustrating them.

Great commendations of Jerom may be seen in divers ancient writers who were his contemporaries, or who lived not long after him; particularly [e] Sulpicius Severus, [f] Au-

[d] Accounts of those controversies may be seen in all ecclesiastical historians, and in the writers of Jerom's life. The history of Jovinian may be read in Mr. Bower's Lives of the Popes, vol. i. p. 253—257. And the affair of Vigilantius is largely treated by Jas. Basnage, Hist. de l'Eglise, l. xix. ch. 13. sect. 5—13. For Jovinian see also, by all means, S. Basnag. annal. 382. n. xii. xiii.

[e] ———Hieronymus, vir maxime catholicus, et sacræ legis peritissimus. S. Sever. Dial. i. cap. 3. al. c. 7.——Igitur inde digressus, Bethleem oppidum petii———Ecclesiam loci illius Hieronymus presbyter regit———Mihi jam pridem Hieronymus superiore illâ meâ peregrinatione compertus, facile obtinuerat, ut nullum mihi expetendum rectius arbitrarer. Vir enim, præter fidei meritum, dotemque virtutum, non solum Latinis atque Græcis, sed et Hebræis ita literis institutus est, ut se illi in omni scientiâ nemo audeat comparare. Miror autem, si non et vobis per multa quæ scripsit opera compertus est, cum per totum orbem legatur. Nobis vero, inquit Gallus, nimium nimiumque compertus est——Ego, ut dicere institueram, apud Hieronymum sex mensibus fui; cui jugis adversus malos pugna perpetuumque certamen. Concivit odia perditorum: oderunt eum hæretici, quia eos impugnare non desinit; oderunt clerici, quia vitam eorum insectatur et crimina. Sed plane eum boni omnes admirantur et diligunt; nam qui eum hæreticum esse arbitrantur, insaniunt. Vere dixerim, catholica hominis sententia sana doctrina est. Totus semper in lectione, totus in libris est; non die, non nocte, requiescit; aut legit aliquid semper, aut scribit. Id. ib. cap. 8, 9. al. c. 4.

[f] Quamvis non defuerit temporibus nostris presbyter Hieronymus, homo doctissimus, et omnium trium linguarum peritus, qui non ex Græco, sed ex Hebræo, in Latinum eloquium easdem scripturas converteret. Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. xviii. c. 43. T. vii.—Illud tamen scio, quod etiam sanctus Hieronymus, qui hodieque in literis ecclesiasticis tam excellentis doctrinæ famâ ac labore versatur. Aug. de Peccat. Merit. l. iii. c. 6. n. xii. T. x. Nec sanctum Hieronymum, quia presbyter fuit, contemnendum arbitreris, qui Græco et Latino, insuper et Hebræo, eruditus eloquio, et occidentali ad orientalem transiens ecclesiam, in locis sanctis atque in literis sacris usque ad decrepitam vixit ætatem: omnesque vel pene omnes, qui ante illum aliquid ex utrâque parte orbis de doctrinâ ecclesiasticâ scripserant, legit. Contr. Julian. Pelag. l. i. c. 7. n. xxxiv. T. x. et alibi passim.

gustine, and[g] Prosper, who fail not to mention his skill in three languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and extol his learning, diligence, zeal for the catholic faith, and freedom in reproving the vices of the clergy, and other christians of his time.

Nor can it, in my opinion, be improper to take notice of what Jerom upon divers occasions says of himself, and of his laborious, studious course of life; that[h] he had been from the beginning diligent and inquisitive, that[i] all his days he had been employed in the schools of rhetoricians and philosophers, or[k] in reading the scriptures of the Old and New Testament; that, beside Latin and Greek, he had endeavoured to make himself master of Hebrew; that[l] he did not rely upon his own judgment and understanding in interpreting the scriptures, but consulted other commentators, and was willing to improve by their labours; that[m] he never thought himself too old to learn, but embraced all opportunities of increasing in knowledge; that[n] he was not

[g] Tunc etiam Bethleï præclari nominis hospes,
Hebræo simul, et Graio, Latioque venustus
Eloquio, morum exemplum, mundique magister,
Hieronymus, libris valde excellentibus hostem
Dissecuit———

Prosper de Ingratis, cap. 3.

[h] Dum essem juvenis, miro discendi ferebar ardore, nec juxta quorundam præsumptionem ipse me docui. Ad Pamm. et Ocean. ep. 41. [al. 65.] T. iv. p. 342. M.—Nos autem, qui Hebreæ linguæ saltem parvam habemus scientiam, et Latinus nobis utcumque sermo non deest, et de aliis magis possumus judicare, et ea, quæ ipsi intelligimus, in nostrâ linguâ exprimere. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. T. iv. P. ii. p. 427. fin.

[i] Qui et Hebræum sermonem ex parte didicimus, et in Latino, pene ab ipsis incunabilis, inter grammaticos et rhetores et philosophos detriti sumus. Pr. in Joh. T. i. p. 798. [al. ep. 113.] Vid. et adv. Ruf. l. ii. p. 429. M. et l. iii. p. 443. init. [k] —si nihil mihi profuit Hebræorum eruditio, et ab adolescentiâ usque ad hanc ætatem quotidianâ in lege, prophetis, evangeliisque meditatio. Ad Domn. ep. 32. [al. 51.] T. iv. p. 245. Scr. Ann. 395.

[l] Non quo ab adolescentiâ aut legere unquam, aut doctos viros ea quæ nesciebam interrogare, cessaverim; et meipsum tantum, ut plerique, habuerim magistrum. Denique nuper ob hanc maxime causam Alexandriam perrexi, ut viderem Didymum, et ab eo in scripturis omnibus quæ habebam dubia sciscitarer. Ad. Eph. Pr. i. T. iv. p. 319.

[m] Jam canis spargebatur caput, et magistrum potius quam discipulum decebat. Perrexi tamen Alexandriam, audivi Didymum, &c. Ad Pamm. et Ocean. ep. 41. [al. 65.] T. iv. p. 342.

[n] Si aut fiscellam junco texerem, aut palmarum folia complicarem, ut in sudore vultûs mei comederem panem, et ventris opus solicitâ mente tractarem; nullus morderet, nemo reprehenderet. Nunc autem, quia juxta sententiam Salvatoris volo operari cibum qui non perit, et antiquam divinorum voluminum viam sentibus virgultisque purgare; mihi genuinus infigitur, corrector vitiorum falsarius vocor, et errores non auferre, sed serere. Tanta est enim vetustatis consuetudo, ut etiam confessa plerisque vitia placeant; dum magis

employed, as many monks were, in making baskets of rushes, and skreens of palm-leaves, to get a livelihood, but in studying the scriptures, and putting out correct editions of them.

And though some may apprehend that hereby Jerom incurs the imputation of vanity, I rather think that he does not exceed the bounds of modesty; for he had many enemies, as appears from his writings. His most laborious and beneficial performances, correcting the ancient, and making new versions of the scriptures, were all suspected to be of a dangerous tendency, and were opposed and censured by many.

However, we are not to imagine that Jerom was in all things exempt from just reprehension. Some reflections upon him may be found in ancient writers. I forbear to take any thing from Rufinus: but as I have transcribed commendations of our author, I know not how to excuse myself in passing over the censures of Palladius, another contemporary writer, bishop of Helenopolis in Bithynia, author of the Lausiac History; so called from Lausus, a great man in the imperial court at Constantinople, to whom it is inscribed; containing the lives of those who about this time were remarkable for great austerities in Palestine and Egypt.

Palladius is placed by[o] Cave as flourishing about the year 401, though his History was not written till about 421, in the fifty-third year of his age. Whether he is the same as Palladius who wrote a Dialogue of the life of St. Chrysostom, in 408, is not certain.

Says Palladius, 'In[p] those parts lived Jerom a presbyter, 'remarkable for his capacity, and Roman eloquence; but 'his envious disposition obscured the merit of all his services. 'Posidonius, who was there a good while, said to me, "The 'liberal Paula, who takes care of him, I believe will die 'without reproach; but such is the envy of this person, 'that no good man will be able to live there, not even his

pulchros habere malunt codices, quam emendatos. Quapropter, O Paula, et Eustochium, unicum nobilitatis et humilitatis exemplar, pro flabello, calathis sportulisque, munusculo monachorum, spiritualia hæc et mansura dona suscipite; ac beatum Job, qui adhuc apud Latinos jacebat in stercore, et vermibus scatebat errorum, integrum immaculatumque gaudete. Prol. in Job, e Græco in Latin. sermonem a se conversum. T. i. p. 1187.

[o] H. L. T. i. p. 376.

[p] —Ἱερωνυμος γαρ τις πρεσβυτερος ᾠκει εις τοπους εκεινους, αρετῃ λογων Ῥωμαϊκων πολλῃ κεκοσμενος, και ἱκανῃ ευφυΐᾳ· τοσαυτην δε εσχεν βασκανιαν, ὡς απο ταυτης καλυπτεσθαι των λογων την αρετην. κ. λ. Hist. Laus. c. 78. p. 1005. Bib. PP. Morell. Par. 1644.

'own brother." And so it has come to pass.' This Palladius calls the prophecy of the excellent Posidonius: who, as[q] Tillemont thinks, was at Bethlehem in 387: and Palladius must have been there about the same time.

In another place, the same writer, speaking of Paula, who lived at Bethlehem under Jerom's direction, says, 'She[r] was well disposed for the spiritual life, if she had not 'been hindered by a certain man, named Jerom, from Dal-'matia. She had so many good qualities, that she might 'have excelled most, if not all of her sex; but his envy 'obstructed her, that he might serve his own purposes.'

Tillemont supposes, that[s] these reflections may have been occasioned by Jerom's moderating Paula's alms and austerities, which[t] he owns he often endeavoured to do; and likewise by diverting her from seeking after allegorical interpretations of scripture: and indeed Jerom[u] speaks particularly of an attempt to lead her into the Origenist scheme. Nevertheless, perhaps, that is not the whole which is here intended: and the farther consideration of the character of this writer, and of Jerom's conduct and writings, may afford us some elucidations.

Palladius was an Origenist, or at least a favourer of Origen, and a friend to his memory. He commends Rufinus and Melania. He says 'that[v] Rufinus was the meekest as well 'as the most learned man he ever knew. When he and 'Melania lived at Jerusalem, as they did many years, they 'honoured and relieved the clergy, he says, and gave of-'fence to none, and were useful to almost all the world.' Melania,[w] with whom Jerom was offended after the difference between him and Rufinus,[x] is here greatly extolled: nor indeed is she to be blamed for her continued friendship for Rufinus, the[y] guide and companion of her spiritual life, as he is called by Paulinus. I mention these things only for showing the character of Palladius.

Now let us observe some things in Jerom. In the former part of his life he translated many works of Origen into

[q] See T. xii. S. Jerome, art. 45.
[r] Hist. Laus. c. 124. p. 1037.
[s] See S. Jerome, art. 51. Mem. Ec. T. xii.
[t] Vid. ep. 86. [al. 27.] p. 678. F. 679. init.
[u] Tangam ergo breviter, quomodo hæreticorum cœnosos devitaverit lacus —Quidam veterator callidus, atque, ut sibi videbatur, doctus et sciolus, me nesciente, cœpit ei proponere quæstiones, et dicere, &c. Ep. 86. ib. p. 684. init.
[v] H. L. cap. 117. p. 1037.
[w] Vid. ib. cap. 117. p. 1031. et c. 119. p. 1033. &c.
[x] Vid. Hieron. ep. 33. [al. 101.] T. iv. p. 256. Ad Ctesiph. ep. 43. p. 476. M. et Rufin. Invect. l. ii. ib. p. 436, M.
[y] —sanctæ Melaniæ spiritali in vitâ comitem. Paulin. ep. 28. [al. ep. 9.] p. 178.

Latin, and frequently commended him, calling him the greatest doctor of the churches since the times of the apostles. Afterwards his esteem for Origen abated very much. It may be perceived that in 393 or 394 began the difference between him and Rufinus, who appeared to be more favourable to Origen than Jerom then was.

In 397 Rufinus came from the east to Rome, and in that year, or in 398, published there a Latin version of Origen's books Of Principles. From that time Jerom's enmity against Origen became more manifest and violent. He said that when he commended him, he never intended to declare his approbation of any of his peculiar opinions.[z] He admired his great capacity, learning, critical skill in the style and idioms of scripture; but he never approved his doctrine. If men would not believe him, but would have it that once he was an Origenist, he was now so no longer.

Rufinus staid at Rome above a year, and was well received by Pope Siricius; who also, when he went from thence to Aquileia in 398, gave him[a] letters of communion. Siricius died before the end of that year; and was succeeded by Anastasius, who condemned Origen and his followers.[b]

About this time Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, (whose true character may be seen in[c] Isidore of Pelusium, a witness beyond exception, and in other[d] ancient as well as[e]

[z] Objiciunt mihi, quare Origenem aliquando laudaverim. Ni fallor duo loca sunt in quibus eum laudavi—Quid ibi de dogmatibus ecclesiæ dicitur? Quid de Patre, Filio, et Spiritu Sancto? Quid de carnis resurrectione? Quid de animæ statu atque substantiâ?—Laudavi interpretem, non dogmatisten; ingenium, non fidem; philosophum, non apostolum. Arguite potius ubi hæresim defenderim, ubi pravum Origenis dogma laudaverim. Si mihi creditis, Origenista nunquam fui; si non creditis, nunc esse cessavi. Ad Pamm. et Ocean. ep. 41. [al. 65.] T. iv. p. 342, 343. Sicut enim interpretationem et idiomata scripturarum Origeni semper tribui, ita dogmatum constantissime abstuli veritatem. Ad Theoph. ep. 39. [al. 62.] p. 337. M. In Origene miramur scientiam scripturarum; et tamen dogmatum non recipimus falsitatem. Adv. Ruf. l. iii. p. 463. F.

[a] Cernentes hæretici de parvâ scintillâ maxima incendia concitari, et suppositam dudum flammam jam ad culmina pervenisse; nec posse latere quod multos deceperat, petunt et impetrant ecclesiasticas epistolas, ut communicantes ecclesiæ discessisse viderentur. Non multum tempus in medio. Succedit in pontificatum vir ignis Anastasius. Ad Princip. Virg. ep. 96. [al. 16.] p. 728. M. Siricii jam in Domino dormientis profers epistolam, et viventis Anastasii dicta contemnis. Adv. Ruf. l. iii. p. 459. init. Vid. et p. 455. I.

[b] Ergo beati episcopi, Anastasius, et Theophilus, et Venerius, et Chromatius, et omnis tam orientalis quam occidentalis catholicorum synodus, qui pari sententiâ et pari spiritu illum [Origenem] hæreticum denuntiant populis. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. p. 417. M. Tale quid et contra papam Anastasium disputas; ut quia Siricii episcopi habes epistolam, iste contra se scribere non potuerit. Ib. l. iii. p. 462. init.

[c] Isid. l. i. ep. 152.

[d] Socr. l. vi. c. 7. Soz. l. viii. c. 19.

[e] See Cave's Life of

modern writers[f]) out of private spite and envy began to persecute Dioscurus and his brothers, (called 'tall' on account of their stature,) whom before he had greatly favoured, and other monks of the best understanding in Egypt, under a pretence that they were Origenists. In 401, [g] Theophilus held a synod at Alexandria, in which Origen and his followers were condemned, and the reading his books was prohibited.[h] Soon after, in[i] this very year, as it seems, and at the request of Theophilus, Epiphanius held a council in Cyprus for the same purpose: and with the assistance of the Roman governor, and an armed force, Theophilus drove[k] many monks from their monasteries in the desert of Nitria, and expelled them out of Egypt: Palladius, writer of the Life of St. Chrysostom, says, they[l] were in number three hundred. They fled therefore for shelter to Palestine, where[ll] he pursued them: from thence they went to Constantinople; but he would not let them enjoy rest there: he still prosecuted them with accusations and complaints.

All these things Jerom approved of. He[m] translated into Latin the Synodical Epistle of Theophilus, and two other of his epistles, filled with invectives against Origen. He triumphs in his victory over the monks in Egypt, who were

St. Chrysostom, in the Lives of the Fathers of the Fourth Century: and Tillem. T. xi. Theophile, art. 6.

[f] Ισως δ' αν και ηδε ἡ ζητησις παντελως τοτε διελυθη, ει μη πεπαυμενην ηδη δι' εχθραν ιδιαν εκινησεν Θεοφιλος, επιβαλευων Αμμωνιῳ και Διοσκορῳ, Ευσεβιῳ, τε και Ευθυμιῳ, τοις επικλην Μακροις. κ. λ. Soz. l. viii. c. 12. init.

[g] Vid. Pagi, in Baron. A. 401. n. ii. iii.

[h] Prosperoque cursu septimo die Alexandriam pervenimus, ubi fœda inter episcopos atque monachos certamina gerebantur, ex eâ occasione, quia congregati in unum sæpius sacerdotes frequentibus decrevisse synodis videbantur, ne quis Origenis libros legeret aut haberet. Sulp. Sev. Dial. i. c. 3. Vid. et Socr. l. vi. c. 10.

[i] Vid. Pagi ann. 401. n. xx. et Theophil. ad Epiphan. Ep. ap. Hieron. T. vi. P. ii. p. 829, 830. Et conf. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 370. de Concil. Cypr.

[k] ——εισερχεται προς τον Αυγουσταλιον——και αξιοι στρατιωτικῃ βοηθειᾳ ῥιφηναι τους ανδρας απο πασης Αιγυπτου. Pallad. De V. S. Chr. c. 7. Quæ cum reprimi sacerdotum auctoritate non posset, scævo exemplo ad regendam ecclesiæ disciplinam præfectus assumitur, cujus terrore dispersi fratres, ac per diversas oras monachi sunt fugati, ita ut propositis edictis in nulla consistere sede sinerentur. S. Sever. ubi supra. [l] Pallad. Ib.

[ll] Ὁς αναβρασθεις ὑπο της οργης, χαρασσει γραμματα προς τους της Παλαιστινης επισκοπους, λεγων· Ουκ εδει παρα γνωμην μου εν ταις πολεσιν ὑποδεξασθαι τουτους. Pallad. De V. Chr. eod. cap.

[m] Duas, Synodicam et Paschalem, ejus epistolas contra Origenem illiusque discipulos, et alias adversus Apollinarium et eundem Origenem, per hoc ferme biennium interpretatus sum; et in ædificationem ecclesiæ legendas nostræ linguæ hominibus dedi. Aliud operum ejus nescio me transtulisse. Adv. Ruf. l. iii. p. 453. M.

called Origenists; and says, 'Whom[n] Demetrius formerly 'expelled from Alexandria, Theophilus was now driving out 'of the whole world.' Theophilus sent two men into Palestine to hinder people from giving a reception to the tall brothers, and their companions, who had fled thither from Egypt. Jerom[o] calls them only men, and applauds their zeal in travelling over Palestine to find them out, and pursuing the basilisks into their holes and coverts. In the same letter, which is written to Theophilus, he encourages and animates him to proceed as he had begun in extirpating heresy: which brings to my mind the account of his journey into Egypt in 386, where, he says, he[p] also visited the monasteries of Nitria, and perceived some asps lying hid among the saints; meaning, I suppose, Origenists.

Moreover, describing the hospitality at Bethlehem, he says, 'We[q] receive and entertain all strangers, without regard to merit; none are excepted but heretics.' And he concludes his books against Rufinus, saying, 'Let[r] us but have the same faith, and we are reconciled.'

For certain this is very strange—that a man of the first rank in the learned world, and a master of the christian philosophy, should be able to think it allowable, and even commendable, to drive men out of their native country, and pursue them as venomous serpents, barely because of some difference of opinion, when they lived peaceably, and gave no disturbance to any; and that he should withhold relief from such upon that account only, or hinder those who would relieve them. Said Palladius, 'His envious disposition 'obscured the merit of all his services.' A man needed not to be an Origenist, to speak in that manner: many of Jerom's friends must have been grieved and offended at his conduct.

[n] Quem Demetrius Alexandri urbe pepulit, toto orbe fugat Theophilus. Ad Pamm. et Marcell. ep. 87. [al. 78.] p. 689. M.

[o] Unde licet per sanctos fratres, Priscum et Eubulum, tuus ad nos sermo cessaverit; tamen quia vidimus illos zelo fidei concitatos, raptim Palæstinæ regiones, et dispersos regulos usque ad suas latebras persequutos, breviter scribimus, quod totus mundus exultet, et in tuis victoriis glorietur.—Macte virtute, macte zelo fidei—Ad Theoph. ep. 59. [al. 70.] p. 597.

[p] Inde contendi Ægyptum, lustravi monasteria Nitriæ, et inter sanctorum choros aspides latere perspexi. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. p. 459.

[q] Nobis in monasterio hospitalitas cordi est, omnesque ad nos venientes lætâ humanitatis fronte suscipimus. Veremur enim ne Maria cum Josepho locum non inveniat in diversorio—Solos hæreticos non recipimus, quos solos vos recipitis—Propositum quippe nobis est, pedes lavare venientium, non merita discutere. Adv. Rufin. l. iii. p. 455. init.

[r] In extremâ epistolâ scribis manu tuâ, Opto te pacem diligere. Ad quod breviter respondebo, Si pacem desideras, arma depone. Sit inter nos una fides, et illico pax sequetur. Adv. Ruf. l. iii. p. 473.

Posthumian, the chief speaker in the Dialogue of Sulpicius Severus, from which I some while ago transcribed a commendation of Jerom, who[s] likewise was in Egypt and Palestine in the year 401, expresses his surprise that[t] he, who formerly had been esteemed a follower of Origen, should now be remarkably forward in condemning all his writings: and though Posthumian is reserved and modest, he cannot forbear declaring his dislike and concern, that men professing christianity should have been so hardly treated by bishops.

The erroneous opinions ascribed to Origen about this time, as reckoned up by Epiphanius[u] in a letter written to John, bishop of Jerusalem, which we still have in Jerom's Latin translation, are in number eight. They are enumerated after the like manner by Jerom in a letter of his own, to which[v] I refer. As those passages are too long to be transcribed, I place below some other,[w] somewhat shorter, but sufficient: in which Origen is charged with heterodox opinions concerning the person of Christ and the Spirit, and the origin of the human soul, and the resurrection of the body, and the punishments of the future state.

Nevertheless, it does not appear that either Rufinus, or

[s] Vid. Pagi ann. 401. n. xx.

[t] Origenem secutus primo tempore putabatur, quem nunc idem præcipue vel omnia illius scripta damnaret———Nam etsi fortasse videantur parere episcopis debuisse, non ob hanc tamen causam multitudinem tantam sub Christi confessione viventem, præsertim ab episcopis oportuisset affligi. Dial. i. c. 3.

[u] Apud Hieron. ep. 110. [al. 60.] T. iv. P. ii. p. 822, &c. et ap. Epiphan. Opp. T. ii. p. 312.

[v] Ad Pamm. ep. 38. [al. 61.] T. iv. p. 309, 310.

[w] Confitemini et vos in quibusdam errare Origenem, et mu non faciam. Dicite eum male sensisse de Filio, pejus de Spiritu Sancto; animarum de cœlo ruinas impie protulisse; resurrectionem carnis verbo tantum confiteri, cæterum assertione destruere; et post multa secula, atque unam omnium restitutionem, id ipsum fore Gabrielem quod Diabolum, Paulum quod Caïapham, virgines quod prostibulas. Ad Pamm. et Ocean. ep. 41. [al. 65.] T. iv. p. 345. init.—Quæ quum legissem, contulissemque cum Græco, illico animadverti quæ Origenes de Patre, et Filio, et Spiritu Sancto impie dixerat, et quæ Romanæ aures ferre non poterant, in meliorem partem ab interprete commutata. Cætera autem dogmata, de angelorum ruinâ, de animarum lapsu, de resurrectionis præstigiis—de restitutione omnium in æqualem statum—vel ita vertisse, ut in Græco invenerat, vel—Adv. Ruf. l. i. p. 355. M. Probo inter multa Origenis mala, hæc maxime hæretica: Dei Filium creaturam, Spiritum Sanctum ministrum, mundos innumerabiles æternis seculis succedentes, angelos versos in animas hominum, animam Salvatoris fuisse antequam nasceretur ex Mariâ, et hanc esse, quæ quum in formâ Dei esset, non est rapinam arbitrata æqualem se esse Deo; sed se exinanivit, formam servi accipiens: resurrectionem nostrorum corporum sic futuram, ut eadem membra non habeant—in restitutione omnium, quando indulgentia principalis venerit—angelos, diabolum, dæmonas, animas omnium hominum, tam christianorum quam Judæorum et Gentilium, unius conditionis et mensuræ fore. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. T. iv. p. 403. et conf. ib. p. 407.

the monks who suffered so much upon that account, held those erroneous opinions which were ascribed to Origen, and were collected out of his works, particularly his books Of Principles.

It is not allowed by all that Origen himself was heterodox in the doctrine of the Trinity; if he was, there is no reason to think that he was followed therein by any of those, to whom men now gave the denomination of Origenists. Rufinus undoubtedly was an Homoüsian; so were generally all the rest. Moreover Rufinus vindicated himself in his books called Invectives against Jerom, and in the Apology for his Faith, sent to pope Anastasius: in which last, not now to refer to any other places, he first declares his belief concerning the Trinity; then of the resurrection of the same body,[x] with all its members, but free from corruption; then of the general judgment,[y] when men will receive according to their works, and much more the devil, the great seducer of mankind, who according to the scriptures will undergo the punishment of eternal fire. About[z] the origin of the soul, he said there were different opinions in the writings of ancient christians; and it was a difficult question, which he was not able to decide. He[a] had made a Latin version of Origen's books Of Principles; but he did not thereby take upon him the defence of all his opinions.

That the monks above mentioned held the errors of Origen, there is no proof: Theophilus did not concern himself about that; they were condemned by him[b] unheard. But they believed, with Origen, that God is spiritual and incorruptible; whilst many other of the silly monks in Egypt thought him to be corporeal; and Theophilus him-

[x] Sed et carnis nostræ resurrectionem fatemur integre et perfecte futuram, hujus ipsius carnis nostræ, in quâ nunc vivimus—nullo omnino ejus membro amputato, vel aliquâ corporis parte defectâ; sed cui nihil omnino ex omni naturâ suâ desit, nisi sola corruptio. Ad Anastas. Ap. pro Fide suâ, ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 259. Conf. Invect. l. i. ap. Hieron. T. iv. P. ii. n. 356, &c.

[y] Dicimus quoque judicium futurum; in quo judicio unusquisque recipiat propria corporis, prout gessit, sive bona, sive mala. Quod si homines recepturi sunt pro operibus suis, quanto magis et diabolus, qui omnibus existit causa peccati? &c. Apol. ib. p. 260.

[z] Audio et de animâ quæstiones esse commotas—Si autem de me, quid sentiam, quæratur, fateor me de hac quæstione apud quam plurimos tractatorum diversa legisse—Ego vero, cum hæc singula legerim, Deo teste dico, quia usque ad præsens certi vel definiti aliquid de hac quæstione non teneo, sed Deo relinquo scire quid sit in vero, et si cui ipse revelare dignabitur. Ibid.

[a] Origenis ego neque defensor neque assertor sum, neque primus interpres. &c. Ibid.

[b] —και συγκροτει κατα των μοναχων συνεδριον, ουτε δε καλεσας αυτους εις απολογιαν, ουτε μεταδους λογου. κ. λ. Pallad. de Vit. Chrys. cap. 7.

self, if[c] Socrates and Sozomen are not mistaken, now professed the same opinion, the more effectually to secure his evil designs, though before he had much opposed it.

That they who were called Origenists did not hold all the opinions imputed to Origen, may be argued hence—that they said his works had been interpolated by heretics.

However, it is not unlikely that there was a good number of men who embraced divers of Origen's peculiar opinions. We can perceive, from Sulpicius, that[d] Martin bishop of Tours was favourable to the opinion concerning the salvation of the fallen angels; but then it is not advanced as a doctrine of religion, but as a pleasing speculation, supposed to be not unsuitable to magnificent apprehensions of the Divine perfections, and the vast extent of his unmerited goodness, displayed in his dealings with sinful men. So Origen, as was formerly[e] observed, when he discoursed of abstruse points, and advanced propositions justly liable to dispute, was wont to insert expressions of caution and diffidence. And they who now followed him in his opinions, seem to have imitated him in the modest manner of proposing them: which may be of use to show the unreasonableness of the excessive enmity and clamour against Origen and his friends. And indeed if learned and thoughtful men are not allowed freely to propose their sentiments, and humbly and modestly to recommend them to the consideration of others, learning and religion will decline very fast, as they did in the christian world soon after this time.

Whether Jerom himself ever was an Origenist, may be disputed: Huet[f] says he was, and[g] Du Pin readily assents to his argument; but to me it is not clear. I admire, and may often quote and commend, Origen and Augustin, without any regard to those sentiments which are reckoned more especially theirs.—Whether he once followed Origen in his peculiarities or not, his disrespect for him afterwards, and the hard treatment given by him to those who were reckoned

[c] Vid. Socrat. l. vi. c. 7. et Soz. l. viii. cap. 11, 12.

[d] Martinum diabolo repugnantem respondisse constanter, antiqua delicta melioris vitæ conversatione purgari; et per misericordiam Domini absolvendos esse peccatis qui peccare desinerent. Contradicente diabolo,—tunc in hanc vocem fertur exclamâsse Martinus: 'Si tu ipse, O miserabilis, ab hominum 'insectatione desisteres, et te factorum tuorum vel hoc tempore, cum dies ju-'dicii in proximo est, pœniteret, ego tibi, vere confisus in Domino, Christi 'misericordiam pollicerer.' O quam sancta de Domini pietate præsumptio, in quâ etsi auctoritatem præstare non potuit, ostendit adfectum! Sulp. Sev. de Vit. Martin. cap. 24. al. 22.

[e] See Vol. ii. p. 488.

[f] Origenian. l. ii. c. 4. sect. 1. n. vi. xvi. xvii.

[g] Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. iii. P. i. p. 118, 119.

Origen's admirers and followers, must, I think, appear to be inexcusable.

Learned moderns are very much agreed in their judgments about Jerom: they allow him to be the most learned of all the Latin fathers; but they find many faults in him. He so extols celibacy and virginity, as to seem to disparage the marriage state. He[h] is inconstant and passionate. His[i] style is declamatory and hyperbolical. He[k] exceeds in his censures and in his commendations; nevertheless[l] he is very eloquent. As Cave has comprised divers particulars of Jerom's life and character in a few words, I transcribe him[m] below. Ludovicus Vives[n] pleasantly compared Jerom to an 'advocate pleading before a judge in a capital cause.' That is Jerom's true character. He is always, as it were, upon causes of life and death; and that eagerness and violence of temper may be reckoned at once the ground of all his faults, and of all his excellences. I intend that inquisitiveness, application, and diligence, whereby he acquired great learning and knowledge, and was qualified to perform many beneficial services for the church of Christ and mankind in general.

[h] Optabile tamen foret, ut sanctissimus ille doctor constantior animi fuisset et moderatior, neque tam facile bili suæ fuisset morigeratus, ut in contraria, pro rerum ac temporum statu, trahi se et jactari sivisset, nonnunquam etiam maximos viros amarissimis conviciis perfudisset. Huet. Origen. p. 205. fin.

[i] Verum in hisce omnibus eruendis, cavendum nobis est ab insigni inconstantiâ quæ in Hieronymo passim deprehenditur; ab ejus stylo declamatorio, et hyperbolis referto; ab affectibus, quibus non parum indulgebat. I. Cleric. Qu. Hieron. viii. p. 216.

[k] Primum igitur cavere sibi debent, qui Hieronymum legere aggrediuntur, a declamatorio ejus stylo, quo, quæ vult laudare, sine modo extollit; quæ vero vituperare instituit, ita infamat, quasi intoleranda plane essent. Ii, quibus favit, nullas mediocres virtutes; quibus adversatus est, nulla modica vitia habuerunt. Ib. p. 233.

[l] In illo quæ phrasis! quod dicendi artificium! quo non christianos modo omnes post se intervallo reliquit, verum etiam cum ipso Cicerone certare videtur! Ego certe nisi me sanctissimi viri fallit amor, quum Hieronymianam orationem cum Ciceronianâ confero, videor mihi nescio quid in ipso eloquentiæ principe desiderare. Erasm. ap. Cav. H. L. p. 268.

[m] Cæterum, quod sanctissimi viri pace dictum sit, præfervidi erat et impotentis animi, qui affectibus suis nimis indulgebat: semel lacessitus, adversarios acerbissime tractavit, et ab invectivâ ac satyricâ scribendi venâ vix ac ne vix temperavit. Testes sunt nobis satis luculenti, inimicitiæ quas cum Rufino olim sibi necessario, Joanne Ierosolymitano, Joviniano, Vigilantio, aliisque habuit. In hos, arreptâ levi quâvis occasione, et remotâ omni pene gravitate, tota conviciorum plaustra evomit, nullâ personæ, dignitatis, eruditionis, ratione habitâ. Cav. H. L. de Hieronymo, T. i. p. 268.

[n] Ubique scilicet declamat, peroratque; adeo ut non inscite dixerit egregius ille ingeniorum censor, Jo. Ludovicus Vives, [De conscribendis epistolis, lib. ult.] 'eum videri semper ad judices dicere de causâ capitali.' Gregor. Majansii Epistolæ. In Pr. p. xi. Lipsiæ. 1737.

III. I now proceed to observe his testimony to the scriptures.

1. I begin with transcribing his preface concerning all the books of the Old Testament, which he prefixed to his Latin translation of the books of Samuel and the Kings from Hebrew; and that being his first translation from Hebrew, he calls the Prologue, a[o] head, or beginning with a helmet: which Preface is supposed to have been written in 392, or not long before.

'The[p] Hebrews have two-and-twenty letters; and they have as many books of divine doctrine for the instruction of mankind. The first book is called by them Bresith, by us Genesis; the second is called Exodus; the third Leviticus; the fourth Numbers; the fifth Deuteronomy. These are the five books of Moses, which they call Thora, the law.

'The second class contains the prophets, which they begin with the book of Joshua, the son of Nun. The next is the book of the Judges, with which they join Ruth; her history happening in the time of the Judges. The third is Samuel, which we call the first and second book of the Kingdoms. The fourth is the book of the Kings, or the third and fourth book of the Kingdoms, or rather of the Kings; for they do not contain the history of many nations, but of the people of Israel only, consisting of twelve tribes. The fifth is Isaiah; the sixth, Jeremiah; the seventh, Ezekiel; the eighth, the book of the Twelve Prophets.

[o] Hic Prologus Scripturarum, quasi galeatum principium omnibus libris quos de Hebræo vertimus in Latinum, convenire potest, &c. Vid. infra not. [p], sub fin.

[p] Viginti et duas literas esse apud Hebræos, Syrorum quoque et Chaldæorum lingua testatur, quæ Hebrææ magnâ ex parte confinis est—Quomodo igitur viginti duo elementa sunt, per quæ scribimus omne quod loquimur, et eorum initiis vox humana comprehenditur; ita viginti duo volumina supputantur, quibus quasi literis et exordiis in Dei doctrinâ tenera adhuc et lactens viri justi eruditur infantia. Primus apud eos liber vocatur Bresith, quem nos Genesim dicimus. Secundus Ellesmoth, qui Exodus appellatur. Tertius Vâjecra, id est, Leviticus. Quartus quem Numeros vocamus. Quintus—Deuteronomium prænotatur. Hi sint quinque libri Mosis, quos proprie Thora, id est, Legem, appellant. Secundum prophetarum ordinem faciunt: et incipiunt ab Jesu, filio Nave, qui apud eos Josua Ben Nun dicitur. Deinde subtexunt Sophitim, id est, Judicum librum; et in eundem compingunt Ruth, quia in diebus judicum facta narratur historia. Tertius sequitur Samuel, quem nos regnorum primum et secundum dicimus. Quartus Malachim, id est, Regum, qui tertio et quarto regnorum volumine continetur. Meliusque multo est Malachim, id est, *Regum*, quam Malachoth, id est, *Regnorum*, dicere. Non enim multarum gentium regna describit, sed unius Israëlitici populi, qui tribubus duodecim continetur. Quintus Isaïas. Sextus Jeremias. Septimus Ezechiel. Octavus liber Duodecim prophetarum, qui apud illos vocatur Thare Asra. Tertius ordo ἁγιογραφα possidet: et primus liber incipit a Job. Secundus a David, quem quinque incisionibus, et uno Psalmorum volumine,

'The third class is that of Hagiographa, or sacred writings: the first of which is Job; the second David, of which they make one volume, called the Psalms, divided into five parts; the third is Solomon, of which there are three books——the Proverbs, or Parables, as they call them, the Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs: the sixth is Daniel; the seventh is the Chronicles, consisting with us of two books, called the first and second of the Remains; the eighth is Ezra, which among the Greeks and Latins makes two books; the ninth is Esther.

'Thus there are in all two-and-twenty books of the old law; that is, five books of Moses, eight of the prophets, and nine of the Hagiographa. But some reckon Ruth and the Lamentations among the Hagiographa; so there will be four-and-twenty.

'This prologue I write as a preface to all the books to be translated by me from the Hebrew into Latin, that we may know that all the books which are not of this number, are to be reckoned apocryphal; therefore Wisdom, which is commonly called Solomon's, and the book of Jesus the son of Sirach, and Judith, and Tobit, and the Shepherd, are not in the canon. The first book of Maccabees I have found in Hebrew; the second is Greek, as is evident from the style.'

2. It may not be amiss to observe, that not far from the beginning of that prologue, Jerom says, 'The[q] Hebrews have five letters, which they write differently at the end from what they do in the beginning and middle of words,

comprehendunt. Tertius est Salomon, tres libros habens: Proverbia, quæ illi Parabolas, id est, Masaloth, appellant; Ecclesiastes, id est, Coëleth; Canticum Canticorum. Sextus est Daniel. Septimus Dabre-Jamim, id est, Verba Dierum, quod significantius χρονικον totius divinæ historiæ possumus appellare: qui liber apud nos παραλειπομενων primus et secundus inscribitur. Octavus Ezras, qui et ipse similiter apud Græcos et Latinos in duos libros dividitur. Nonus Esther. Atque ita fiunt pariter Veteris Legis libri viginti duo, id est, Mosis quinque, prophetarum octo, Hagiographorum novem. Quanquam nonnulli Ruth et Cinoth inter ἁγιογραφα scriptitent, et libros hos in suo putent numero supputandos: ac per hoc esse priscæ legis libros viginti quatuor. Hic Prologus scripturarum, quasi galeatum principium omnibus libris quos de Hebræo vertimus in Latinum, convenire potest: ut scire valeamus, quidquid extra hos est, inter αποκρυφα esse ponendum. Igitur Sapientia, quæ vulgo Salomonis inscribitur, et Jesu filii Syrach liber, et Judith, et Tobias, et Pastor, non sunt in canone. Machabæorum primum librum Hebraïcum reperi. Secundus Græcus est; quod ex ipsâ quoque φρασει probari potest. Præf. de omnib. Libr. V. T. Tom. i. p. 317—322. ed. Bened.

[q] Porro quinque literæ duplices apud Hebræos sunt: Caph, Mem, Nun, Phe, Sade. Aliter enim per has scribunt principia medietatesque verborum, aliter fines. Unde et quinque a plerisque libri duplices æstimantur.—Samuel, Malachim, Dabre-Jamim, Ezras, Jeremias, cum Cinoth, id est, Lamentationibus suis. Ibid. col. 317, 318.

for which reason five of their books are reckoned double; as Samuel, the Kings, the Chronicles, Ezra, and Jeremiah with the Lamentations.'

3. In the preface to his translation of the books of Solomon from Hebrew, he again says, 'that[r] those three books only are his——the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes or the Preacher, and the Song of Songs.' He adds, 'There is also the book of Jesus the son of Sirach, and a pseudepigraphal or falsely-ascribed book, called the Wisdom of Solomon; the former of which I have seen in Hebrew, and called, not Ecclesiasticus, but the Parables; with which likewise have been joined Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs, that the collection might the better resemble the books of Solomon both in number and design. The second is not to be found at all among the Hebrews, and the style plainly shows it to be of Greek original: some ancient writers say it is a work of Philo the Jew. As, therefore, the church reads Judith, and Tobit, and the books of Maccabees, but does not receive them among the canonical scriptures; so likewise it may read these two books for the edification of the people, but not as of authority for proving any doctrines of religion.'

4. In the preface to his translation of the books of Solomon from the Greek version, called the version of the Seventy, he says: 'I have translated the three books of Solomon,[s] that is, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles, from the ancient version of the Seventy——As for the book called by many the Wisdom of Solomon, and Ecclesiasticus, which all know to be written by Jesus the son

[r] ——tridui opus nomini vestro consecravi, interpretationem videlicet trium Salomonis voluminum; Masloth, quas Hebræi parabolas, vulgata autem editio Proverbia vocat; Coëleth, quam Græce Ecclesiasten, Latine Concionatorem, possumus dicere; Sir Assirim, quod in nostrâ linguâ vertitur Canticum Canticorum. Fertur et Παναρετος, Jesu filii Sirach liber, et alius ψευδεπιγραφος, qui Sapientia Solomonis inscribitur. Quorum priorem Hebraïcum reperi, non Ecclesiasticum, ut apud Latinos, sed Parabolas prænotatum, cui juncti erant Ecclesiastes et Canticum Canticorum: ut similitudinem Salomonis, non solum librorum numero, sed etiam materiarum genere, coæquaret. Secundus apud Hebræos nusquam est, quia et ipse stylus Græcam eloquentiam redolet; et nonnulli scriptorum veterum hunc esse Judæi Philonis affirmant. Sicut ergo Judith, et Tobiæ, et Machabæorum libros legit quidem ecclesia, sed inter canonicas scripturas non recipit; sic et hæc duo volumina legat ad ædificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam. Præf. in libr. Salom. T. i. p. 938, 939.

[s] Tres libros Salomonis, id est, Proverbia, Ecclesiasten, Canticum Canticorum, veteri Septuaginta interpretum auctoritati reddidi.—Porro in eo libro, qui a plerisque Sapientia Salomonis inscribitur, et in ecclesiastico, quem esse Jesu filii Sirach nullus ignorat, calamo temperavi; tantummodo canonicas scripturas vobis emendare desiderans, et studium meum certis magis quam dubiis commendare. Pr. in libr. Salom. juxta Septuag. Interp. T. i. p. 1419.

of Sirach, I have forborn to translate them; for it was my intention, my friends [Paula and Eustochium], to send you a correct edition of canonical scriptures, and not to bestow labour upon others.'

5. Near the beginning of his Commentary upon the book of Ecclesiastes, he says, that[t] Solomon published three volumes, the Proverbs, the Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles.

6. In his commentaries upon[u] Isaiah, and[v] Zechariah, the book of Wisdom is quoted, but in such a manner as to denote that it was only called Solomon's by some, but was not really his, nor generally received as of authority.

7. In the prologue to his translation of Jeremiah from Hebrew, he says, he[w] does not translate the book of Baruch, because it was not in Hebrew, nor received by the Hebrews.

8. In the prologue to his Commentary upon Jeremiah he says, he[x] does not intend to explain the book of Baruch, which in the edition of the Seventy is commonly joined with the prophecies of Jeremiah, but is not among the Hebrews; nor shall he take any notice of the pseudepigraphal epistle of Jeremiah.

9. In the preface to his translation of Daniel from Hebrew, he says, that[y] the Jews did not place the book of Daniel among the prophets, but among those who wrote the Hagiographa; 'and that their whole scripture is divided into three parts, the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa; that is, into five, eight, and eleven books.'

10. Nevertheless Jerom considers Daniel as a prophet. In his letter to Paulinus, to be transcribed largely by and by, he reckons him with Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel;[z]

[t] Is itaque, juxta numerum vocabulorum, tria volumina edidit—Proverbia, Ecclesiasten, et Cantica Canticorum. In libr. Ec. T. ii. p. 715.

[u] De quo et in Sapientiâ reperimus, quæ nomine Salomonis inscribitur. In Is. cap. 63. T. iii. p. 469.

[v] Unde et in Sapientiâ, quæ Salomonis inscribitur, (si cui tamen placet librum recipere,) scriptum reperimus—In Zach. cap. 12. T. iii. p. 784. in.

[w] Librum autem Baruch, notarii ejus, qui apud Hebræos nec legitur nec habetur, prætermissimus. Prol. in Jerem. T. i. p. 554.

[x] Libellum autem Baruch, qui vulgo editioni Septuaginta copulatur, nec habetur apud Hebræos, et ψευδεπιγραφον epistolam Jeremiæ nequâquam censui disserendam. In Jerem. Prol. T. iii. p. 526.

[y] Illud admoneo, non haberi Danielem apud Hebræos inter prophetas, sed inter eos qui Ἁγιογραφα conscripserunt. In tres siquidem partes omnis ab eis scriptura dividitur; in Legem, in Prophetas, in Ἁγιογραφα, id est, in quinque, et octo, et undecim libros. De quo non est hujus temporis dicere. Pr. in Dan. T. i. p. 990.

[z] Isaïam, Jeremiam, Ezechielem, et Danielem, quis possit vel intelligere vel exponere? Quartus vero, qui et extremus inter quatuor prophetas, temporum conscius, et totius mundi philostoros, [philostoricus,] lapidem præcisum de

he calls him there the last of the four prophets, and speaks most honourably of his prophecy.

11. In the forecited preface to his translation of Daniel, he assures us that[a] the Jews have not, in their copies of the book of Daniel, the story of Susanna, nor the song of the Three Children in the Furnace, nor the fables of Bel and the Dragon; and that he had met with a Jewish master who criticized all those things, and ridiculed christians for paying so much regard to them.

12. The learned reader may do well to observe also what Jerom says to the like purpose, and very largely, in his preface to his Commentaries upon the book of Daniel.[b]

13. In the prologue to his translation of the Twelve prophets from Hebrew, he says, that[c] according to the Hebrews they are one book; which the reader undoubtedly remembers to have been said by him above.

14. In the Catalogue above transcribed, he said, the Chronicles were reckoned one book. In like manner again expressly, in the preface to his translation of the Chronicles, from the Greek version of the Seventy, he says, 'the[d] Chronicles are reckoned by the Jews one book, but because of their length they had been divided by christians into two.' We likewise learn from him, that[e] the books of Samuel were then oftentimes called the books of the Kingdoms.

15. In the preface to his translation of Ezra and Nehe-

monte sine manibus, et regna omnia subvertentem, claro sermone pronuntiat. Ad Paulin. ep. 50. [al. 103.] T. iv. n. 573.

[a] Hoc idcirco, ut difficultatem vobis Danielis ostenderem; qui apud Hebræos nec Susannæ habet historiam, nec hymnum trium puerorum, nec Belis Draconisque fabulas; quas nos, quia in toto orbe dispersæ sunt, vero—anteposito, easque jugulante, subjecimus; ne videremur apud imperitos magnam partem voluminis detruncâsse. Audivi ego quendam de præceptoribus Judæorum, quum Susannæ derideret historiam, et a Græco nescio quo diceret esse confictam, illud opponere quod Origeni quoque Africanus opposuit, etymologias has, απο τϐ σχινϐ σχισαι, και απο τϐ πρινϐ πρισαι, de Græco sermone descendere.—Deinde tantum fuisse otii tribus pueris cavillabatur, ut in camino æstuantis incendii metro luderent, et per ordinem ad laudem Dei omnia elementa provocarent. Aut quod miraculum divinæque aspirationis judicium, vel draconem interfectum offâ picis, vel sacerdotum Belis machinas deprehensas? Quæ magis prudentiâ solertis viri, quam prophetali spiritu perpetrata. T. i. p. 990.

[b] T. iii. p. 1074.

[c] Hoc tantum vos, O Paula et Eustochium, admonitas volo, unum librum esse duodecim prophetarum. T. i. p. 727.

[d] Hoc primum sciendum, quod apud Hebræos Paralipomenôn liber unus sit, et apud illos vocetur Dabre Jamim, id est, Verba Dierum; qui propter magnitudinem apud nos divisus est. In libr. Paral. juxta Septuag. Interp. T. i. p. 1418.

[e] Legamus Samuelem, sive, ut in communi titulo habetur, Regnorum libros. Ad Pamm. ep. 33. [al. 101.] T. iv. p. 253. F.

miah from Hebrew, he says, that[f] by the Hebrews they are reckoned one book, called Ezra; but reckoning them two, he had not translated the dreams of those apocryphal books, the third and fourth of Ezra, which were not found among the Jews, and therefore were not to be regarded.

16. In his book against Vigilantius[g] he censures an apocryphal book of Ezra, intending, as[h] is supposed, that which is called the fourth book of Ezra. In the same place he condemns all sorts of apocryphal books in general, published with the names of Solomon or Ezra, or any of the patriarchs or prophets: and he expressly says, the church did not receive that book of Ezra, and (which may be thought strange by some) that he had never read it.

17. Jerom translated likewise Tobit and Judith from Chaldee into Latin, at the desire of some of his friends. But[i] in the prefaces to each he brands them as apocryphal, and not received by the Jews.

18. Jerom never translated Wisdom, nor[k] Ecclesiasticus, nor the books of Maccabees.

[f] Nec quenquam moveat, quod unus a nobis editus liber est. Nec apocryphorum tertii et quarti somniis delectetur: quia et apud Hebræos Ezræ Neemiæque sermones in unum volumen coarctantur; et quæ non habentur apud illos, nec de viginti quatuor sensibus sunt, procul abjicienda. Pr. in Ezr. T. i. p. 1106, 1107.

[g] Tu vigilans dormis, et dormiens scribis: et proponis mihi librum apocryphum, qui sub nomine Esdræ a te et similibus tui legitur; ubi scriptum est, quod post mortem nullus pro aliis audeat deprecari; quem ego librum nunquam legi. Quid enim necesse est in manus sumere quod ecclesia non recipit? Nisi forte Balsamum mihi, et Barbelum, et Thesaurum Manichæi—proferas. Nam in commentariolo tuo, quasi pro te faciens, de Salomone sumis testimonium, quod Salomon omnino non scripsit; ut qui habes alterum Esdram, habeas et Salomonem alterum. Et, si tibi placuerit, legito fictas revelationes omnium patriarcharum et prophetarum. Et quum illas didiceris, inter mulierum textrinas cantato, immo legendas propone in tabernis tuis, ut facilius per has nænias vulgus indoctum provoces ad bibendum. Adv. Vigil. T. iv. P. ii. p. 283, 284.

[h] Librum Esdræ quartum intelligere videtur. Nam falsa Vigilantii opinio sumpta videtur e capite septimo iv. Esdræ, ver. 36—44. Benedictin. in loc.

[i] Mirari non desino exactionis vestræ instantiam. Exigitis enim ut librum Chaldæo sermone conscriptum ad Latinum stylum traham; librum utique Tobiæ, quem Hebræi de catalogo divinarum scripturarum secantes, his quæ Apocrypha memorant mancipârunt. Feci satis desiderio tuo, non tamen meo studio. Arguunt enim nos Hebræorum studia; et imputant nobis, contra suum canonem Latinis auribus ista transferre. Pr. in libr. Tob. T. i. p. 1158.——— Apud Hebræos liber Judith inter apocrypha legitur; cujus auctoritas ad roboranda illa quæ in contentionem veniunt minus idonea judicatur. Chaldæo tamen sermone conscriptus inter historias computatur. Pr. in libr. Judith. T. i. p. 1170.

[k] Machabæorum librum primum se Hebraïce reperisse scribit [Pr. in Reg.] ut etiam Ecclesiasticum; sed neutrum eorum exinde transtulit. Hod. p. 358. M.

19. In his Commentary upon Isaiah he says, that[l] after Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, the Jews had no prophets until the time of John the Baptist.

20. From what has been seen we plainly perceive that St. Jerom's canon of the Old Testament was that of the Jews. All other books, not received by them, he calls apocryphal; particularly Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, Judith, and the Maccabees. Those books, he says, the church does not receive among the canonical scriptures: they may be read for the edification of the people, but are not to be esteemed as of authority for proving any doctrines of religion. He also rejects Baruch, and the Epistle of Jeremiah, and the song of the Three Children in the furnace, and the story of Bel and the Dragon, and the third and fourth book of Ezra, as they are called. Upon the whole, he receives, as we have seen, all the books commonly received by the Jews, particularly Solomon's Song, and Esther among the rest, and no other. Some christians there were in his time, who paid too great a regard to the additional stories in the book of Daniel, and to several of the apocryphal books above named. But our learned author used his best endeavours to reduce them to the Jewish canon, or Hebrew Verity,[m] as he often calls it.

21. Beside the apocryphal books just mentioned, there are divers others relating to the Old Testament, as the 'Revelation of Elias,' and the 'Ascension of Isaiah.' But I defer farther notice of them till we come to observe the apocryphal books of the New Testament, as the considering them all together may be the shortest method.

IV. I might here conclude my remarks upon this preface of Jerom; but I am desirous to take some particular notice of the division of the books of the Old Testament, which, according to his account, then obtained among the Jews.

1. Isaac Vossius suspected that[n] the division of the books

[l] Quis mihi istos genuit? Ego eram sterilis et vidua, deserta, et captiva; in populo Judæorum filios habere desieram; multo tempore non pepereram. Post Aggæum, et Zachariam, et Malachiam, nullos prophetas ante Joannem Baptistam videram. In Is. cap. 49. T. iii. p. 469.

[m] Canonem Hebraïcæ Veritatis, excepto Octateucho, quem nunc in manibus habeo, pueris tuis et notariis dedi describendum. Ad Lucin. ep. 52. [al. 28.] T. iv. p. 579. in.—Veniamus ad aliud ejusdem Zachariæ testimonium, quod Joannes evangelista assumit juxta Hebraïcam Veritatem. De Optim. Gen. Interpr. ad Pamm. ep. 33. [al. 101.] p. 252. Vid. ib. p. 254. M. et passim.

[n] Aquilæ temporibus, et ab ipso forte Aquilâ, excogitatam fuisse divisionem librorum sacrorum in Legem, Prophetias, et Hagiographa; cum antea obtinuerat partitio in Legem, Prophetias, et Hymnos. Ἁγιογραφα ineptum, uti dicit, vocabulum, et contra naturam linguæ Græcæ formatum, ab Aquilâ suspicatur confictum fuisse, cujus versionem ait plenam fuisse futilibus istiusmodi vocabulis.

of the Old Testament into the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, was an invention of Aquila, who in the second century made a new version of the Jewish scriptures into Greek; whereas the old partition was that of the Law, the Prophecies, and Psalms. Moreover he says, that the word itself, ἁγιογραφα, is absurd, and unsuitable to the Greek language; and probably was coined by Aquila.

Humphry Hody says, that[o] the division of the Jewish sacred books into the Law, the Prophets, and Kethubhim or Hagiographa, is of the highest antiquity. Nevertheless he cannot believe that the books of Joshua, the Judges, Samuel, and the Kings, were placed in the rank of prophets by the ancient Jews; to him this appears to be done very foolishly. Nor are the Rabbins agreed what books ought to be placed among Prophets, and what among Hagiographa. By Kethubhim,[p] or Hagiographa, he says ought to be understood, and were intended by the ancient Jews, all those books beside the law which were written by inspiration, and were not strictly prophetical.

He moreover says, that[q] the modern Rabbins, as well as Maimonides, and the Jews in Jerom's time, place Daniel among the Hagiographa. But he says this was done by them upon very frivolous reasons.

Indeed Daniel is expressly called a prophet by our blessed Saviour. Matth. xxiv. 15; Mark xiii. 14. By[r] Josephus he is reckoned among the greatest of the prophets; and if any man among the ancient Jews deserved that title, he does.

2. Let us then look back, and recollect the general divisions of the Jewish scriptures in ancient writers.

(1.) In the second prologue to the book of Ecclesiasticus, or the prologue of Jesus the son of Sirach, are these expres-

Vocem quoque Γραφεια, quâ Hagiographa interdum designantur, ab eodem fuisse confictum opinatur. Hod. de Bib. Text. Orig. l. iv. c. 1. p. 578.

[o] Librorum Biblicorum distributionem in Legem, Prophetas, et Kethubhim sive Hagiographa, esse ultimæ antiquitatis, haud dubito. Id vero minime credo, libros Joshuæ, Judicum, Samuelis, et Regum, in ordinem Prophetarum a Judæis vetustissimis relatos fuisse, ut factum est ætate B. Hieronymi, et a Judæis recentioribus. Ineptissime hoc fieri videtur; neque enim inter Rabbinos de Prophetis et Hagiographis satis convenit. Hod. ib. l. ii. c. 9. p. 190.

[p] Per Kethubhim, sive Hagiographa, intelligi debent, et sine controversiâ a Judæis antiquissimis intellecti fuerunt, omnes illi libri præter legem Mosaïcam, qui per Spiritum Sanctum scripti sunt, non tamen fuerunt prophetici. Ib. p. 190.

[q] Danielem e numero prophetarum ejiciunt Rabbini, et olim ejecerunt Maimonidis et Hieronymi ætate. 'Hinc unanimi consensu,' inquit Maimonides, 'retulit gens nostra librum Danielis inter libros Hagiographos, non 'vero inter prophetas.' Sed frivolis rationibus id faciunt. Ib. p. 191.

[r] Antiq. Jud. l. x. c. 11. n. 7.

sions: 'the[s] law and the prophets, and others that have followed their steps:' afterwards, 'the[t] law and the prophets, and other books of our fathers;' and still lower, 'the[u] law itself and the prophets, [or prophecies,] and the rest of the books.' It is questionable whether here are three, or only two sorts of sacred writings; for it seems to me, that by 'others that have followed their steps,' are not to be understood sacred writers, but wise men who imitated the prophets: consequently here are only two sorts of sacred or canonical books, 'the law' and 'the prophets.' If this be the meaning of the first passage, I reckon that the two others are to be understood in the same manner.

(2.) Philo the Jew speaks of 'laws and oracles delivered 'by prophets, and hymns, and other things conducive to 'promote knowledge and piety.'[v] But Philo being an obscure writer, and here, as it seems to me, not quite clear, I am afraid to make any remarks, or to determine whether he speaks of sacred and canonical books of scripture only, or of them and some others.

(3.) In the New Testament are various ways of speaking. Sometimes the law denotes the scriptures of the Old Testament in general. John x. 34, "Is it not written in your law? I said, Ye are gods." From Ps. lxxxii. 6.—John xv. 25, "That the word might be fulfilled which is written in their law, They hated me without a cause." Ps. xxxv. 19.—1 Cor. xiv. 21, "In the law it is written, With men of other tongues——will I speak to this people"—Is. xxviii. 11.

Sometimes 'the prophets' is equivalent to the scriptures of the Old Testament. Luke xviii. 31, "Behold we go up to Jerusalem, and all things that are written in the prophets concerning the Son of man shall be accomplished."—xxiv. 25, "O fools, and slow of heart, to believe all that the prophets have spoken!"—Acts x. 43, "To him give all the prophets witness."—Rom. i. 2, "Which he had promised before by his prophets in the holy scriptures."—Eph. ii. 20, "And are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets."

Oftentimes the books of the Old Testament are denoted

[s] Πολλων και μεγαλων ἡμιν δια τε νομε, και των προφητων, και των αλλων των κατ' αυτες ηκολεθηκοτων δεδεμενων. κ. λ.

[t] Ὁ παππος με Ιησες, επι πλειον ἑαυτον δες εις τε την τε νομε και των προφητων, και την αλλων πατριων βιβλιων αναγνωσιν.

[u] Και αυτος ὁ νομος, και αἱ προφητειαι, και τα λοιπα των βιβλιων.

[v] Αλλα νομες και λογια θεσπισθεντα δια προφητων, και ὑμνες, και τα αλλα, οἱς επιστημη και ευσεβεια συναυξονται και τελειενται. De Vit. Contempl. p. 893. B.

by a dichotomy, or twofold partition, 'the law and the prophets.' Matth. v. 17, "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets."—vii. 12, "For this is the law and the prophets." See also xxii. 40.—Matth. xi. 13, "For all the law and the prophets prophesied until John." Compare Luke xvi. 16.—Luke xvi. 29, "They have Moses and the prophets."—31, "If they hear not Moses and the prophets."—xxiv. 27, "And beginning at Moses, and all the prophets, he expounded unto them, in all the scriptures, the things concerning himself."—John i. 45, "We have found him, of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write."—Acts xxiv. 14, "—believing all things which are written in the law and the prophets."—xxvi. 22, "Saying none other things than those which the prophets and Moses did say should come."—xxviii. 23, "Persuading them concerning Jesus, both out of the law of Moses, and out of the prophets."—Rom. iii. 21, "Being witnessed by the law and the prophets."

In one place there seems to be a threefold partition of the scriptures of the Old Testament. Luke xxiv. 44, "These are the words which I spake unto you whilst I was yet with you; that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms, concerning me." But some very learned and judicious men are of opinion, that by 'the psalms' in this place, we are not to understand the metrical books, or any other general division of the scriptures of the Old Testament, but the book of Psalms. Then what our Lord says is this: 'That all things must be fulfilled which are written of me 'in the law and in the prophets, especially in the Psalms.' So says [w] Leusden and Wolfius,[x] whom I transcribe below.

[w] Responderi potest (quod mihi etiam maxime verosimile videtur) Christum, Luc. xxiv. 44, nullam mentionem facere librorum historicorum, vel quorundam Hagiographorum; quia in illis libris non ita continentur prædictiones de futuro Messiâ, quam quidem in libris Mosis in libris prophetarum et in Psalmis. Christus ergo forte per Psalmos intellexit Psalmos proprie dictos, et non præter Psalmos etiam cæteros libros hymnorum, scil. Jobum, Proverbia, Ecclesiasten, et Canticum Canticorum. I. Leusden. Philol. Hebr. Diss. ii. p. 15.

[x] Nec mihi probabile videtur, Christum Dominum nostrum ad hanc divisionem digitum intendisse, quippe qui alibi ad codicem Hebræum provocans, Mosis tantum et prophetarum facit mentionem. v. c. Luc. xvi. 29, 31. Sic Lucas ipse, xxiv. 27, commemoratis 'Mose et prophetis,' addit, Christum Dominum nostrum 'exposuisse discipulis omnia quæ de se in scripturis omni-'bus tradita sint;' ubi sane *πασαι γραφαι* 'Mosis et prophetarum' nomine comprehenduntur. Non minus Paulus, Actor. xxvi. 22. ex scripturâ sacrâ interpretatus, ait, 'se testatum nihil præter ea quæ prophetæ et Moses prædixerint.' Ex quo manifestum est, sanctissimi Servatoris ætate *διχοτομιαν* potius obtinuisse, et scripta diviniora in legem et prophetas distincta fuisse. Neque

This interpretation will be much confirmed by observing how much the dichotomy, or twofold partition of sacred books, 'the Law and the Prophets,' prevails in the New Testament. 'All things must be fulfilled which are written in the law and in the prophets, especially in that prophetical book, the Psalms.' So Mark xvi. 7, "Go your way, tell his disciples, and Peter;" that is, especially Peter, particularly Peter. So likewise St. Paul, Eph. vi. 18. 19, "Praying—for all saints, and for me;" that is, particularly for me.[y]

(4.) I now proceed. Josephus says, 'Their[z] sacred books are twenty-two; five books of the law of Moses, thirteen[a] prophetical, and four containing hymns in praise of God, and excellent rules of life for the direction of mankind.' By the thirteen intending, as is thought,[b] 1. Joshua. 2. Judges, with Ruth. 3. The two books of Samuel. 4. The two books of the Kings. 5. The two books of the Chronicles. 6. Ezra, with Nehemiah. 7. Esther. 8. Job. 9. Isaiah. 10. Jeremiah, with the Lamentations. 11. Ezekiel. 12. Daniel. 13. The Twelve Prophets.—The four books of hymns will then be, the Psalms, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles.

(5.) Melito, bishop of Sardis, about 177, has[c] a catalogue of the books of the Old Testament; but he does not sort them into classes. Nevertheless it may not be quite useless to put down their names in his order: 'Five books of Moses; Joshua the son of Nun; the Judges; Ruth; four books of the Kings; two books of Chronicles; the Psalms of David; the Proverbs of Solomon; the Ecclesiastes; the Canticles; Job; the books of the Prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah; the Twelve Prophets in one book; Daniel; Ezekiel; Ezra.'

(6.) Origen also,[d] about 230, has a catalogue; nor does

obstat locus Luc. xxiv. 44, ubi Psalmi Mosis et prophetarum scriptis adjunguntur. Ea etiam verba ita putem interpretanda——'Omnia debent impleri quæ scripta sunt in Mose, in prophetis, et' cum primis 'in Psalmis,' quemadmodum verba angeli ad mulieres, Marc. xvi. 7. Wolf. Bib. Hebr. P. ii. p. 41.

[y] See A. Blackwall's Sacred Classics, P. i. p. 121.

[z] ——δυο δε μονα προς τοις εικοσι βιβλια, τα παντος εχοντα χρονα την αναγραφην, τα δικαιως θεια πεπιστευμενα, κ. λ. Contr. Ap. l. i. c. 8. et ap. Euseb. H. E. l. iii. c. 9, 10.

[a] Οι μετα Μωϋσην προφηται τα κατ' αυτους πραχθεντα συνεγραψαν εν τρισι και δεκα βιβλιοις· αι δε λοιπαι τεσσαρες υμνους εις τον Θεον, και τοις ανθρωποις υποθηκας τα βια, περιεχουσιν. Ibid.

[b] Vid. Hod. ubi supra, p. 644. See also H. Prideaux, Conn. P. i. book v. year before Christ 446.

[c] Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. iv. c. 26. And see, in this work, vol. ii. ch. xv.

[d] Ap. Euseb. ib. l. vi. c. 25. And see here, vol. ii. ch. xxxviii. p. 494.

he sort the books into any general divisions. However, the order is this: 'Five books of Moses; Joshua, the son of 'Nun; the Judges, with Ruth, one book; the first and 'second book of the Kings, called by them Samuel, and 'reckoned one book; the third and fourth of the Kings, 'also one book; the first and second of the Remains, in 'one book; Esdras, first and second, in one book, called 'by them Ezra; the book of the Psalms; Solomon's Pro-'verbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles; Isaiah; Jeremiah; Daniel; 'Ezekiel; Job; Esther.' The book of the Twelve Prophets is wanting in our copies.

(7.) Athanasius, about 326, in his Festal epistle,[e] transcribed by us formerly,[f] takes little or no notice of general divisions; but he enumerates the books in this order: 'First 'the five books of Moses; then the historical books, from 'Joshua down to Ezra; then the books in verse, the Psalms, 'Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Job; lastly the Pro-'phets, which are the Twelve Prophets in one book, Isaiah, 'Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel.' The same order is in the Synopsis Scripturæ,[g] ascribed to him.

(8.) Cyril of Jerusalem, about 348, has a catalogue of the books of the Old Testament,[h] transcribed by us at length formerly.[i] He uses divisions. 'The[k] first are the 'five books of Moses; then the historical books; after them 'five books in verse—Job, the Psalms, the Proverbs, Eccle-'siastes, the Canticles; and, last of all, five prophetical 'books, which are the Twelve Prophets in one book, Isaiah, 'Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel.'

(9.) Epiphanius, who flourished about 368 and afterwards, has three Catalogues.[l] In two[m] of which all the books of the Old Testament are reckoned up, from Genesis down to Ezra and Esther, without any general denominations or partitions. But in the other,[n] he divides them after this manner: He says,[o] 'that the books of scripture are

[e] Ath. T. i. p. 961, 962.
[f] See before, p. 154, 155.
[g] Ath. T. ii. p. 126—128. And see before, p. 162, 163.
[h] Cat. 4. n. 35. ed. Bened.
[i] P. 172, 173.
[k] *Τα νομα μεν γαρ εισιν αἱ Μωσεως πρωται πεντε βιβλοι.—Και τα μεν ἱστορικα ταυτα.—Τα δε στιχηρη, τυγχανει πεντε.—Επι δε τουτοις τα προφητικα πεντε.* Ubi supra.
[l] See before, p. 186, 187.
[m] Adv. H. 8. n. vi. T. i. p. 19. De Mens. et Pond. n. xxiii. T. ii. p. 180.
[n] De Mens. et Pond. n. iv. T. ii. p. 161, 162.
[o] *Οὑτως γαν συγκεινται αἱ βιβλοι εν πεντατευχοις τεταρσι, και μενουσιν αλλαι δυο ὑστερουσαι· ὡς ειναι τας ενδιαθετους βιβλους ουτως· πεντε μεν νομικας—Αυτη ἡ πεντατευχος και ἡ νομοθεσια. Πεντε γαρ στιχηρεις.—Ειτα αλλη πεντατευχος τα καλουμενα γραφεια, παρα τισι δε ἁγιογραφα καλουμενα.—Αλλη πεντατευχος, το δωδεκαπροφητον.—Και αυτη ἡ προφητικη πεντατευχος.—κ. λ.*

'comprised in four Pentateuchs, and two over and above. 'The first Pentateuch is that which is most properly so, 'containing the five books of the Law; the next contains 'the five books in verse, the book of Job, the Psalter, the 'Proverbs of Solomon, the Ecclesiastes, the Canticles; the 'third Pentateuch contains those called Grapheia, by others 'Hagiographa, which are the book of Joshua the son of 'Nun, the book of Judges, with Ruth, the first and second 'of the Remains, the first and second of the Kingdoms, 'and the third and fourth of the Kingdoms; the fourth 'Pentateuch consists of the Twelve Prophets in one book, 'Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel: the two others, over 'and above these, are the two books of Ezra, reckoned one 'book, and Esther.' Which catalogue is followed by John Damascenus,[p] about the year 830.

It should be observed, that in another place, in his account of the Nazarene christians, Epiphanius says,[q] 'They 'receive the law and the prophets, and those called the 'Grapheia; I mean the books in verse, and the Kingdoms, 'and the Remains, and Esther, and the rest; which are all 'read by them in Hebrew.'

(10.) May I add here, that Rufinus, whose catalogue of the books of scripture will be in the next chapter, takes no notice of the Hagiographa? He has not any general divisions, but his order is this: First the legal, next the historical books, then the prophetical, and lastly those called metrical.

3. Having now put down all these catalogues, as distinctly I hope as is needful, some remarks may be made.

(1.) The Jewish people have been very uniform in the number of sacred books received by them.

(2.) They have varied and been somewhat arbitrary, in the general denominations and divisions of them.

(3.) I discern not any proof of the high antiquity of that division of their sacred books into 'the Law, the Prophets, 'and the Hagiographa;' for there appear not any traces of it in the scriptures either of the Old or New Testament, nor in Josephus, nor in any christian writers before Epiphanius and Jerom, near the end of the fourth century. To be more particular—I see not this partition in the Prologue to the book of Ecclesiasticus, nor in Philo, nor in the New Testament. The only place of the New Testament where is any

[p] De Fide Orthodoxâ, l. iv. c. 17.

[q] Παρ' αυτοις γαρ πας ὁ νομος, και οἱ προφηται, και τα γραφεια λεγομενα, φημι δε τα ϛιχηρη, και αἱ βασιλειαι, και παραλειπομενα, και Αισθηρ, και τ' αλλα παντα Ἑβραϊκως αναγινωσκεται. H. 29. n. 7.

tripartite division of the ancient scriptures, is Luke xxiv. 44; and if by the Psalms are not meant the book of David's Psalms, probably the metrical books are to be thereby understood. Some learned men indeed have supposed, that therein our Lord had a respect to that division which is called 'Hagiographa;' but I think without reason, as do Leusden and Wolfius before-cited. I place now in the bottom of the page another passage of Leusden,[r] in which he says, 'The Jews ascribe this threefold division of sa-'cred books to the prophet Ezra.' But as this is affirmed without proof, it may be as easily denied. He thinks the inventor of this division to be unknown. He here observes also, that some learned christians had supposed our Lord to have an eye to this division in Luke xxiv. 44; concerning which he had delivered his opinion in the place quoted above. I likewise transcribe below[s] some observations of that learned and laborious writer, I. Fr. Buddeus; who says, it is uncertain when and by whom this partition was first used. He also shows the impropriety and inconvenience of it, as generally used by the Jews. It seems to me to be altogether needless to show, that Josephus does not intend the Hagiographa, when he speaks of the 'four books 'of Hymns in Praise of God, and Excellent Rules of 'Life.' Finally, there appears not any notice taken of it,

[r] Tertio quæritur, Quis fuit primus auctor hujus triplicis divisionis Veteris Testamenti? Respondeo, Judæi Ezram prophetam hujus triplicis divisionis constituunt primum auctorem et inventorem. Sed quia hoc absque ullâ probatione illi adscribitur, ideo eâdem facilitate rejicitur quâ asseritur. Nos illam quæstionem non determinamus; nam non putamus primum auctorem hujus divisionis esse notum. Ut ut sit, hæc divisio, secundum sententiam christianorum et Judæorum, est admodum antiqua; et ad minimum temporibus Christi putatur fuisse usitata. Christiani, qui antiquitatem hujus divisionis probant, in medium proferunt verba Christi ex evangelio Lucæ, cap. xxiv. 44, jam retro, sectione secundâ, allegata. Per Psalmos enim existimant Christum intellexisse omnes Hagiographos; tum quia liber Psalmorum est primus liber Hagiographorum, tum etiam quia est liber præcipuus et præstantissimus inter Hagiographos. Philol. Hebr. Diss. ii. p. 19.

[s] ———Distinctio codicis Ebræi in Legem, Prophetas, et Chethubhim seu Hagiographa, tantæ auctoritatis non est ut nos morari debeat. Quando enim, aut a quonam orta sit, non satis constat. Quod si enim vel maxime Servator ipse, provocatione suâ, ad Mosen, Prophetas, et Psalmos, Luc. xxiv. 44, quæ quorundam est sententia, huc respexit, inde tamen non sequitur, eo modo partitionem istam jam tum usitatam fuisse, quo in codice Ebræo hodie conspicitur. Parum autem concinnam esse, plurimisque laborare incommodis, aut si vel maxime ipsa classium constitutio tolerari queat, quorundam tamen librorum ad hanc aut illam classem relationem minime probari posse, et res ipsa docet, et viri docti dudum ostenderunt. Certe, cur Daniel ad Hagiographa potius quam Prophetas referendus sit, nulla, ne probabilis quidem, ratio dari potest. I. Fr. Buddei Hist. Ec. Vet. T. Tom. Poster. p. 828. 4to. Halæ Magdeburg. 1719.

nor any regard had to it in Melito, Origen, Cyril, or Athanasius.

(4.) Among those who have used this partition, there seems to have been a great variety of opinions concerning the books that should be called Hagiographa. In Jerom they are nine; namely, 'Job, the Psalms, the Proverbs, 'Ecclesiastes, the Canticles, Daniel, the Remains or Chroni-'cles, Ezra, Esther.' In the catalogue of Epiphanius, in the treatise of Weights and Measures, they are all the historical books, except Ezra and Esther. In the other passage, concerning the sect of the Nazarenes, they comprise the books in verse, and a part of the historical books; or, as Hody would have it,[t] all of them.

(5.) There appears not any fitness in this division. The impropriety of it has been hinted already, and is shown in some of the passages of the learned writers already quoted. I place below[u] another passage of Leusden, full to the purpose. I think it may be farther shown, that there is not any fitness in this partition; for the word Hagiographa, or Grapheia, or Kethubhim, has nothing appropriating or distinctive in it; which may have been the ground of that difference of opinion among those who have made use of it, concerning the books that should be placed in that class. Certainly the distribution of books, as in Jerom, in the two divisions of prophets and Hagiographa, must appear absurd and preposterous. The books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Esther, are separated from the books of Samuel and the Kings, and the other historical books; and Daniel is separated from the prophets. Upon the whole, understand by Hagiographa the historical books, or the metrical books, or the historical and metrical—still I cannot discern any suitableness or fitness in that denomination.

(6.) Every other partition of the sacred books of the Old Testament, with which we are acquainted, appears to be preferable to this of the Law, Prophets, and Hagiographa. Those denominations which we sometimes meet with in the New Testament, 'the Law,' or 'the Prophets,' denoting in general the ancient sacred writings, are very just. The dichotomy, 'the Law and the Prophets,' so common in the New Testament, is very proper. That likewise is the par-

[t] Ubi supra, p. 190, 191.

[u] Quarto quæritur, An hæc divisio est satis concinna? Respondeo, Non est satis concinna et congrua. Nam, 1. Libri Josuæ, Judicum, Samuelis, et Regum mere Historici vocantur, Prophetici, sive Prophetæ. 2. Quia liber Propheticus Danielis a Propheticis separatur, et Hagiographis annumeratur———Deinde, quod Daniel reverâ Prophetis sit annumerandus, patet ex ipsius libro, in quo et tempus adventûs Messiæ, et multæ aliæ prophetiæ, clarissime describuntur. Leusd. ib. p. 19.

tition in the prologue to the book of Ecclesiasticus, if I understand it right. The tripartite division in Luke xxiv. and Josephus—'the Law, the Prophets, and Psalms, or Hymns,' is also very proper. All, I apprehend, must presently discern the propriety of the first and last class in this partition, 'Legal and Metrical.' The second also is very proper; for all those books are written by inspired men, or 'prophets,' as they are justly called by Josephus, and some of them are strictly prophecies. Another partition is that used by Cyril of Jerusalem, which is, Legal, Historical, Metrical, and Prophetical; and though this partition is not at all expressed in Athanasius's catalogue, it may be argued from the order of the books that he had a regard to it. A regard seems to be had to it likewise in Origen's catalogue. The order of the books also in Melito's catalogue may afford, in my opinion, a very probable argument of a regard to this partition. And this appears to me, and I suppose to others likewise,[v] the most proper and commodious partition of the sacred books of the Old Testament.

(7.) I now add an observation of a different kind. The placing the books of the Old Testament, from the first to the last, in chronological order, is a thing of no importance, and might be inconvenient; but divide them into classes, and the order of time may be useful. In the first class, must be the five books of Moses: then the historical books, Joshua, the Judges with Ruth, Samuel, the Kings, the Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther: next the metrical books, Job, the Psalms, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Canticles; lastly, the prophetical books, the Twelve Prophets in one book, each of which might be placed according to the order of time. Isaiah, Jeremiah with the Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel; or, first of all, the Four larger Prophets, and then the book of the Twelve lesser Prophets, as they are called: by which also we perceive that the present order of books in our Bibles, is in the main such as we have reason to be well satisfied with.—The same rule may be applied to the books of the New Testament. To place them all, from the first to the last, in chronological order, might be inconvenient, and create confusion: but having first separated the gospels and the Acts, St. Paul's epistles might be digested in the order of time; and, in like manner, the seven catholic epistles, and the Revelation.

[v] Ultima divisio Veteris Testamenti, quæ duabus antecedentibus multis parasangis est præferenda, a recentioribus Latinis doctoribus in quatuor partes, scil. in Legalem, in Historicam, in Poëticam sive Doctrinalem, et in Propheticam, digesta est. Leusden. ib. p. 19.

V. In the next place I shall make an extract from St. Jerom's letter Concerning the Study of the Scriptures,[w] written to Paulinus, supposed to be Paulinus of Nola.[x] It is computed that this letter was written in 395, or 396, or 397, according to the different sentiments of learned men. In it are enumerated all the books of the Old and New Testament in the following order:

'The first is Genesis,[y] which contains the history of the creation of the world, and of the origin of mankind, the division of the earth, the confusion of tongues, and other things, to the time of the Jewish exit out of Egypt:' in like manner of the rest, mentioning the principal subjects of each book; which I must omit, confining myself, for the most part, to the names of books only. 'Exodus; Leviticus; Numbers; Deuteronomy; these are the Pentateuch. Job, the great example of patience; Joshua, the son of Nun; the book of the Judges; Ruth, the Moabitess; Samuel; the[z] Kings, that is, the third and fourth book of Kings; the[a] Twelve Prophets in one volume—Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi the last of the prophets:[b] Isaiah; Jeremiah; Ezekiel; Daniel, whom he calls a prophet,[c] and the fourth in that number, and highly extols his prophecy, as before observed; David,[d] the most excellent psalmist; Solomon,[e] who directs the manners of men, teacheth the vanity of the world, and marries Christ and the church; Esther; the[f] Chronicles, the usefulness and im-

[w] De Studio Scripturarum, ad Paulinum. Ep. 50. [al. 103.] T. iv. P. ii. p. 568—575. ed. Bened. [x] See St. Jerome, art. 72. Tillem. Mem. T. xii. [y] Videlicet manifestissima est Genesis, in quâ de naturâ mundi, de exordio generis humani, de divisione terræ, de confusione linguarum et gentium, usque ad exitum scribitur Hebræorum. Patet Exodus cum decem plagis, cum decalogo, cum mysticis divinisque præceptis, &c. p. 571. F.

[z] Malachim, id est, Regum tertius et quartus liber. p. 252. M.

[a] Duodecim prophetæ in unius voluminis angustias coarctati. Ibid.

[b] Malachias aperte, et in fine omnium prophetarum, de abjectione Israël, et vocatione gentium. p. 573.

[c] Isaïam, Jeremiam, Ezechielem, et Danielem, quis possit vel intelligere, vel extollere?——Quartus vero, qui et postremus inter quatuor prophetas, temporum conscius, et totius mundi Philostoros, lapidem præcisum de monte sine manibus, et regna omnia subvertentem, claro sermone pronuntiat. Ibid.

[d] David, Simonides noster, Pindarus, et Alcæus, Flaccus quoque, Catullus, et Serenus. Ibid. [e] Salomon, pacificus et amabilis Domini, mores corrigit, naturam docet, ecclesiam jungit et Christum, sanctarumque nuptiarum dulce canit epithalamium. Ibid.

[f] Paralipomenôn liber, id est, Testamenti Veteris επιτομη, tantus ac talis est, ut absque illo si quis scientiam scripturarum sibi voluerit arrogare, seipsum irrideat. Per singula quippe nomina puncturasque verborum, et prætermissæ

portance of which he enlarges upon; Ezra and Nehemiah, in one book.'[g]

He here afterwards names and describes all the writers of the New Testament, and their several works. 'The first[h] are the four evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, the chariot of the Lord, and the true cherubim, who go wherever the Spirit leads them—The apostle Paul writes to seven churches; for the eighth, that of the Hebrews, by many is not reckoned among them. He likewise instructs Timothy and Titus, and intercedes with Philemon for a runaway servant. The Acts of the Apostles, another work of Luke the physician, 'whose praise is in the gospel,' [2 Cor. viii. 18,] contain the history of the infancy of the church. The apostle James, Peter, John, Jude, write seven epistles, of few words, but full of sense; The Revelation of John has as many mysteries as words.'—The reading these scriptures, Jerom recommends to his friend; and if he is conversant with them, he says, he will then live as it were in heaven.

None can forbear to observe how clean these catalogues of the scriptures of the Old and New Testament are; for here is not the least notice taken of any other books beside those which have been now particularly mentioned. It affords good reason to believe, that though there were doubts about some of these, there were no others which were esteemed to be of authority, or that made any considerable claim to be parts of canonical scripture.

VI. There is another work of Jerom, from which a catalogue of the books of the Old and the New Testament

in regum libris tanguntur historiæ, et innumerabiles explicantur evangelii quæstiones. p. 574.

[g] Ezras et Neëmias, adjutor videlicet et consolator a Domino, in unum volumen coarctantur; instaurant templum, muros exstruunt civitatis, &c. Ibid.

[h] Tangam et Novum breviter Testamentum. Matthæus, Marcus, Lucas, et Joannes, quadriga Domini, et verum Cherubim, per totum corpus oculati sunt—et pergunt quocumque eos flatus Sancti Spiritûs perduxerit—Paulus apostolus ad septem ecclesias scribit (octava enim, ad Hebræos, a plerisque extra numerum ponitur); Timotheum instruit ac Titum; Philemonem pro fugitivo famulo deprecatur: super quo tacere melius puto, quam pauca scribere. Actus Apostolorum nudam sonare videntur historiam, et nascentis ecclesiæ infantiam texere. Sed si noverimus scriptorem eorum Lucam esse medicum, cujus laus est in evangelio, animadvertemus pariter omnia verba illius animæ languentis esse medicinam. Jacobus, Petrus, Johannes, Judas, apostoli, septem epistolas ediderunt, tam mysticas quam succinctas, et breves pariter et longas; breves in verbis, longas in sententiis, ut rarus sit qui non in earum lectione cœcutiat. Apocalypsis Johannis tot habet sacramenta, quot verba—Oro te, frater carissime, inter hæc vivere, ista meditari, nihil aliud nôsse, nihil quærere. Nonne tibi videtur jam hic in terris regni cœlestis habitaculum? Ibid. p. 574.

may be collected; I mean his book of the Interpretation of Hebrew Names, which contains a collection of all the names of men and places in the Bible, in alphabetical order, with their interpretations according to the Hebrew etymology. He[i] imitated Philo in that part which concerns the Old Testament, and Origen in that which relates to the New; and at first he intended to have translated them out of Greek into Latin; but the copies of their works which he met with were so different, and there was such confusion in the order of the words, that he judged it most advisable to make a new work of the like kind; observing, as he expressly says, the order of the books of scripture: so[k] that there were, in a manner, three authors of this work. Jerom's edition of it is supposed to have been made in 388.

1. The books from which these names are collected are these: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, the four books of the Kings, the Psalter, Isaiah, the Twelve Prophets, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, Job. Here is no particular notice taken of the books of the Chronicles, nor of Ezra and Nehemiah. The collections out of the books of the New Testament are in the following order: The gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, John; the Acts of the Apostles; the seven catholic epistles, though there is no notice taken of the second epistle of John, that not having in it any names of men or places; the fourteen epistles of Paul in this order——to the Romans, the Corinthians, the Galatians, the Ephesians, the Philippians, the Colossians, the Thessalonians, the Hebrews, to Timothy, Titus, Philemon: the Revelation of John; the epistle of Barnabas.

2. Here again we see that there is no notice taken of any books of the Old Testament, beside those of the Jewish canon. The books of the New Testament are the same with those

[i] Philo, vir disertissimus Judæorum, Origenis quoque testimonio comprobatur edidisse librum Hebraïcorum nominum, eorumque etymologias juxta ordinem literarum e latere copulâsse. Qui quum vulgo habeatur a Græcis, et bibliothecas orbis impleverit, studii nostri fuit in Latinam linguam eum vertere. Verum tam dissona inter se exemplaria reperi, et sic confusum ordinem, ut tacere melius judicaverim, quam reprehensione quid dignum scribere. Itaque hortatu fratrum Lupuliani et Valeriani, qui me putant aliquid in Hebrææ linguæ notitiâ profecisse, et rei ipsius utilitate commotus, singula per ordinem scripturarum volumina percucurri, et vetus ædificium novâ curâ instaurans. Ac ne forte consummato ædificio quasi extrema deesset manus, Novi Testamenti verba et nomina interpretatus sum, imitari volens ex parte Origenem. Inter cætera enim ingenii sui monumenta, etiam in hoc elaboravit, ut quod Philo quasi Judæus omiserat, hoc ut christianus impleret. Præf. in libr. de Interp. Nom. Hebr. T. ii. p. 1. 3.

[k] Vid. Martian. Comm. in libr. de Nom. Hebr. ib. p. 86.

now commonly received, and mentioned by Jerom as of authority in his other works, excepting only the epistle of Barnabas. The reason of Jerom's here taking in that epistle, Cotelerius[l] supposes to be, that he followed Origen, from whom the latter part of this work was borrowed, for in other places Jerom reckons the epistle of Barnabas among apocryphal scriptures.

3. The order of the books of the New Testament (not to say any thing of the Old) in this work, is here different from that in the letter to Paulinus, and in some other works of this author. Nevertheless[m] there is no good reason to doubt of the genuineness of this book: it is much more reasonable to suppose, that some alterations have been made in it since it was finished by Jerom. So the copies of the book, as published by Philo and Origen before our author set about it were different, and the names were in great disorder. And indeed people are apt to take liberties with books of this kind, and to alter them according to their own fancy, and the prevailing sentiments of the times in which they live.

VII. Having now observed in Jerom three catalogues of the books of scripture, one of the Old, and two other of the Old and New Testament, the passage which next offers itself, relates to the four gospels, and is in the prologue to his Commentary upon St. Matthew, written about 398. It is long; but I take it for granted, that my readers are prepared for some such passages out of this learned and laborious author; and that they will not be disgusted by them, nor think them tedious.

1. 'That[n] there were many who wrote gospels, even Luke

[l] Denique sanctus Hieronymus in libro, quem de Interpretatione Nominum Hebraïcorum, imitatus Philonem et Origenem, composuit, inter Novi Testamenti libros non statuisset epistolam Barnabæ, sicut facit, quem ipse cum apocryphis scripturis legebat, nisi vidisset ita ab Origene fuisse actitatum. Coteler. Judic. de Ep. Barnab. ap. Patr. Apost. T. i.

[m] See Tillem. S. Jérome, art. 49. T. xii. Martian. Prolegom. l. init. T. ii. Vid. et eund. ib. 178.

[n] Plures fuisse qui evangelia scripserunt, et Lucas evangelista testatur, dicens, 'Quoniam quidem multi conati sunt—Ecclesia autem, quæ supra petram Domini voce fundata est—quatuor flumina Paradisi instar eructans, quatuor et angulos et annulos habet, per quos quasi arca testamenti, et custos legis Domini, lignis immobilibus vehitur.—Primus omnium Matthæus est publicanus, cognomento Levi, qui evangelium in Judæâ Hebræo sermone edidit, ob eorum maxime causam, qui in Jesum crediderant ex Judæis et nequaquam legis umbram succedente evangelii veritate servabant. Secundus Marcus, interpres apostoli Petri, et Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ primus episcopus; qui Dominum quidem Salvatorem ipse non vidit, sed ea quæ magistrum audierat prædicantem juxta fidem magis gestorum narravit quam ordinem. Tertius Lucas, medicus, natione Syrus, Antiochensis, cujus laus in evangelio, qui et

the evangelist witnesseth. [See ch. i. 1.] But the church, which according to the word of the Lord, is built upon a rock, pours out only the four rivers of Paradise——and has four corners, and four rings, by which the ark of the covenant and guardian of the law of God, is safely carried on immovable staves. [See Exod. xxv. 12—16.]

'The first is Matthew the publican, surnamed Levi, who wrote his gospel in Judea, in the Hebrew language, chiefly for the sake of the Jews that believed in Jesus, and did not join the shadow of the law with the truth of the gospel. The second is Mark, interpreter to the apostle Peter, and the first bishop of Alexandria; who never saw the Lord himself, but related things as he had heard them from his master, very truly, but not in the exact order in which they were done. The third is Luke the physician, a Syrian of Antioch, "whose praise is in the gospel" [See 2 Cor. viii. 18, and Col. iv. 14.]; who was a disciple of the apostle Paul, and published his gospel in the countries of Achaia and Bœotia; who likewise, as he also intimates in his preface, writes rather as a hearer, than as an eye-witness. The last is John the apostle and evangelist, whom Jesus loved most, who leaned on the Lord's breast, and from thence derived the purest doctrine; to whom alone it was said by the Lord, when on the cross, "Behold thy mother." [John xix. 27.] When he was in Asia, and the seeds sown by the heretics Cerinthus, Ebion,

ipse discipulus apostoli Pauli, in Achaiæ Bœotiæque [al. Bithyniæque] partibus volumen condidit, quædam altius repetens, et, ut ipse in procœmio confitetur, audita, magis quam visa describens. Ultimus Joannes apostolus et evangelista, quem Jesus amavit plurimum: qui supra pectus Domini recumbens, purissima doctrinarum fluenta potavit, et qui solus de cruce meruit audire, 'Ecce mater tua.' Is quum esset in Asiâ, et jam tunc hæreticorum semina pullularent, Cerinthi, Ebionis, et cæterorum, qui negant Christum in carne venisse, (quos et in epistolâ suâ antichristos vocat, et apostolus Paulus frequenter percutit,) coactus est ab omnibus pene tunc Asiæ episcopis, et multarum ecclesiarum legationibus, de divinitate Salvatoris altius scribere; et ad ipsum, ut ita dicam, Verbum, non tam audaci quam felici temeritate prorumpere. Et ecclesiastica narrat historia, quum a fratribus cogeretur ut scriberet, ita facturum respondisse, si indicto jejunio in commune omnes Deum precarentur. Quo expleto, revelatione saturatus, in illud procœmium cœlo veniens eructavit, 'In principio erat Verbum'——Hæc igitur quatuor evangelia ante prædicta Ezechielis quoque volumen probat, in quo prima visio ita contexitur———Prima hominis facies Matthæum significat, qui quasi de homine exorsus est scribere, 'Liber generationis Jesu Christi, filii David, filii Abraham.' Secunda Marcum, in quo vox leonis in eremo rugientis auditur.—Tertia vituli, quæ evangelistam Lucam a Zachariâ sacerdote sumpsisse initium præfigurat. Quarta Joannem evangelistam, qui, assumptis pennis aquilæ, et ad altiora festinans, de Verbo Dei disputat——Unde et Apocalypsis Joannis——Quibus cunctis perspicue ostenditur, quatuor tantum evangelia debere suscipi, et omnes apocryphorum nænias mortuis magis hæreticis, quam ecclesiasticis vivis, canendas. Prol. in Comment. super Matth. T. iv. init.

and others, who denied Christ to have come in the flesh, were now springing up, (whom also in his epistle he calls antichrists, and the apostle Paul often reprehends,) he was compelled by almost all the bishops of Asia, and by deputations from many churches, to write more fully of our Saviour's divinity; and ecclesiastical history informs us, that when he was thus requested by the brethren to write, he answered that he would, provided they would all join in fasting and prayer for him. Which being done, and he being fully inspired, he broke forth into that proœm coming down from heaven, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." These four gospels were foretold and prefigured in the vision of Ezekiel. [See ch. i. 5—10.] The first living creature, having the face of a man, denotes Matthew, who writes as of a man, beginning thus: "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham." The second denotes Mark, in whom is heard the voice of the lion roaring in the desert—"The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight," [ch. i. 3.] The third face of a calf [or ox] prefigures the evangelist Luke, who begins his gospel with the history of Zachariah the priest. The fourth denotes the evangelist John, who taking the wings of an eagle, ascends on high, and discourses of the word of God.' Jerom likewise brings in here, and applies to the same purpose, Rev. iv. 7, 8. 'By all which it appears, that four gospels only ought to be received, and that all the trash of apocryphal gospels ought to be left to dead heretics, and not to be minded by the living members of the church.'

2. Here is one thing which we cannot well forbear observing; I mean the public and general fasting and prayer, enjoined by St. John before he wrote his gospel. As there is nothing about it in Eusebius, or any other writer before Jerom, I think this circumstance deserves little regard. It is, probably, an invented story, owing its rise to the particular respect which some had for St. John's gospel, and especially the beginning of it. Divers learned men[o] suspect the truth of this particular.

3. This passage is a very ample testimony to our four

[o] Nos id in medio relinquimus, et multo magis aliam circumstantiam, quam illico subjungit Hieronymus, de jejunio quod præcesserit. Lamp. Prolegom. in Johan. l. ii. c. 2. p. 178.—St. Jérome ajoûte, qu' avant que de commencer son ouvrage, il ordonna un jeûne, et des prières, publiques.—Cela a l' air d'un conte, qui est d'autant plus suspect, qu' on ne le produit, que plus de quatre [trois] cens ans après l' évènement. Ja. Basnag. Hist. de l' Eglise, l. viii. ch. 2. p. 413.

gospels. That there are four gospels only, even those of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, he shows, as elsewhere, so particularly in the preface to his Latin edition of the New Testament,[p] written near the end of the year 384; where he also says, that all the books of the New Testament were written in Greek, except the gospel of the apostle Matthew, who first wrote in Judea in the Hebrew language.

VIII. Having alleged these general testimonies to the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and to the four gospels, I shall now take Jerom's histories of the several writers of the books of the New Testament commonly received; which are at the beginning of his book of Illustrious Men, or Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, so often quoted by me in this work, in my accounts of ancient christian writers.

In Jerom the order is this: Simon Peter, James the Lord's brother, Matthew, Jude brother of James, Paul, Luke, Mark, John. I shall place them in the order of the writings of the New Testament, now generally in use. Nor shall I make many remarks, supposing it to be needless; and that they who have read the former parts of this work, and particularly the chapter of Eusebius of Cæsarea, of whose Ecclesiastical History Jerom made great use in composing his Catalogue, will be able to make for themselves all proper observations.

1. 'Matthew,[q] called also Levi, of a publican made an apostle, first of all wrote a gospel in Judea, in the Hebrew language, and in Hebrew letters, for the sake of those of the circumcision who believed: who afterwards translated it into Greek, is uncertain. Moreover, the very Hebrew [gospel] is in the library at Cæsarea, which was collected with great care by the martyr Pamphilus; and with the leave of

[p] De Novo nunc loquor Testamento, quod Græcum esse non dubium est, excepto apostolo Matthæo, qui primus in Judæâ evangelium Christi Hebraïcis literis edidit.—Igitur hæc præsens præfatiuncula pollicetur quatuor tantum evangelia, quorum ordo est iste: Matthæus, Marcus, Lucas, Joannes. Præf. in Quat. Evangel. T. i. p. 1426.

[q] Matthæus, qui et Levi, ex publicano apostolus, primus in Judæâ, propter eos qui ex circumcisione crediderant, evangelium Christi Hebraïcis literis verbisque composuit. Quod qui postea in Græcum transtulerit, non satis certum est. Porro ipsum Hebraïcum habetur usque hodie in Cæsariensi bibliothecâ, quam Pamphilus martyr studiosissime confecit. Mihi quoque a Nazaræis qui in Berœâ, urbe Syriæ, hoc volumine utuntur, describendi facultas fuit. In quo animadvertendum, quod ubicunque evangelista, sive ex personâ suâ, sive ex personâ Domini Salvatoris, veteris scripturæ testimoniis abutitur, non sequatur septuaginta translatorum auctoritatem, sed Hebraïcam, e quibus illa duo sunt: 'Ex Ægypto vocavi Filium meum,' et 'Quoniam Nazaræus vocabitur.' De V. I. cap. 3.

the Nazarenes who live at Berœa in Syria, and use that volume, I transcribed a copy. It is observable, that whenever this evangelist, in his own person, or in the person of our Saviour, quotes any passages of the ancient scripture, he does not follow the version of the Seventy, but the Hebrew original. Among which these two deserve notice: "Out of Egypt have I called my son" [Matth. ii. 15, from Hos. xi. 1.]; and, "He shall be called a Nazarene." [Matth. ii. 23. see Isa. xi. 1.]'

When Jerom here says that the evangelist Matthew, in quoting the Old Testament, follows not the version of the Seventy, but the Hebrew original, Hody[r] understands him to speak of St. Matthew's Hebrew gospel; for which I can see no reason. Jerom is speaking of this gospel in general; and the two texts in which he instances, are in our Greek gospel, and are agreeable to the Hebrew of the Old Testament. And elsewhere,[s] plainly speaking of St. Matthew's Greek gospel, he says, that in his quotations of the Old Testament he does not follow the Greek version, but the Hebrew original. More passages to the same purpose may be taken notice of hereafter. I might add, that in this very place Jerom plainly speaks of St. Matthew's Greek gospel; for if he meant his Hebrew gospel, what occasion could there be to say, that in quoting the ancient scriptures, he did not follow the version of the Seventy?

2. 'Mark,[t] disciple and interpreter of Peter, at the desire of the brethren at Rome, wrote a short gospel, according to what he had heard related by Peter; which when Peter

[r] Meminit alibi Hieronymus, vidisse se Matthæi exemplar Hebraïcum, in eoque omnia juxta textum Heb. invenisse probata. Catalog. Scriptor. Ecc. Hod. l. iii. P. i. cap. 2. p. 248, 249.

[s] Ex quo apparet, Matthæum evangelistam, non veteris interpretationis auctoritate constrictum, dimisisse Hebraïcam Veritatem: sed quasi Hebræum ex Hebræis, et in lege Domini doctissimum, ea gentibus protulisse, quæ in Hebræo legerat—Quod beatum Matthæum non solum in hoc testimonio, sed in alio fecisse legimus: 'Ex Egypto vocavi Filium meum.' Pro quo Septuaginta transtulerunt, 'Ex Ægypto vocavi filios meos.' &c. Ad Algas. Qu. 2. T. iv. P. i. p. 190. al. ep. 151.

[t] Marcus, discipulus et interpres Petri, juxta quod Petrum referentem audierat, rogatus Romæ a fratribus, breve scripsit evangelium. Quod quum Petrus audisset, probavit, et ecclesiis legendum suâ auctoritate edidit; sicut Clemens in sexto Ὑποτυπωσεων scribit, et Papias Hierapolitanus episcopus. Meminit hujus Marci et Petrus in epistolâ primâ, sub nomine Babylonis Romam significans: 'Salutat vos quæ in Babylone est coëlecta, et Marcus filius 'meus.' Assumpto igitur evangelio quod ipse confecerat, perrexit ad Ægyptum, et primus Alexandriæ Christum annuntians, constituit ecclesiam, tantâ doctrinâ, et vitæ continentiâ, ut omnes sectatores Christi ad exemplum sui cogeret.—Mortuus est autem octavo Neronis anno, et sepultus Alexandriæ, succedente sibi Aniano. De V. I. cap. 8.

knew, he approved of it, and authorized it to be read in the churches; as Clement writes in the sixth book of his Institutions, and also Papias, bishop of Hierapolis. Peter also makes mention of this Mark in his first epistle, written at Rome, which he figuratively calls Babylon: "The church that is at Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you, and so does Mark, my son." [1 Pet. v. 13.] Taking the gospel which himself had composed, he went to Egypt, and at Alexandria founded a church of great note.——He died in the eighth year of Nero, and was buried at Alexandria; where he was succeeded, as bishop, by Anianus.

(1.) In the beginning of this article, as we have seen, Jerom styles Mark, 'Peter's disciple and interpreter.' He calls Mark Peter's disciple elsewhere;[u] and his interpreter, in the prologue to his Commentary upon St. Matthew, transcribed not long ago.[v]

(2.) In his Commentary upon the epistle to Philemon, ver. 24, he says, 'he[w] thinks that Mark, there mentioned, is the writer of the gospel.' It is very probable that Mark, there mentioned by Paul, is the same who is often spoken of in the Acts, and is styled 'nephew to Barnabas,' Col. iv. 10. Of him Jerom here says, 'he thinks' he was the evangelist; which manner of expression seems to imply, that he was not positive, and that there were some of a different opinion.

3. 'Luke,[x] a physician of Antioch, not unskilful in the Greek language, as his writings show, a disciple of the

[u] Marcus, discipulus Petri, ita suum orditur evangelium—Ad Pamm. de Optimo Gen. Interpr. ep. 33. [al. 101.] T. iv. P. ii. p. 253.

[v] See p. 439.

[w] Cæterum cooperatores evangelii et vinculorum suorum, quum ad Philemonem epistolam scriberet, Marcum ponit, quem puto evangelii conditorem, et Aristarchum, &c. In Philem. T. iv. P. i. p. 454.

[x] Lucas, medicus Antiochensis, ut ejus scripta indicant, Græci sermonis non ignarus, fuit sectator apostoli Pauli, et omnis peregrinationis ejus comes, scripsit evangelium; de quo idem Paulus, 'Misimus,' inquit, 'cum illo fratrem, cujus laus est in evangelio' per omnes ecclesias. Et ad Colossenses, 'Salutat vos Lucas, medicus carissimus; et ad Timotheum, Lucas est mecum solus.' Aliud quoque edidit volumen egregium, quod titulo Apostolicarum Praxeôn prænotatur; cujus historia usque ab biennium Romæ commorantis Pauli pervenit, id est, usque ad quartum Neronis annum. Ex quo intelligimus, in eâdem urbe librum esse compositum.—Quidam suspicantur, quotiescumque in epistolis suis Paulus dicit, 'juxta evangelium meum,' de Lucæ significare volumine; et Lucam non solum ab apostolo Paulo didicisse evangelium, qui cum Domino in carne non fuerat, sed et a cæteris apostolis. Quod ipse quoque in principio sui voluminis declarat, dicens, 'Sicut tradiderunt nobis 'qui a principio ipsi viderunt, et ministri fuerunt sermonis.' Igitur evangelium, sicut audierat, scripsit. Acta vero Apostolorum, sicut viderat, composuit. Ibid. cap. 7.

apostle Paul, and the constant companion of his travels, wrote a gospel, of whom [or of which] Paul makes mention, saying, "And we have sent with him the brother whose praise is in the gospel, throughout all the churches." [2 Cor. viii. 18.] And to the Colossians, "Luke, the beloved physician, greets you." [Col. iv. 14.] And to Timothy, "Only Luke is with me." [2 Tim. iv. 11.] He published also another excellent volume, entitled, The Acts of the Apostles; the history of which comprehends Paul's two years dwelling at Rome, and reaches therefore to the fourth year of Nero; from whence we perceive that this last book was written in that city. Here Jerom censures and rejects the Travels of Paul and Thecla, of which we spake formerly.[y] Some have supposed, that whenever Paul, in his epistles, makes use of this expression, "according to my gospel," he intends Luke's writing. And it is supposed that Luke did not learn his gospel from the apostle Paul only, who had not conversed with the Lord in the flesh, but also from other apostles; which likewise he owns at the beginning of his volume, saying, "Even as they delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word." Therefore he wrote the gospel from the information of others; but the Acts he composed from his own knowledge.'

(1.) The evangelist Luke is several times mentioned by Jerom in other works, and spoken of as a physician,[z] and having little knowledge of the Hebrew, but being well skilled in the Greek language; insomuch that there is a good deal of neatness in the style of both his works.

(2.) I place below[a] another passage, where is mention again made of his gospel and the Acts, and of his becoming, of a physician of the body, a physician of souls.

(3.) He is also spoken of as[b] having been a proselyte to judaism before his conversion to christianity.

[y] See vol. ii. ch. xxvii. p. 304, 305; and ch. xxix. p. 332, 333.

[z] Evangelistam Lucam tradunt veteres ecclesiæ tractatores medicinæ artis fuisse scientissimum, et magis Græcas literas scîsse quam Hebræas. Unde et sermo ejus tam in evangelio, quam in Actibus Apostolorum, id est, in utroque volumine, comitor est, et secularem redolet scientiam; magisque testimoniis Græcis (ex versione lxx interpretum) utitur, quam Hebræis. Matthæus autem et Johannes, quorum alter Hebræo, alter Græco sermone, evangelia texuerunt, testimonia de Hebræo proferunt.—Comm. in Is. cap. vi. T. iii. p. 63, 64. Conf. et in Is. cap. xxviii. p. 237. F.

[a] Et Lucam medicum, qui evangelium, et Actus Apostolorum ecclesiis derelinquens, quomodo apostoli, de piscatoribus piscium, piscatores hominum facti sunt, ita, de medico corporum, in medicum versus est animarum—Cujus liber, quoties legitur in ecclesiis, toties ejus medicina non cessat. Com. in Ep. ad Philem. T. iv. P. i. p. 454.

[b] Licet plerique tradunt

(4.) I transcribe in the margin some other passages where he says, that[c] of all the evangelists Luke was best skilled in the Greek language, and that he wrote his gospel more especially for Gentiles; and he[d] wrote the history of Paul in the Acts, in a compendious manner.

4. 'John[e] the apostle, whom Jesus loved most, son of Zebedee, brother of the apostle James, whom Herod beheaded after the Lord's passion, last of all wrote a gospel at the desire of the bishops of Asia, against Cerinthus, and other heretics, and especially against the doctrine of the Ebionites, then springing up, who affirm that Christ did not exist before his birth of Mary; for which reason he was obliged to declare his divine nativity. Another reason of his writing is also mentioned; which is, that after having read the volumes of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, he expressed his approbation of their history, as true; but observed, that they had recorded an account of but one year of our Lord's ministry, even the last, after the imprisonment of John, in which year also he suffered. Omitting therefore [very much] that year, the history of which had been written by the other three, he related the acts of the preceding time, before John was shut up in prison, as may appear to those who read the volumes of the four evangelists; which may serve to account for the seeming difference between John and the rest. He also wrote one epistle, the beginning of which

Lucam evangelistam, ut proselytum, Hebræas literas ignorâsse. Lib. Qu. Hebr. in Gen. T. ii. p. 544. in. Conf. p. 543.

[c] Lucas igitur, qui inter omnes evangelistas Græci sermonis eruditissimus fuit, quippe ut medicus, et qui evangelium Græcis scripsit, &c. Ad Damas. T. iv. P. i. p. 148. in. al. ep. 145.

[d] Quum autem venisset Jerusalem, tentabat jungere se discipulis. [Vid. Act. ix. 26.] Lucam vero idcirco de Arabiâ præterisse, quia forsitan nihil dignum apostolatu in Arabiâ perpetrârat; et ea potius compendiosâ narratione dixisse, quæ digna Christi evangelio videbantur. In Gal. i. 17. T. iv. P. i. p. 235.—Nec mirum esse, si Lucas hanc rem tacuerit, quum et alia multa, quæ Paulus sustinuisse se replicat, historiographi licentia pretermiserit. In Gal. ii. ib. p. 244.

[e] Johannes apostolus, quem Jesus amabat plurimum, filius Zebedæi, frater Jacobi apostoli, quem Herodes post passionem Domini decollavit, novissimus omnium scripsit evangelium, rogatus ab Asiæ episcopis, adversus Cerinthum aliosque hæreticos, et maxime tunc Ebionitarum dogma consurgens, qui asserunt Christum ante Mariam non fuisse; unde compulsus est divinam ejus nativitatem edicere. Sed et aliam causam hujus scripturæ ferunt: Quod, cum legisset Matthæi, Marci, et Lucæ volumina, probavit quidem textum historiæ, et vera eos dixisse firmaverit; sed unius tantum anni, in quo et passus est, post carcerem Johannis, historiam texuisse. Prætermisso itaque anno cujus acta a tribus exposita fuerunt, superioris temporis, antequam Johannes clauderetur in carcerem, gesta narravit; sicut manifestum esse poterit his, qui diligenter quatuor evangeliorum volumina legerint: quæ res etiam διαφωνιαν, quæ videtur Johannis esse cum cæteris, tollit. Scripsit autem et unam epistolam, cujus

is, " That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes,——and our hands have handled, of the word of life," which is received by all learned and catholic men in general, without exception. The other two—the beginning of one of which is, " The elder to the elect lady, and her children ;" and of the other, " The elder to the beloved Caius"—are said to have been written by John the presbyter, whose sepulchre is to this day shown at Ephesus; though some think that both the monuments are of John the evangelist. Domitian, in the fourteenth year of his reign, raising the second persecution after Nero, John was banished into the island Patmos; where he wrote the Revelation, which Justin Martyr and Irenæus explain [or, perhaps, ' speak of, and bear witness to'.] When Domitian had been killed, and his edicts had been repealed by the senate, because of their excessive cruelty, he returned to Ephesus, in the time of the emperor Nerva; and living there to the time of the emperor Trajan, he established and governed all the churches of Asia: and dying at a great age, in the sixty-eighth year of our Lord's passion, he was buried near the same city.'

(1.) In his books against Jovinian, written in 393 or 394, Jerom observes, ' that[f] John was young when he was called by Christ to follow him: that ecclesiastical history assures us, he lived to the time of Trajan, and died in the 68th year after our Lord's passion; that he was at once apostle, evangelist, and prophet; apostle, in that he wrote letters to the churches as a master; evangelist, as he wrote a book of

exordium est——quæ ab universis ecclesiasticis et eruditis viris probatur. Reliquæ autem duæ, quarum principium est, ' Senior'—et sequentis, ' Senior Caio'—Johannis presbyteri asseruntur, cujus et hodie alterum sepulcrum apud Ephesum ostenditur; etsi nonnulli putant duas memorias ejusdem Johannis evangelistæ esse——Quarto decimo igitur anno, secundam post Neronem persecutionem, movente Domitiano, in Patmon insulam relegatus, scripsit Apocalypsim, quam interpretantur Justinus Martyr et Irenæus. Interfecto autem Domitiano, et actis ejus ob nimiam crudelitatem a senatu rescissis, sub Nervâ principe redit Ephesum; ibique usque ad Trajanum principem perseverans, totius Asiæ fundavit rexitque ecclesias. Et confectus senio, sexagesimo octavo post passionem Domini anno mortuus, juxta eandem urbem sepultus est. De V. I. cap. 9.

[f] Ut autem sciamus Johannem tunc fuisse puerum, manifestissime docent ecclesiasticæ historiæ quod usque ad Trajani vixerit imperium, id est, post passionem Domini sexagesimo octavo anno dormierit; quod et nos in libro de Viris Illustribus perstrinximus. Petrus apostolus est, et Johannes apostolus; maritus, et virgo. Sed Petrus apostolus tantum; Johannes et apostolus, et evangelista, et propheta: apostolus, quia scripsit ad ecclesias ut magister; evangelista quia librum evangelii condidit, quod, excepto Matthæo, alii ex duodecim apostoli non fecerunt; propheta, vidit enim in Patmo insulâ, in quâ fuerat a Domitiano principe ob Domini martyrium relegatus, Apoca-

the gospel, which no other of the twelve apostles did, except Matthew; prophet, as he saw the Revelation in the island Patmos, where he was banished by Domitian. His gospel, too, differs from the rest. Like an eagle he ascends to the very throne of God, and says, 'In the beginning was the Word.'

(2.) In his Commentary upon the book of Daniel, written between 407 and 410, he again takes notice that[g] St. John lived to the reign of Trajan. He there observes likewise, that,[h] according to St. John's gospel, our Saviour's ministry consists of three years and six months.

(3.) In his Commentary upon St. Paul's epistle to the Galatians, written about the year 388, Jerom tells this story: 'The blessed apostle John,[i] living at Ephesus to extreme old age, and being difficultly carried to church in the arms of the disciples, and being unable to make a long discourse, every time they assembled, was wont to say nothing but this: "Little children, love one another." At length the disciples and brethren who attended, tired with hearing so often the same thing, said, "Sir, why do you always say this?" Who then made this answer, worthy of himself: "Because," says he, "it is the Lord's command; and if that alone be done, it is sufficient." '

(4.) Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus in the latter part of the second century, in his letter to Victor, written in the name of the bishops of Asia, about the time of keeping Easter, of which some account was given formerly,[k] says,

lypsim, infinita futurorum mysteria continentem. Refert autem Tertullianus, quod Romæ missus in ferventis olei dolium, purior et vegetior exiverit quam intraverit. Sed et ipsum evangelium multum distat a cæteris. Matthæus quasi de homine incipit dicere ———Lucas a sacerdotio Zachariæ; Marcus a prophetiâ Malachiæ prophetæ, et Isaïæ. Primus habet faciem hominis, propter genealogiam; secundus faciem vituli, propter sacerdotium; tertius faciem leonis, propter vocem clamantis in deserto———Johannes vero noster, quasi aquila, ad superna volat, et ad ipsum Patrem pervenit, dicens, 'In Principio.' —Adv. Jovin. l. i. T. iv. P. ii. p. 168, 169.

[g] In totum enim orbem per apostolos evangelium prædicatum est, qui usque ad illud tempus perseverârunt; tradentibus ecclesiasticis historiis, Johannem evangelistam usque ad tempora vixisse Trajani. In Dan. cap. ix. ver. 27. T. iii. p. 1114.

[h] ———qui tribus annis et sex mensibus, juxta evangelistam Johannem, evangelium prædicavit, et confirmavit veri Dei cultum multis. Ibid. p. 1113. fin.

[i] Beatus Johannes evangelista, quum Ephesi moraretur usque ad ultimam senectutem, et vix inter discipulorum manus ad ecclesiam deferretur; nec posset in plura vocum verba contexere, nihil aliud per singulas solebat proferre collectas, nisi hoc: 'Filioli, diligite alterutrum.' Tandem discipuli et fratres qui aderant, tædio affecti, quod eadem semper audirent, dixerunt, 'Magister, quare semper hoc loqueris?' Qui respondit dignam Johanne sententiam: 'Quia præceptum Domini est; et si solum fiat, sufficit.' In. Ep. ad Galat. cap. iv. T. iv. P. i. p. 314. fin.

[k] See vol. ii. p. 260, 261.

as it is expressed in Eusebius: 'John also[l] was buried 'at Ephesus, who leaned on the Lord's breast, who was a 'priest bearing a plate, and martyr [or witness,] and master.' Which Jerom, in his article of Polycrates, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, translates after this manner: 'Moreover[m] John also, who leaned on the Lord's breast, and was his high-priest, bearing on his fore-head a golden plate, martyr and master, fell asleep at Ephesus.' Where undoubtedly there is a reference to one part of the vestments of the Jewish high-priest, prescribed by the law of Moses, and spoken of in several places. See Exod. xxviii. 36; xxxix. 30; Lev. viii. 9. And Valesius supposes[n] that St. John actually wore such a plate; which[o] supposition is fully confuted, and ridiculed as it deserves, by E. S. Cyprian, in his notes upon that chapter of Jerom's Catalogue. He thinks that Polycrates speaks figuratively; not that St. John really wore a golden plate as the Jewish high-priest did; but that he had a like authority among christians; and that his rule or practice, about the time of keeping Easter, was decisive.

Indeed this passage of Polycrates has exercised the thoughts of many learned men; however I shall take notice of the sentiments of but a few more. By Witsius this story is considered as false,[p] without so much as the appearance of truth or probability. Le Clerc[q] was inclined to think,

[l] Ετι δε και Ιωαννης, ὁ επι το στηθος τω Κυριω αναπεσων, ὁς εγενηθη ἱερευς το πεταλον πεφορικως, και μαρτυς και διδασκαλος. Eus. H. E. l. v. c. 24. p. 191. C. Conf. l. iii. cap. 31.

[m] Sed et Johannes, qui super pectus Domini recubuit, et pontifex ejus fuit, auream laminam in fronte portans, martyr et doctor, in Epheso dormivit. De V. I. cap. 45.

[n] Quod autem de laminâ dicit Polycrates, credibile est, primos illos christianos pontifices, exemplo judaïcorum pontificum, hoc honoris insigne gestâsse. Vales. ad Euseb. l. v. c. 24. p. 104. C.

[o] Quâ sententiâ haud scio an ineptior excogitari queat. Primo enim Judæi illico Johannem trucidâssent, tanquam summi sacerdotis jura involantem.—Gentilibus autem ludibrium risumque debuisset—Christianis vero scandalum præbuisset. Sed ego hæc eo modo intelligenda opinor—Eâdem ratione dicitur Johannes auream laminam summi pontificis gestâsse, tanquam insigne supremi sacerdotii; non quod reverà ita ornatus fuerit, sed quod eam potestatem habuerit quam aurea lamina indicabat apud Judæos. Cypr. ad Hieron. de V. I. cap. 45. ap. Fabric. Bib. Ec.

[p] Cæterum omnes hæ narrationes, quantocumque consensu traditæ ab iis qui apostolorum ætate aliquanto fuerunt recentiores, ne speciem quidem ullam verisimilitudinis habent. Quo enim jure apostoli insignia Levitici pontificatûs gessissent?———Wits. Miscell. Sacr. l. ii. Diss. 2. n. liv. Vid. et n. liii. p. 488, 489.

[q] Verosimilius videtur, Polycratem tralatitio loquendi genere usum, atque hoc, aut simile quiddam, voluisse: Johannem, qui cæteris omnibus apostolis superstes fuit, apud christianos instar pontificis maximi habitum fuisse. Sic

that Polycrates spoke allusively and figuratively. F. A. Lampe[r] approves of Solomon Cyprian's arguments, and calls this story a mere fable, and though the literal sense of the words be very absurd, yet he conceives it may be the true meaning of Polycrates. Dr. Heumann takes a quite different course, and proposes this ingenious observation: That[s] 'the priest bearing a plate, intended by Polycrates, is not John, but Jesus Christ; and that his Greek, as preserved in Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History, ought to be translated after this manner; "And John, who leaned on the Lord's breast, (who was made priest, bearing a plate,) and was a witness, and master," or rather, "And John, that witness and master, who lay in the Lord's bosom, who was made priest, bearing a golden plate." '

(5.) Eusebius[t] tells a story from a work of Clement of Alexandria, of a young man in a city of Asia, not very far from Ephesus, who after having been instructed in the christian religion, took to evil courses, and became quite profligate; but nevertheless was afterwards brought to repentance by our evangelist. This history, however, is liable to some difficulties, taken notice of by divers learned men, to whom I refer.[u]

(6.) Another thing said of St. John is, that going to bathe at Ephesus, and seeing Cerinthus already in the bath, he came out again in haste, saying, 'Let us flee hence, lest the bath 'should fall, whilst Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is 'within.' Which story we had occasion to examine some time ago.[v]

(7.) Finally, not to mention any other things, it is said of this apostle, that he was cast into a caldron of boiling oil

certe malim Polycratis verba interpretari, quam ea dicentem, quæ fabulam redolent, inducere. Cleric. H. E. A. 99. n. iii. p. 519.

[r] Hoc si secundum literam intelligatur, multa absurda concurrent—Sunt tamen, qui, genium primævorum patrum probe callentes, nihil difficultatis in eo situm esse putant, ut talia revera credidisse ac tradidisse statuatur Polycrates. Lampe, Prolegom. in Joan. l. i. c. 3. n. iv. p. 41, 42.

[s] Scilicet peccavit Hieronymus, primus Polycratis verborum interpres; peccavit Henricus Valesius, interpres eorum alter. Traxerunt enim verbulum ad Johannem, quod ad Christum, pontificem utique verissimum, pertinere voluerat Polycrates, ejusque orationi hoc pacto sensum dederunt alienissimum. Hoc est:—'Johannes, qui super pectore Domini recubans, (qui factus est 'sacerdos laminam auream gestans,) et testis fuit et doctor.' Melius adhuc ita reddideris: 'Johannes, ille et testis et doctor, qui super pectore Domini recu-'buit, qui [Dominus] factus est sacerdos laminam gestans auream.' Heuman. Diss. de fictitio Johannis Pontificatu Maximo. Ap. Primitias, Gotting. Hanov. 1738.

[t] H. E. l. iii. cap. 23.

[u] Vid. S. Basnag. ann. 97. n. x. et Lamp. Prolegom. in Jo. l. i. cap. 5. n. iii. to x.

[v] See vol. ii. ch. vi. p. 95. note [c].

by order of Domitian, and that he came out again without suffering any harm. This story likewise, the truth of which relies chiefly upon the authority of Tertullian, has been particularly considered by us already.[w] Our author says nothing of it in this article of St. John, in his Catalogue; but he has elsewhere taken notice of it once or twice.[x]

(8.) We plainly perceive from this article in the Catalogue, as well as from many other passages which have passed before us, that Jerom received the Revelation as written by John the apostle and evangelist. I refer below[y] to a passage in Jerom's preface to his Commentary upon the epistle to the Ephesians, where he speaks of the seven churches to whom John writes in the book of the Revelation.

5. ' Paul,[z] before called Saul, an apostle beside the other twelve apostles, of the tribe of Benjamin, and town of Judea, called Giscalis; which being taken by the Romans, he with his parents removed to Tarsus in Cilicia. By them, for the study of the law, he was sent to Jerusalem, and educated by Gamaliel, a man of great learning, mentioned by Luke.—As his history is fully related in the Acts of the Apostles, I shall only add, that in the five-and-twentieth year after our Lord's passion, that is, in the second of Nero, when Festus, who succeeded Felix, was procurator of Judea, he was sent bound to Rome; where he remained two years in a kind of free custody, daily disputing with the Jews, and arguing that the Christ was come. It should be observed, that at the time of his first apology, Nero's government not being then yet quite degenerated, nor disgraced by the horrible wickedness which historians speak of, Paul was set at liberty, that

[w] Ibid. p. 286, 287. note [l].

[x] Refert autem Tertullianus, quod Romæ missus in ferventis olei dolium, purior et vegetior exiverit quam intraverit. Contr. Jovin. l. i. T. iv. P. ii. p. 169. in. Vid. eund. in Matth. cap. xx. 23. T. iv. P. i. p. 92. fin.

[y] Et quomodo beatus Johannes in Apocalypsi suâ ad septem scribens ecclesias, in unâquâque earum specialia vel vitia reprehendit, vel virtutes probat: ita et sanctus apostolus Paulus per singulas ecclesias vulneribus medetur illatis, &c. Præf. in Ep. ad Eph. T. iv. P. i. p. 319.

[z] Paulus apostolus, qui ante Saulus, extra numerum duodecim apostolorum, de tribu Benjamin, et oppido Judææ Giscalis, fuit; quo a Romanis capto, cum parentibus suis Tarsum Ciliciæ commigravit. A quibus ob studia legis missus Hierosolymam, a Gamaliele, viro doctissimo, cujus Lucas meminit, eruditus est.—Et quia in Actibus Apostolorum plenissime de ejus conversatione scriptum est, hoc tantum dicam: Quod post passionem Domini vicesimo et quinto anno, id est, secundo Neronis, eo tempore quo Festus procurator Judææ successit Felici, Romam vinctus mittitur, et biennium in liberâ manens custodiâ, adversus Judæos de adventu Christi quotidie disputavit. Sciendum autem, in primâ satisfactione, necdum Neronis imperio roborato, nec in tanta erumpente scelera quanta de eo narrant historiæ, Paulum a Nerone dimissum,

he might preach the gospel in the western parts of the world; as he himself writes in the second epistle to Timothy, dictated by him in his bonds, at the time when he suffered; "In my first answer no man stood with me, but all men forsook me; I pray God, that it may not be laid to their charge. Notwithstanding, the Lord stood with me and strengthened me; that by me the preaching might be fully known, and all the Gentiles might hear: and I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion:" by the lion manifestly denoting Nero, because of his cruelty. And immediately after: "And the Lord shall deliver me from every evil work, and will preserve me to his heavenly kingdom" [2 Tim. iv. 16—18]; that is, because he now perceived his martyrdom to be nigh, according to what he had before said in the same epistle: "For I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand." In the fourteenth year therefore of Nero, he was beheaded at Rome for the name of Christ, on the same day with Peter, and was buried in the Ostian way; it being then the seven-and-thirtieth year after our Lord's passion. He wrote nine epistles to seven churches; to the Romans one, to the Corinthians two, to the Galatians one, to the Philippians one, to the Colossians one, to the Ephesians one, to the Thessalonians two; and besides, to his disciples—to Timothy two, to Titus one, to Philemon one. But the epistle, called 'to the Hebrews,' is not thought to be his, because of the difference of the argument and style; but either Barnabas's, as Tertullian thought; or the evangelist Luke's, according to some others; or Clement's, afterwards bishop of Rome, who, as some think, being much with him, clothed and adorned Paul's sense in his own language; or if it be Paul's, he might decline putting his name in the inscription, on account of the Hebrews being offended with him. Moreover he wrote, as a Hebrew to Hebrews, in pure Hebrew, it being his own language; whence it came to pass, that being translated, it

ut evangelium Christi in Occidentis quoque partibus prædicaret; sicut ipse in secundâ epistolâ ad Timotheum, eo tempore quo et passus est, de vinculis dictans epistolam. 'In primâ meâ satisfactione.'———Hic ergo xiv. Neronis anno, eodem die quo Petrus, Romæ pro Christo capite truncatus; sepultusque est in Viâ Ostiensi, anno post passionem Domini trigesimo septimo. Scripsit autem novem ad septem ecclesias epistolas———Præterea ad discipulos suos ———Epistola autem, quæ fertur ad Hebræos, non ejus creditur, propter styli sermonisque differentiam; sed vel Barnabæ, juxta Tertullianum; vel Lucæ evangelistæ, juxta quosdam; vel Clementis, Romanæ postea ecclesiæ episcopi, quem aiunt ipsi adjunctum sententias Pauli proprio ordinâsse et ornâsse sermone. Vel certe quia Paulus scribebat ad Hebræos, et propter invidiam sui apud eos nominis titulum in principio salutationis amputaverat, scripserat, ut Hebræus Hebræis, Hebraïce, id est, suo eloquio disertissime; ut ea quæ elo-

has more elegance in the Greek than his other epistles; this, they say, is the reason of its differing from the rest of Paul's writings. There is also an epistle to the Laodiceans; but it is rejected by every body.'

(1.) Jerom seems to have supposed that Paul was not born at Tarsus, but at Giscalis; and that when young he was removed with his parents to Tarsus, upon occasion of a conquest made of Judea by the Romans. He tells the same story again in his Commentary[a] upon the epistle to Philemon; but there, as it seems to me, he treats it as an uncertain rumour or tradition. Indeed it is not easy to guess what conquest the Romans should make of Judea, in the time of Paul's early age. If there is any foundation for this story, perhaps it is this: That, upon occasion of the conquest of Judea by Pompey, or of some farther reduction of it afterwards by the Romans, Paul's ancestors were obliged, before he was born, as I apprehend, to leave Judea: when they went and settled at Tarsus.

I shall mention another thought. In another place Jerom supposeth[b] Paul to have learned Greek learning in his early age at Tarsus; and yet he calls the Hebrew his mother tongue. Possibly, because Paul says he was a 'Hebrew,' and a 'Hebrew of Hebrews,' some thought he was born in Judea; though he really meant no more than that he was born of Jewish ancestors. This conjecture is also strengthened by the passage of the Commentary upon Philemon just cited; where having related that story of Paul's parents, that they dwelt at Giscalis, and were obliged by a Roman conquest to remove to Tarsus, he adds, 'In this way may be made out the truth of what he says of himself: "Are they Hebrews? So am I;" and in another place, "a Hebrew of Hebrews:" which expressions show him rather to be a Jew, than a native of Tarsus.' Thereupon the story was invented of the removal of Paul's parents, and of him with them, upon occasion of some conquest or invasion of Judea by the Romans, they knew not when.

quenter scripta fuerant in Hebræo, eloquentius verterentur in Græcum: et hanc esse causam, quod a cæteris Pauli epistolis discrepare videatur. Legunt quidam et ad Laodicenses; sed ab omnibus exploditur. De V. I. cap. 5.

[a] Quis sit Epaphras, concaptivus Pauli, talem fabulam accepimus. Aiunt, parentes apostoli Pauli de Giscalis regione fuisse Judææ; et eos, quum tota provincia Romanâ vastaretur manu, et dispergerentur in orbe Judæi, in Tarsum, urbem Ciliciæ, fuisse translatos; parentum conditionem Paulum sequutum, et sic posse stare illud quod de se ipse testatur: 'Hebræi sunt? et 'ego.'—Et rursum alibi: 'Hebræus ex Hebræis,' et cætera, quæ illum Ju-'dæum magis indicant quam Tarsensem, &c. In Ep. ad Philem. T. iv. P. i. p. 454. M. [b] Quem [sermonem] quum in vernaculâ linguâ habeat disertissimum, (quippe Hebræus ex Hebræis,) &c. Ad Algas. Qu. 2. T. iv. P. i. p. 204.

The learned Photius was not unacquainted with this story. He understood the case to be thus: That[c] St. Paul's ancestors dwelt at Giscalis, or Giscala, a small town in the tribe of Benjamin; and that when the Romans invaded Judea, they were taken captive, and transported to Tarsus, where Paul was born. He[d] always considers Tarsus as the native place of the apostle.

(2.) We before saw an enumeration of the apostle Paul's epistles in Jerom's letter to Paulinus. In his Commentary upon the prophet Zachariah, he again mentions[e] the seven churches to whom Paul wrote, and his epistles to them.

(3.) In his Commentary upon the epistle to Philemon he says, that[f] not only that epistle, but likewise the epistles to the Philippians, to the Ephesians, and the Colossians, were written by the apostle, when he was prisoner at Rome. He speaks to the like purpose[g] in his Commentary upon the epistle to the Ephesians.

(4.) My readers doubtless observe, that Jerom always calls the epistle to the Ephesians as we do. In one place he observes, that[h] the apostle never blames the Ephesians. We saw a like observation in a very early christian writer long ago.[i]

That[k] he thought this epistle to have been sent to the church at Ephesus, appears abundantly from the preface

[c] Vid. ep. 246. p. 377, 378.

[d] Vid. ep. 102. p. 145.

[e] Quæ igitur ibi septem mulieres appellantur, id est, ecclesiæ, quarum numerus et in Paulo apostolo continetur. Ad septem enim scribit ecclesias; ad Romanos, ad Corinthios, ad Galatas, ad Ephesios, ad Philippenses, ad Colossenses, ad Thessalonicenses. In Zach. viii. [et conf. Is. x. 1.] T. iii. p. 1754.

[f] Scribit igitur ad Philemonem, vinctus in carcere, quo tempore mihi videntur ad Philippenses, Colossenses, et Ephesios epistolæ esse dictatæ. In Ep. ad Philem. T. iv. P. i. p. 445.

[g] Quod Romæ in vincula conjectus, hanc epistolam miserit eo tempore quo ad Philemonem, et ad Colossenses, et ad Philippenses, in alio loco scriptas esse monstravimus. In Eph. cap. iii. T. iv. P. i. p. 347.

[h] Corinthii, in quibus audiebatur fornicatio qualis nec inter gentes, lacte pascuntur, quia necdum poterant solidum cibum capere. Ephesii autem, in quibus nullum crimen arguitur, ab ipso Domino cœlesti vescuntur pane, et sacramentum, quod a seculis absconditum fuerat, agnoscunt. Ad Marcellam, T. ii. p. 624. ed. Bened. aliter ep. 133.

[i] See vol. ii. p. 78.

[k] Quid rursum in Novo Testamento Romani, Corinthii, Galatæ, Philippenses, Thessalonicenses, Hebræi, Colossenses; et quam nunc ad Ephesios epistolam habemus in manibus.—Nunc ad Ephesios transeundum est, mediam apostoli epistolam, ut ordine, ita et sensibus—Scribebat ad Ephesios Dianam colentes; non hanc venatricem, quæ arcum tenet et succincta est, sed illam multimammiam, quem Græci πολυμασθον vocant—Scribebat autem ad metropolim Asiæ civitatem—Pr. in Ep. ad Eph. T. iv. P. i. p. 319. &c.

to his Commentary upon it, and from many places of his Commentary.

(5.) It seems from Jerom's Commentary upon the epistle to Philemon, that[l] there were some in his time who either rejected that epistle, or made objections to it. They argued, that it was below the apostle to recommend a servant, and to write about preparing a lodging for himself. If it was the apostle's, it was only a familiar epistle, written upon a private occasion, and not designed for general instruction. In answer to which Jerom says, there is nothing in it unbecoming the apostle; and that it had been received, in all times, by all the churches all over the world: and that there were things of a like kind in some other of the apostle's epistles, the authority of which those very persons did not dispute.

(6.) From what has been alleged we plainly perceive, that there were among the ancients different opinions concerning the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews: and that there were several objections against its being Paul's which offered themselves to their minds: which shows that there were in those times christians, who read the scriptures with diligence, and made judicious observations. One difficulty was the difference of style, or the superior elegance of this above the other epistles ascribed to Paul: which, I apprehend, is still obvious to careful readers. And moreover, in his Commentary upon Isaiah, Jerom informs us,[m] that some objected to this epistle, because the writer seems rather to quote the Greek version of the Seventy than the Hebrew original.

(7.) Jerom himself, as we have seen, receives this epistle, and[n] readily quotes it, as the apostle Paul's: but he has,

[l] ———volunt aut epistolam non esse Pauli, quæ ad Philemonem scribitur; aut etiam, si Pauli sit, nihil habere quod ædificare nos possit; et a plerisque veterum repudiatam, dum commendandi tantum scribatur officio, non docendi. At e contrario, qui germanæ auctoritatis eam esse defendunt, dicunt nunquam in toto orbe a cunctis ecclesiis fuisse susceptam, nisi Pauli apostoli crederetur; et hac lege nec secundam quidem ad Timotheum, et ad Galatas, eos debere suscipere, de quibus et ipsi humanæ imbecilitatis exempla protulerunt. 'Penu-'lam, quam reliqui Troade apud Carpum, veniens tecum affer.'———Quas et ipsis, quia aliquid tale habent, aut Pauli epistolas non putandas; aut si istæ recipiuntur, recipiendum esse et ad Philemonem, ex præjudicio similium receptarum. Valde autem eos et simpliciter errare, si putent cibum emere, hospitium præparare, vestimenta conquirere, esse peccatum; et asserere a se refugari Spiritum Sanctum, si corpusculi paulisper necessitatibus serviamus——— Et quoniam Marcionis fecimus mentionem, Pauli esse epistolam ad Philemonem saltem Marcione auctore doccantur. Pr. in Ep. ad Philem. T. iv. p. 442.

[m] Pauli quoque idcirco ad Hebræos epistola contradicitur, quod, ad Hebræos scribens, utatur testimoniis, quæ in Hebræis voluminibus non habentur In Is. vi. T. iii. p. 64. in.

[n] Vas electionis loquitur ad Hebræos.

in several places, spoken of the different opinions of men about it. Some of which places I would now take notice of, beside those which we have already seen.

(8.) In his Commentary upon Isaiah, quoting this epistle, he takes notice, that[o] it was not received by the Latins among the canonical scriptures.

(9.) In his Commentary upon Amos: 'And[p] whoever wrote the epistle to the Hebrews, he says in his argument:' "Because he could swear by no greater, he sware by himself," ch. vi. 13. Perhaps that passage is not altogether Jerom's own, but partly the words of another author there inserted by him: which was an usual thing in writing commentaries.

(10.) In his Commentary upon Zechariah he intimates, that[q] the epistle to the Hebrews was generally received by the Greeks, and not so received by the christians who used the Latin tongue.

(11.) In his Commentary upon the epistle to the Galatians he says, it[r] was thought by some that Paul did not prefix his name, nor call himself apostle, at the beginning of the epistle to the Hebrews, according to his usual method, because he should afterwards say, 'The apostle and high-priest of our profession Christ Jesus.' [Heb. iii. 1.] And it was not fit, that where Christ is called apostle, there Paul should be so called likewise.

(12.) In his letter to Evangelius, written in 398, he says, that[s] all the Greeks and some of the Latins received this epistle.

(13.) In his letter to Dardanus, written about the year

Ad Dardan. T. ii. p. 608. M. al. ep. 129.—Melchisedec autem beatus apostolus ad Hebræos, sine patre et matre commemorans, ad Christum refert. Qu. in Gen. T. ii. p. 520. M.

[o] Cæterum beatus apostolus in epistolâ, quæ ad Hebræos scribitur, docet: licet eam Latina consuetudo inter canonicas scripturas non recipiat. In Is. viii. T. iii. p. 80.

[p] Quod, quicumque est ille qui ad Hebræos scripsit epistolam, disserens, ait. In Amos. viii. T. iii. p. 1444. fin.

[q] De hoc monte, et de hac civitate, et apostolus Paulus (si tamen in suscipiendâ epistolâ Græcorum auctoritatem Latina lingua non respuit) sacratâ oratione disputans, ait: 'Accessistis ad montem Sion.' [Hebr. xii. 22.] In Zach. viii. T. iii. p. 1744.

[r] Et in epistolâ ad Hebræos propterea Paulum solitâ consuetudine nec nomen suum, nec apostoli vocabulum præposuisse, quia de Christo erat dicturus: 'Habemus ergo principem sacerdotum, et apostolum professionis nostræ Jesum;' nec fuisse congruum, ut, ubi Christus apostolus dicendus esset, ibi etiam Paulus apostolus diceretur. In Gal. cap. i. T. iv. P. i. p. 225. in.

[s] Præterea plenius esse tractatum in epistolâ ad Hebræos, quam omnes Græci recipiunt, et nonnulli Latinorum. Ad Evangel. T. ii. p. 571. al. ep. 126.

414, he speaks more largely to the like purpose: 'that[t] it was not only received as Paul's by all the churches of the East in his time, but by all the ecclesiastical [or catholic] Greek writers in general of former times; though many ascribe it to Barnabas or Clement. He also says, that it was daily read in the churches; and, if the Latins did not receive this epistle, as the Greeks in like manner rejected the Revelation of John, he received both; not being so much influenced by present times, as by the judgment of ancient writers, who quote both; and that not as they sometimes quote apocryphal books, and even heathen writings, but as canonical and ecclesiastical.'

Upon this passage I make a few observations, leaving others to the reader's consideration.

(1.) There is ambiguity in those words, 'though many ascribe it to Barnabas or Clement:' and it is such an ambiguity as I am not able to remove; for I cannot tell whether Jerom intends to say, 'though many now, that is, among the Latins, ascribe it to Barnabas or Clement;' or whether he means, 'that it was not only received as Paul's, for the sense, by all the churches of the East in his time, but likewise by all the catholic writers in general of former times, though many even of them esteemed it Barnabas's, or Clement's, for the style and language:' or, in other words, they reckoned Paul the author of the epistle, though they ascribed it to Barnabas, or Clement, as writers or scribes. This point I must leave to be determined by others, if they are able.

(2.) Many Latins in Jerom's time did not receive the epistle to the Hebrews as Paul's; and many Greek churches rejected the book of the Revelation.

(3.) Jerom supposeth that most ancient Greek writers received both the epistle to the Hebrews and the book of the Revelation; and by their judgment he abides.

(4.) Here is an useful observation relating to the quotations of ancient christian writers, that they made a distinc-

[t] Illud nostris dicendum est, hanc epistolam, quæ inscribitur ad Hebræos, non solum ab ecclesiis Orientis, sed ab omnibus retro ecclesiasticis Græci sermonis scriptoribus, quasi Pauli apostoli, suscipi; licet plerique eam vel Barnabæ vel Clementis arbitrentur; et nihil interesse cujus sit, quum ecclesiastici viri sit, et quotidie ecclesiarum lectione celebretur.—Quod si eam Latinorum consuetudo non recipit inter scripturas canonicas, nec Græcorum ecclesiæ Apocalypsin Johannis eâdem libertate suscipiunt. Et tamen nos utramque suscipimus, nequâquam hujus temporis consuetudinem, sed veterum auctoritatem, sequentes; qui plerumque utriusque utuntur testimoniis, non ut interdum de apocryphis facere solent, (quippe qui et Gentilium literarum non raro utuntur exemplis,) sed quasi canonicis et ecclesiasticis. Ad Dardan. T. ii. p. 608. al. ep. 129

tion between books; some they quoted as of authority, others not. This is what we have supposed all along; and I apprehend it has been made evident, beyond question, upon many occasions. Nevertheless it affords some satisfaction to find this observation in Jerom, and to see that he was of the same opinion.

6. 'James,[u] called the Lord's brother, surnamed Justus, as some think, son of Joseph by a former wife; but, as I rather think, son of Mary, sister to our Lord's mother, mentioned by John in his gospel, [xix. 25.] soon after our Lord's passion ordained by the apostles bishop of Jerusalem, wrote but one epistle, which is among the seven catholic epistles; which too is said to have been published by another in his name; [that is, even that one epistle is said by some to be spurious, and not really written by James, though it bears his name]; but gradually, in process of time, it has gained authority. This is he, of whom Paul writes in his epistle to the Galatians; and he is often mentioned in [v] the Acts of the Apostles; and also several times in the gospel called According to the Hebrews, lately translated by me into Greek and Latin——[Here Jerom inserts three short passages from that gospel.] He governed the church of Jerusalem thirty years, to the seventh of Nero, and was buried near the temple, from whence he had been thrown down and killed. Some of our people have supposed that he was buried on mount Olivet: but that is a false opinion.'

(1.) In that chapter there are several things relating to James, taken from Hegesippus, and Clement of Alexandria, and Josephus, which I have omitted, and do not think it needful for me to take notice of at present, though they are likewise in [w] Eusebius. Possibly some other opportunity may offer for examining the truth of them. Jerom's trans-

[u] Jacobus, qui appellatur frater Domini, cognomento Justus, ut nonnulli existimant, Joseph ex aliâ uxore; ut autem mihi videtur, Mariæ sororis matris Domini, cujus Johannes in libro suo meminit, filius; post passionem Domini statim ab apostolis Hierosolymorum episcopus ordinatus, unam tantum scripsit epistolam, quæ de septem catholicis est. Quæ et ipsa ab alio quodam sub nomine ejus edita asseritur; licet paulatim tempore procedente obtinuerit auctoritatem. Hic est, de quo Paulus scribit ad Galatas: alium autem apostolum vidi neminem, nisi Jacobum, fratrem Domini. Et apostolorum super hoc crebrius Acta testantur. Evangelium quoque, quod appellatur secundum Hebræos, et a me nuper in Græcum Latinumque sermonem translatum est, quo et Origenes sæpe utitur, post resurrectionem Salvatoris refert———Triginta itaque annos Hierosolymorum rexit ecclesiam, id est, usque ad septimum Neronis annum. Et juxta templum, ubi et præcipitatus fuerat, sepultus est.—Quidam e nostris in monte Oliveti eum putaverunt conditum. Sed falsa eorum opinio est. De V. I. cap. ii.

[v] Acts i. 13; xii. 17; xv. 13; xxi. 18. [w] H. E. l. ii. cap. 23.

lations of the gospel According to the Hebrews may also be considered upon another occasion.

(2.) I only observe farther at present; Jerom here says, he thinks that James, called the Lord's brother, was the son of Mary, sister to our Lord's mother: and in his book against Helvidius he maintains, that[x] James, the son of Alpheus, one of the twelve apostles, and James the less, and James the Lord's brother, are all one; but in[y] his Commentary upon the epistle to the Galatians, he does not seem to insist upon it. In his Commentary upon Isaiah[z] he reckons James the Lord's brother, an additional apostle, with Paul, consequently not one of the twelve. Afterwards, in his Commentary upon the same prophet he reckons[a] Barnabas the fourteenth apostle; all which seems to show, that it was not then a clear point, whether James, called the Lord's brother, was an apostle in the highest sense of that word.

(3.) St. Jerom, however, received the epistle ascribed to him. It appears from this chapter that he did so. Moreover, we before saw in his letter to Paulinus, that he received all the seven catholic epistles; he also quotes this epistle[b] as written by an apostle.

(4.) I shall add here, that in his Commentary upon Gal. i. 19, he says, 'This[c] James was the first bishop of Jerusalem, surnamed the Just; a man of so great piety, and such reputation among the people, that with much eagerness

[x] Nulli dubium est, duos fuisse apostolos, Jacobi vocabulo nuncupatos; Jacobum Zebedæi, et Jacobum Alphæi. Istum, nescio quem minorem Jacobum, quem Mariæ filium, nec tamen matris Domini, scriptura commemorat, apostolum vis esse, an non? Si apostolus fuit, Alphæi filius erit—Si non est apostolus, sed tertius nescio quis Jacobus, quomodo est frater Domini putandus?—Restat conclusio, ut Maria ista, quæ Jacobi Minoris scribitur mater, fuerit uxor Alphæi, et soror Mariæ matris Domini, quam Mariam Cleophæ Johannes evangelista cognominat. Advers. Helvid. T. iv. P. ii. p. 137, 138.

[y] In Gal. i. 16. T. 4. p. i. p. 236.

[z] Duas olivas, et tres, et quatuor, et quinque, quatuordecim apostolos interpretantur, id est, duodecim qui electi sunt, et tertium-decimum Jacobum, qui appellatur frater Domini, Paulum quoque apostolum, vas electionis. In Is. liv. 5. T. iii. p. 123.

[a] Quando enim venit percussio populi Judæorum, oliva illa populi Israel—vix paucos fructus offerre potuit Domino Salvatori, duas olivas, Paulum et Barnabam; et tres olivas, Petrum, et Jacobum, et Johannem—Quatuor autem et quinque olivæ reliquos faciunt apostolos—In Is. lib. vii. T. iii. p. 176.

[b] Jacobus apostolus: 'Si quis,' ait, 'servaverit totam legem, offenderit 'autem in uno, reus est omnium factus,' [Cap. ii. 10.] Adv. Pelag. l. ii. T. iv. p. 522. fin.

[c] Hic autem Jacobus episcopus Ierosolymorum primus fuit, cognomento Justus; vir tantæ sanctitatis et rumoris in populo, ut fimbriam ejus certatim cuperent attingere. Qui et ipse postea de templo a Judæis præcipitatus, successorem habuit Simonem, quem et ipsum tradunt pro Domino crucifixum. In Gal. T. iv. p. 237. in.

they sought to touch the hem of his garment; who afterwards was thrown down from the temple by the Jews, and was succeeded by Simon, who also is said to have been crucified for the Lord.'

7. 'Simon Peter,[d] son of John, [or Jonas,] of the country of Galilee, and town of Bethsaida, brother of the apostle Andrew, and chief of the apostles, after having been bishop of Antioch, and after preaching to the Jews of the dispersion, which believed, in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, in the second year of the emperor Claudius went to Rome to oppose Simon Magus, and there for five and twenty years he filled the sacerdotal [or episcopal] chair, until the last, that is, the fourteenth year of Nero's reign, by whom he was crucified, and thus was crowned with martyrdom, his head downwards, and his feet lifted up, saying he was unworthy to be so crucified as his Lord was. He wrote two epistles, called catholic; the second of which is denied by many to be his, because of the difference of style from the former. The gospel according to Mark, who was his hearer and interpreter, is also called his: but other books, one of which is called his Acts, another his Gospel, a third his Preaching, a fourth his Revelation, a fifth his Judgment, are ranked among apocryphal scriptures, and are rejected. He was buried at Rome, in the Vatican, near the Triumphal Way, and is in veneration all over the world.'

(1.) That is Jerom's whole chapter concerning the apostle Peter. It will not be expected that I should particularly consider what Jerom here says of St. Peter's being bishop of Antioch, and afterwards going to Rome to oppose Simon Magus, or of his residing at Rome five and twenty years, as bishop of that city. The apocryphal books here spoken of were all taken notice of in the chapter of Eusebius, except

[d] Simon Petrus, filius Johannis, provinciæ Galilææ, e vico Bethsaida, frater Andreæ apostoli, et princeps apostolorum, post episcopatum Antiochensis ecclesiæ, et prædicationem dispersionis eorum, qui de circumcisione crediderant, in Ponto, Galatiâ, Cappadociâ, Asiâ, et Bithyniâ, secundo Claudii imperatoris anno, ad expugnandum Simonem Magum Romam pergit; ibique viginti quinque annis cathedram sacerdotalem tenuit, usque ad ultimum annum Neronis, id est, decimum quartum. A quo et affixus cruci, martyrio coronatus est, capite ad terram verso, et in sublime pedibus elevatis; asserens, se indignum, qui sic crucifigeretur, ut Dominus suus. Scripsit duas epistolas, quæ catholicæ nominantur; quarum secunda a plerisque ejus esse negatur, propter styli cum priore dissonantiam. Sed et evangelium juxta Marcum, qui auditor et interpres ejus fuit, hujus dicitur. Libri autem, e quibus unus Actorum ejus inscribitur, alius Evangelii, tertius Prædicationis, quartus Apocalypseos, quintus Judicii, inter apocryphas scripturas repudiantur. Sepultus Romæ in Vaticano, juxta Viam Triumphalem, totius orbis veneratione celebratur. De V. I. cap. i.

that called the Judgment of Peter, of which some account will be given in the chapter of Rufinus.

(2.) The second, as well as the first epistle of St. Peter, was received by Jerom; for, as we saw before, he received all the seven catholic epistles.

(3.) In another place he says, that[e] the reason of the difference of style observable in St. Peter's epistles was this, that he had not the same interpreter at writing of the second epistle, whom he had when he wrote the first. In the same place he says, that Titus was Paul's interpreter, and that Peter dictated the gospel which Mark wrote.

(4.) At the beginning of this article Jerom speaks of St. Peter's having 'preached to the Jews of the dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, and Cappadocia,' and other countries thereabout; which might induce us to think he supposed St. Peter's epistles, particularly the first, to have been written to Jewish believers in those parts; nevertheless, in another work he supposeth that[f] apostle to speak of the calling of the Gentiles in the words of 1 Pet. i. 3—5.

8. 'Jude,[g] brother of James, left a short epistle, which is one of the seven called catholic; but because of the quotation from a book of Enoch, which is apocryphal, it is rejected by many. However, at length it has obtained authority, and is reckoned among the sacred scriptures.'

Thus we have now gone over those eight articles of Jerom's Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, and therein we have seen, beside what was before transcribed from the letter to Paulinus and some other of his works, a farther proof of his receiving all the books of the New Testament, which we now generally receive, and no other.

IX. We will now take some notice of apocryphal books mentioned by Jerom, in the several parts of his works.

1. And it may be of use to determine the meaning of the word 'apocryphal.' As used by Jerom, I think apocryphal books are such as by their title or otherwise, make some

[e] Habebat ergo Titum interpretem, sicut et beatus Petrus Marcum. Cujus evangelium, Petro narrante, et illo scribente, compositum est. Denique et duæ epistolæ, quæ feruntur Petri, stylo inter se et charactere discrepant, structuràque verborum. Ex quo intelligimus, pro necessitate rerum, diversis eum usum interpretibus. Ad Hedib. Qu. xi. T. iv. P. i. p. 183.

[f] Petrus quoque quid de vocatione Gentium sentiat, contemplemur. 'Benedictus,' inquit, 'Deus et Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi,——quæ servatur in cœlis,——in salutem quæ præparata est revelari in tempore novissimo.' Adv. Jovinian. l. i. T. iv. p. 182. m.

[g] Judas, frater Jacobi, parvam, quæ de septem catholicis est, epistolam reliquit. Et quia de libro Enoch, qui apocryphus est, in eâ assumitur testimonium, a plerisque rejicitur. Tamen auctoritatem vetustate jam et usu meruit, et inter sanctas scripturas computatur. De V. I. cap. iv.

claim to be a part of sacred scripture, but are destitute of a right to be so esteemed; and generally, or oftentimes, they are spurious.

I say, apocryphal books appear to make a claim to be a part of scripture, but without good reason. St. Jerom having enumerated the books of the Jewish canon, adds, that 'all others are to be reckoned apocryphal.' Nevertheless that declaration must not be understood absolutely, without exception: he would not call the writings of Josephus, or Philo, or Cyprian, or Athanasius, or Eusebius of Cæsarea, apocryphal. Apocryphal writings therefore are such as make claim to be a part of the canon, but are not so, nor have any good right to it; and moreover, perhaps they were by some too much esteemed, as if they had been canonical. This was the case of divers books of the Old Testament above mentioned, called by Jerom apocryphal. So also in the New Testament a book entitled Acts of Peter, or Revelation of Peter, or Preaching of Peter, makes a claim to be a part of the canon; for if they had been written by Peter, or if they contained faithful accounts of his Acts, or his Preaching, or of Revelations vouchsafed to him, and were drawn up by a disciple of his, (as perhaps they pretended,) they would have been reckoned canonical by all christians in general, and on account of their titles were probably too highly valued by some.

Another particular in the description of apocryphal books is, that 'oftentimes they are spurious, or falsely inscribed.' So Jerom said that the book called the Wisdom of Solomon was 'pseudepigraphical,' inasmuch as it was not his. So likewise the story of Susanna, and other things, inserted in the book of Daniel, or added to it, were interpolations, and spurious. The third and fourth books of Ezra also are spurious. If they had been written by him whose name they bear, they would have been received among sacred scriptures. But I need not enlarge here. I suppose that what has been now said will be confirmed by the particulars which I am going to allege; and this, which I take to be Jerom's meaning of the word 'apocryphal,' I apprehend to be the most general acceptation of the word. This may be confirmed by an instance formerly [h] taken notice of. When Salvian of Marseilles, in the fifth century, published his books against covetousness without his own name, and with an epistolary address 'to the catholic church spread all 'over the world,' in the name of Timothy, Salonius a Gallican bishop soon wrote to him about it, and told him, that

[h] See Vol. ii. ch. xxix. p. 384, 385.

'unless he clearly showed the reason of that title, those 'books ought to be reckoned apocryphal.' Those books of Salvian bore the name of an apostolical man, and therefore appeared to make a claim to be esteemed canonical; but since they were not written by such an one, they ought to be reckoned apocryphal. And though it is said that many of those books, which are called apocryphal, were written by heretics, yet it can make little difference whether they are written by heretics or catholics, if they carry the name and title of apostles, or apostolical men, and are not really theirs.

2. We before saw an enumeration of several apocryphal books of the Old Testament, such as Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobit, and the Maccabees; which the church did not receive among canonical scriptures, though they were allowed to be read for the edification of the people. We likewise saw how Jerom rejected as apocryphal some books of Ezra, not in the canon. I now propose to take notice of divers others.

3. Jerom has[i] twice mentioned an apocryphal book, called 'The Little Genesis.' I have transcribed in the margin both the passages, to which I refer the curious, without translating them. From those passages of our author, Fabricius concludes that[k] this book was written in Hebrew. This book is also mentioned by[l] Epiphanius. Fabricius[m] has collected all the passages of later writers who have mentioned it.

4. An apocryphal book of Enoch was mentioned not long ago, supposed to be referred to by St. Jude in his epistle. Jerom mentions it again in[n] his Commentary upon Titus.

5. In a letter to Damasus, bishop of Rome, Jerom tells a story of Lamech, which seems to be founded upon Gen.

[i] Hoc verbum [Ressa] quantum memoria suggerit nusquam alibi [Vid. Num. xxxiii. 21, 22.] in scripturis sanctis apud Hebræos invenisse me novi, absque libro apocrypho, qui a Græcis Λεπτη, id est, Parva Genesis appellatur. Ibi in ædificatione turris pro stadio ponitur, in quo exercentur pugiles et athletæ, et cursorum velocitas comprobatur. Ad Fabiolam. Mans. 18. de 42. Mansionibus, T. ii. p. 596. al. ep. 127.—Hoc eodem vocabulo [Thareh. Num. xxxiii. 27.] et iisdem literis scriptum invenio patrem Abraham, qui in supradicto apocrypho Geneseos volumine, abactis corvis, qui hominum frumenta vastabant, abactoris vel depulsoris sortitus est nomen. Mans. 23. ib. p. 597.

[k] Vid. Cod. Pseudepigr. V. T. p. 851.

[l] H. 39. cap. vi. p. 287. Conf. Fabr. ubi supra, p. 849. in notis.

[m] Fabr. ib. p. 851—865.

[n] Qui autem putant totum librum debere sequi eum qui libri parte usus sit, videntur mihi et apocryphum Enochi, de quo apostolus Judas in epistolâ suâ testimonium posuit, inter ecclesiæ scripturas recipere. In Tit. cap. i. T. iv. P. 1. p. 421.

iv. 24. He says he[o] had it from a Jew, who told him it was in their apocryphal writings; but he does not name any book in particular. It is probably the same book to which he had before referred in the same letter, calling[p] it a certain Hebrew volume.

6. Upon Matth. xxvii. 9, 10, he mentions[q] an apocryphal book of Jeremiah, written in Hebrew, which was shown him by a man of the sect of the Nazarenes, as he says.

7. In his Commentary upon Isaiah he mentions[r] the Ascension of Isaiah, and the Apocalypse of Elijah. This last[s] is mentioned by him in another place.

These are apocryphal books of the Old Testament; but some of them may have been composed by christians.

We will now proceed to such like books of the New Testament.

8. In the preface to his Commentary upon St. Matthew's gospel, having taken notice of St. Luke's introduction, who says, that 'many had undertaken to write histories of Christ,'[t] he mentions the gospels of the Egyptians, and Thomas, and Matthias, and Bartholomew, and the Twelve Apostles, and also of Basilides, and Apelles, and others,

[o] Referebat mihi quidam Hebræus, in apocryphorum libris septuaginta septem animas ex Lamech progenie reperiri, quæ diluvio deletæ sint: in hoc numero de Lamech factam esse vindictam, quod genus ipsius usque ad cataclysmum perseveraverit. Ad Damas. T. ii. p. 565. al. ep. 125.

[p] Mathusala genuit Lamech, qui septimus ab Adam non sponte (ut in quodam Hebræo volumine scribitur) interfecit Caïn. Ib. p. 564. fin.

[q] Hoc testimonium in Jeremiâ non invenitur. In Zachariâ vero, qui pene ultimus est duodecim prophetarum, quædam similitudo fertur. Et quanquam sensus non multum discrepet, tamen et ordo et verba diversa sunt. Legi nuper in quodam Hebraïco volumine, quod Nazarenæ sectæ mihi Hebræus obtulit, Jeremiæ apocryphum, in quo hæc ad verbum scripta reperi. Sed tamen mihi videtur magis de Zachariâ sumtum testimonium, evangelistarum et apostolorum more vulgato, qui verborum ordine prætermisso, sensum tantum de Veteri Testamento profuerunt in exemplum. In Matth. T. iv. P. i. p. 134, 135.

[r] Ascensio enim Isaïæ et Apocalypsis Eliæ hoc habent testimonium. In Is. cap. lxiv. T. iii. p. 473.

[s] Scribit ad Corinthios:—'Sed sicut scriptum est; quod oculus non vidit, 'nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit, quæ præparavit Deus dili-'gentibus se.' [1. Cor. ii. 9.] Solent in hoc loco apocryphorum quidam deliramenta sectari, et dicere quod de Apocalypsi Eliæ testimonium desumtum sit, &c. Ad Pammach. ep. 33. [al. 101.] T. iv. p. 244.

[t] Plures fuisse qui evangelia scripserunt, et Lucas evangelista testatur dicens: 'Quoniam multi conati sunt ordinare narrationem rerum,'—et perseverantia usque ad præsens tempus monumenta declarant: quæ a diversis auctoribus edita, diversarum hæreseôn fuere principia; ut est illud juxta Ægyptios, et Thomam, et Matthiam, et Bartholomæum, duodecim quoque apostolorum, et Basilidis, atque Apellis, ac reliquorum quos enumerare longissimum est. Proleg. in Comm. super Matth. T. iv. in.

whom he does not name: he says, they were occasions of many heresies; and he intimates that they were, some of them at least, then in being.

9. He does not at the beginning of his prologue call them 'apocryphal;' but that is the character which they must be supposed to bear with him. And afterwards, having spoken largely of the four gospels, which alone were received by the church, he adds, that[u] 'the trash of all apocryphal gospels should be left to dead heretics.'

10. Though Jerom here alleges St. Luke's introduction as a proof that many had written gospels; it is not, I think, a clear point that St. Luke refers to any of those here mentioned by Jerom, or that any of them were written before his gospel; for certain, some here mentioned by Jerom were not written till afterwards.

11. In the seventh chapter of the book of Illustrious Men, where he treats of St. Luke, he reckons[v] the Travels or Acts of Paul and Thecla among apocryphal scriptures. In the chapter concerning St. Paul, as we have seen, he said there was an epistle to the Laodiceans; but it was rejected by every body: however, as he has not expressly called it 'apocryphal,' I do but just mention it here.

12. In the article of St. Peter we lately saw five books with his name, said to be ranked with apocryphal scriptures, and rejected; of which I take no farther notice here, because they have been examined in the chapter of Eusebius.

13. In the sixth chapter of the book of Illustrious Men, that is, the next after the apostle Paul, he writes the history of Barnabas in this manner.

(1.) 'Barnabas[w] of Cyprus, called also Joseph, a Levite, was ordained with Paul an apostle of the Gentiles: he wrote an epistle for the edification of the church, which is read among the apocryphal scriptures: he was afterwards separated from Paul on account of John, called also Mark; nevertheless he continued to discharge the office of preaching the gospel, which had been assigned to him.'

[u] Quibus cunctis perspicue ostenditur, quatuor tantum evangelia debere suscipi; et omnes apocryphorum nænias mortuis magis hæreticis, quam ecclesiasticis viris, canendas. Ibid. col. 3, 4. fin.

[v] Igitur Περιοδες Pauli et Theclæ, et totam baptizati leonis fabulam, inter apocryphas scripturas computamus. De V. I. cap. 7.

[w] Barnabas, Cyprius, qui et Joseph, Levites, cum Paulo gentium apostolus ordinatus, unam ad ædificationem ecclesiæ pertinentem epistolam composuit, quæ inter apocryphas scripturas legitur. Hic postea propter Johannem discipulum, qui et Marcus vocabatur, separatus a Paulo, nihilominus evangelicæ prædicationis injunctum sibi opus exercuit. De V. I. cap. vi.

(2.) In his Commentary upon the prophecies of Ezekiel, he[x] quotes the epistle of Barnabas, which, he says, is among the apocryphal scriptures.

(3.) In another place Jerom quotes,[y] as words of Ignatius, a passage cited by [z]Origen from the epistle usually ascribed to Barnabas.

St. Jerom's account of Barnabas requires some remarks.

1.) He seems to allow the genuineness of the epistle ascribed to him; for he says, that 'he wrote an epistle for the edification of the church.' So [a]Cotelerius understood our author.

2.) Nevertheless it was apocryphal. It was upon the whole a useful work, and sometimes at least, and in some churches, was publicly read; but it was not canonical; it could not be alleged as of authority, and by way of proof of any doctrine.

3.) This justifies the description above given of an apocryphal book. It seems to make a claim to be a book of canonical scripture, but has not such a right. An epistle written by Barnabas, companion of Paul, and sometimes called an apostle, bids fair to be a part of canonical scripture, and perhaps was so esteemed by some; nevertheless by most christians it was rejected; because it was not allowed to be certainly known to be written by Barnabas, or because Barnabas was not acknowledged to be an apostle in the highest sense of that word, or for some other reason, it was generally reckoned apocryphal, not canonical. But to proceed.

14. In his book against Helvidius, he refers to[b] some apocryphal book or books concerning our Saviour's nativity: and expresseth his dislike of them.

15. In his Commentary upon Ezekiel: 'So[c] our Lord

[x] Vitulum autem, qui pro nobis immolatus est, et multa scripturarum loca, et præcipue Barnabæ epistola, quæ habetur inter scripturas apocryphas, nominat. In Ezech. cap. xliii. T. iii. p. 1019. fin.

[y] Ignatius, vir apostolicus, et martyr, scribit audacter; 'Elegit Dominus apostolos, qui super omnes homines peccatores erant.' Adv. Pelag. l. iii. T. iv. P. ii. p. 533. [z] Contr. Cels. l. i. p. 49. Cantabr. p. 378. ed. Bened.

[a] Dubitatur an sit genuinus fetus, an suppositus. Existimatum quidem Clementi Alexandrino, Origeni, ac Hieronymo, summis viris, quibus propterea fides facile abrogari non debet, nihil hic fraudi delitescere———Sed et Hieronymus, supra citatus de notione vocis *apocryphum*, pro opere falsi tituli, tamen in locis a me relatis inter veterum testimonia, epistolam *apocrypham*, non *pseudepigraphum* vult. Cotel. Judic. de S. Barnab. ap. Patr. Ap. T. i.

[b] Nulla ibi obstetrix—ipsa pannis involvit infantem. Ipsa mater et obstetrix fuit. 'Et collocavit eum,' inquit, 'in præsepio, quia non erat ei locus in diversorio.' [Luc. ii. 7.] Quæ sententia et apocryphorum deliramenta convincit, dum Maria ipsa pannis involvit infantem. Adv. Helvid. T. iv. P. ii. p. 135. [c] Unde et Salvator nullum volumen doctrinæ suæ

left no written volume of his doctrine: whatever the mad inventions of apocryphal books may pretend.' Fabricius supposeth, that[d] here is a reference to apocryphal books that were published with Christ's name.

16. Jerom supposeth, that some apocryphal books were composed with a design to confirm, or explain some things in the New Testament: and yet he is extremely angry with them, as thereby drawing men's regards to them. St. Paul says, 1 Cor. ii. 9, "But as it is written: Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God has prepared for them that love him." The[e] apostle, he says, refers to Isa. lxiv. 4; but his quotation does not exactly suit the Greek version of the Seventy, nor the Latin translation of it, then generally in use. This occasioned a difficulty; and the words, as cited by the apostle, being found in the apocryphal writings, called the Ascension of Isaiah and the Revelation of Elijah, some were induced to think, that the apostle referred to them. Jerom says, there is no reason to recur to such apocryphal books, to verify St. Paul's quotation. The text intended by him is in the prophet Isaiah, the Hebrew of which the apostle had an eye to, but quotes paraphrastically, a literal version not being necessary.

17. There are several such things in Jerom. In the preface to his translation of the Pentateuch from Hebrew, written about 394, he says, there are[f] not a few quotations

proprium dereliquit, quod in plerisque apocryphorum deliramenta confingunt. In Ezech. cap. xliv. T. iii. p. 1034.

[d] Hieronymus quoque ad Ezech. xliv. 29. testis est, apocryphis nonnullis Christi nomen fuisse præfixum. Cod. Apocr. N. T. Tom. i. p. 303.

[e] Paraphrasin hujus testimonii, quasi Hebræus ex Hebræis, assumit Paulus de authenticis libris in epistolâ, quam scribit ad Corinthios; non verbum ex verbo reddens, quod facere omnino contemnit, sed sensuum exprimens veritatem, quibus utitur ad id quod voluerit roborandum. Unde apocryphorum deliramenta conticeant, quæ ex occasione hujus testimonii ingeruntur ecclesiis Christi. De quibus vere dici potest, quod 'sedeat Diabolus in insidiis cum 'divitibus in apocryphis, ut interficiat innocentem.' [Ps. x. 8.] Et iterum: 'Insidiatur in apocrypho, quasi leo in speluncâ suâ. Insidiatur, ut interficiat 'innocentem.' [Ib. v. 8, 9.] Ascensio enim Isaïæ et Apocalypsis Eliæ hoc habent testimonium. In Is. lxiv. T. iii. p. 473.

[f] ——maxime quæ evangelistarum et apostolorum auctoritas promulgavit; in quibus multa de Veteri Testamento legimus, quæ in nostris codicibus [LXX. interpretum] non habentur, ut est illud: 'Ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum,' [Matt. ii. 15.] et, 'Quoniam Nazarenus vocabitur,' [v. 23.] et 'Videbunt in quem compunxerunt,' [Joh. xix. 37.] et, 'Flumina de ventre ejus fluent aquæ vivæ,' [Joh. vii. 38.] et, 'Quæ nec oculus vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascenderunt, quæ præparavit Deus diligentibus se,' [1 Cor. ii. 9.] et multa alia, quæ proprium συνταγμα desiderant. Interrogemus eos, ubi hæc scripta sint; et cum dicere non potuerint, de libris Hebraïcis proferamus. Primum testimonium est in Osee [xi. 1.]; secundum in Isaiâ [xi. 1.]; tertium

of the Old Testament in the evangelists, and the epistles of the apostles, which are not to be found in the Septuagint version, nor in the Latin translation made from it: but may be found, he says, in the Hebrew original. So that there is no need to have recourse to apocryphal books, to make good their quotations.

18. That passage may be seen again in his[g] Apology against Rufinus, written in 401 or 402. And to the like purpose again, in the same work, I mean the Apology: for[h] certain, says he, what our Saviour and his apostles declare 'to be written,' is written. The Seventy have it not: and the church does not receive apocryphal writings. We must therefore look into the Hebrew, which indeed the evangelists and apostles quoted.

19. And in his Commentary upon the epistle to the Ephesians, he lays it down as a rule, that[i] when in the New Testament there is a quotation of the ancient scriptures, and the quotation is not to be found in the common Latin translation, made from the Seventy, we should not immediately search apocryphal writings, but look into the Hebrew; where they will be found, if not in express words, yet in sense; forasmuch as the sacred writers of the New Testament do not always so quote the Old Testament, but in a freer manner.

in Zachariâ [xii. 10.]; quartum in Proverbiis [xviii. 4.]; quintum æque in Isaiâ [lxiv. 4.]: quod multi ignorantes apocryphorum deliramenta sectantur, et Iberas nænias libris authenticis præferunt. Proleg. in Gen. T. i. init.

[g] Adv. Ruf. l. ii. T. iv. P. ii. p. 423.

[h] Scripsi nuperum librum de optimo genere interpretandi, ostendens illa de evangelio: 'Ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum,'—cæteraque his similia, in Hebræorum libris inveniri. Certe apostolus et evangelistæ Septuaginta interpretes noverant. Et unde eis hoc dicere, quod in Septuaginta non habetur? Et Christus Dominus noster, utriusque Testamenti conditor, in evangelio secundum Johannem: 'Qui credit,' inquit, 'in me, sicut dicit scriptura, flumina de ventre ejus fluent aquæ vivæ.' [Joh. vii. 38.] Utique scriptum est quod Salvator scriptum esse testatur. Ubi scriptum est? Septuaginta non habent. Apocrypha nescit ecclesia. Ad Hebræos igitur revertendum. Unde et Dominus loquitur, et discipuli exempla præsumunt. Ibid. p. 425. et conf. ad Pammach. de Opt. Gen. Interpret. ep. 33. [al. 101.] T. iv. p. 251—254.

[i] 'Propter hoc relinquet homo patrem et matrem, et erunt duo in carne unâ.' [Eph. v. 31.] Quod frequenter annotavimus, apostolos et evangelistas non eisdem verbis usos esse Testamenti Veteris exemplis, quibus in propriis voluminibus continentur, hoc et hic probamus: siquidem testimonium istud ita in Genesi scriptum est. Hoc autem totum nunc idcirco observavimus, ut etiam in cæteris locis, sicubi testimonia quasi de prophetis, et de Veteri Testamento, ab apostolis usurpata sunt, et in nostris codicibus non habentur, nequâquam statim ad apocryphorum ineptias et deliramenta curramus: sed sciamus, scripta quidem ea esse in Veteri Testamento; sed non ita ab apostolis edita, et sensum magis usurpatum; nec facile nisi a studiosis posse, ubi scripta sint, inveniri. In Eph. vi. 31. T. iv. P. i. p. 392.

20. Finally, in his letter to Læta concerning the education of her daughter, having recommended the reading of the scripture, and shown the proper order and method of so doing; he directs that[k] all apocryphal books should be shunned. But if at any time she looks into them for her entertainment, and not for proving any doctrine; she should remember, that they were not written by those whose names they bear: and that it requires great prudence to separate gold, where it is mixed with dirt.

21. I need not insist upon a passage[l] of Theophilus of Alexandria, relating to apocryphal books: though it be in a work translated by Jerom.

X. It is not easy to forbear taking some particular notice of Jerom's labours concerning the scriptures.

1. He put out a correct Latin translation of the books of the New Testament, amending the Latin version before in use by the Greek original.

2. He corrected the Latin version of the Old Testament, which had been made from the Greek of the Seventy: which was before in use in the churches that spake the Latin tongue.

3. He made a Latin translation of all the books of the Jewish scriptures from the Hebrew. The late learned and judicious John Le Clerc, though not over friendly to the merit of our author, has[m] readily acknowledged the high praises due to him on account of this last performance.

4. Jerom speaks of both his translations of the Old Testament, that is, of the Greek of the Seventy, and of the Hebrew original, in[n] the preface to his translation of Job from the Hebrew.

[k] Caveat omnia apocrypha. Et si quando ea non ad dogmatum veritatem, sed ad signorum reverentiam legere voluerit, sciat, non eorum esse, quorum titulis prænotantur, multaque his admixta vitiosa, et grandis esse prudentiæ aurum in luto quærere. Ad Læt. ep. 57. [al. 7.] T. iv. p. 596.

[l] Abjectis itaque Origenis malis, et scripturarum, quæ vocantur apocrypha, id est, abscondita, decipulis prætermissis. Theoph. Alex. Lib. Pasch. 2. ap. Hieron. T. iv. P. ii. p. 715. f.

[m] Non possumus hic dissimulare, summam laudem ei deberi vel ob id solum, quod primus Occidentalium, et propemodum unus, (nam perpauci eum imitati sunt,) viderit necessitatem linguæ Hebraïcæ ad intelligendum accuratius Vetus Testamentum; et quod solus aggressus sit id denuo ex authenticis libris convertere; quomodocunque res ei cesserit, de quâ antea egimus. Attamen hoc in negotio et acuti ingenii et constantiæ eximiæ virum eum se præstitisse, nemo negaverit. Multum erat, primum et solum, cœcutientibus omnibus quidpiam videre; rarum eo ævo suscipere opus tantum, quantum suscepit; nec male absolvit; ferme inauditum, invidiam theologorum plane spernere, iisque invitis benefacere. Quæstion. Hieronym. viii. p. 230, 231.

[n] Utraque editio, et Septuaginta juxta Græcos, et juxta Hebræos, in Latinum meo labore translata est. Eligat unusquisque quod vult. Pr. in Job. T. i. p. 781.

5. Of his edition of the Seventy, or his translation from them, he speaks in his prefaces to[o] his translation of the Psalms, and[p] the books of Solomon, and[q] the Chronicles, from the Hebrew.

6. In the last chapter of the book of Illustrious Men, written in 392, reckoning up his own works to that time he says; 'I[r] have published the New Testament agreeably to the Greek original: the Old Testament I have translated according to the Hebrew.' Nevertheless it has been observed by learned moderns, that his translation of the Old Testament was not then finished. There is therefore a difficulty in reconciling what he here says with the supposed dates of his translations of the several books of the Old Testament from Hebrew. Hody says, that[s] those translations were then made, but not published.

7. In a letter to Lucinius, supposed to have been written about the year 397, he speaks[t] of his having some good while before published an exact edition of the Old Testament in Latin, from the Greek version of the Seventy; and of having finished his Latin edition of the New Testament; and of his being then employed in translating from Hebrew the Octateuch, or first eight books of the Old Testament, the rest having been translated before.

8. The order of these three works, in the main, is this. The first, that is, an[u] edition of the New Testament in Latin, corrected by the Greek copies, and those ancient, as he says, was published in the latter part of the year 384.

[o] —quorum translationem diligentissime emendatam olim meæ linguæ hominibus dederim. Pr. in Ps. T. i. p. 838.

[p] Si cui sane Septuaginta interpretum magis editio placet, habet eam a me emendatam. Pr. in libr. Salom. T. i. p. 939.

[q] Cæterum memini editionem Septuaginta translatorum olim de Græco emendatam tribuisse me nostris. Pr. in Paral. T. i. p. 1023.

[r] Novum Testamentum Græcæ fidei reddidi. Vetus juxta Hebraïcam transtuli. De V. I. cap. 135.

[s] In Catalogo Scr. Ec. dicit: 'Novum Testamentum Græcæ fidei reddidi. 'Vetus juxta Hebraïcum transtuli.' Catalogum autem scripsit ann. 14. Theodosii Imp. h. e. Chr. 392, vel 393. Hoc quomodo convenire potest cum illis, quæ diximus de tempore, quo editi sunt scripturarum libri varii? Dicendum, illum ante ann. Theodosii 14. Chr. 392, transtulisse quidem libros omnes, sed omnes in publicam non edidisse, nisi multis post annis. Hod. de Text. p. 358.

[t] Canonem Hebraïcæ veritatis, excepto Octateucho, quem nunc in manibus habeo, pueris tuis et notariis dedi describendum. Septuaginta Interpretum editionem et te habere non dubito; et ante annos plurimos diligentissime emendatam studiosis tradidi. Novum Testamentum Græcæ reddidi auctoritati. Ad Lucin. ep. 52. [al. 28.] T. iv. p. 579.

[u] Igitur hæc præsens præfatiuncula pollicetur quatuor tantum evangelia—codicum Græcorum emendata collatione, sed veterum. Ad Damas. Pr. in iv. Evang. T. i. p. 1462.

The edition of the Latin translation from the Seventy was made not long after.

The [v] translations of the books of the Old Testament from Hebrew, were not published all at once, nor in the order in which those books are usually placed. He first translated the four books of the Kings, that is, the two books of Samuel, and the two books of the Kings. For this reason the general preface to all the books of the Old Testament, of which a distinct account was given above, was prefixed to those books: the translation of which was made in 392, or before. After that, he translated from Hebrew all the prophets, the four larger and the twelve lesser prophets, and the three books of Solomon, and the book of Job, and the Psalms. The translations of all which books are computed to have been made in the year 392, or thereabout. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah also were translated in 392, or not long after. The books of the Chronicles about 396. The book of Genesis is supposed to have been translated in 394; the four following books of Moses about 404; the rest completing the Octateuch, that is, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, which are reckoned one book, and Esther, in 404 or 405.

9. Beside correct editions and translations of the books of scripture, Jerom published divers other works helpful to the right understanding of them. Among these must be mentioned in the first place his book of the Interpretation of Hebrew Names, another [w] book of the Situation and Names of Hebrew places, and a book of Hebrew questions upon Genesis. All which are mentioned by him among his works in the last chapter of his book of Illustrious Men, and [x] are still extant, supposed to have been published about the year of our Lord 388. Of the second of these some account was given by us [y] among the works of Eusebius of Cæsarea.

10. Jerom also wrote Commentaries [z] upon the book of Ecclesiastes, upon [a] Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the twelve lesser prophets; upon [b] the gospel of St. Matthew, and upon the epistles of St. Paul to the Galatians, Ephesians, Titus, and Philemon. All which Commentaries are still extant: not now to refer to his epistles, in many of

[v] Vid. Hody de Bibl. Text. Orig. l. iii. P. ii. c. 2. p. 350—358. Tillem. St. Jérome, art. 54, &c. Mem. T. 12. et Opp. S. Hieron. edit. Bened.

[w] Quæstionum Hebraïcarum in Genesim librum unum; De Locis librum unum; Hebraïcorum Nominum librum unum. De V. I. cap. 135.

[x] Ap. Hieron. Opp. T. ii. edit. Benedictin. [y] See p. 77.

[z] Ap. S. Hieron. Opp. T. ii. p. 713—788.

[a] Ibid. T. iii. [b] Ibid. T. iv. p. 1.

which are useful observations for understanding the scriptures. Divers of those Commentaries, just mentioned, are rehearsed by him[c] in the last chapter of his book of Illustrious Men. The rest were published afterwards; and some of them were in hand when he wrote that book: in which he gave a general account of his own as well as other men's labours. A character of his Commentaries and remarks upon them may be seen in divers[d] modern writers. Tillemont[e] was much pleased with his Commentary upon the prophet Haggai.

XI. Jerom's respect for the scriptures appears from the editions and translations which he made of them, and from the Commentaries, which he wrote to explain them, and from many expressions of his, which my readers cannot but have observed in the passages above cited. I add here, therefore, little more upon this head.

1. He says, that[f] the scriptures, being all written by one Spirit, are one book.

2. He concludes his letter, written in 414, to Demetrias, a noble young Roman lady, who had resolved upon a single life, saying: 'Love[g] the holy scriptures: and wisdom will love you.'

3. In his letter to Læta, written about the year 398, giving her instructions concerning the education of her daughter, young Paula, he adviseth, that[h] she should read

[c] In epistolam Pauli ad Galatas commentariorum libros tres; item in epistolam ad Ephesios libros tres; in epistolam ad Titum librum unum: in epistolam ad Philemonem librum unum—Scripsi præterea in Michæam explanationum libros duos: in Sophoniam librum unum; multaque alia de opere prophetali, quæ nunc habeo in manibus, et necdum expleta sunt. De. V. I. cap. 135.

[d] See Daillé, Right Use of the Fathers. B. i. ch. vi. R. Simon. Hist. Crit. des Commentat. du N. T. ch. xiv. xv. Hist. Crit. du V. T. l. iii. ch. ix. et Hist. Crit. des. Vers. du N. T. ch. iii. iv. J. Cleric. Qu. Hieron. Qu. xv. p. 492, &c. Bib. Ch. T. viii. p. 304, &c. et T. xvii. p. 1, &c.

[e] Le plus beau de tous ces commentaires est, ce me semble, celui d'Aggée. S. Jérome, art. 57.

[f] ———sed omnium scripturarum, quæ uno scriptæ sunt spiritu, et propterea unus liber appellantur. In Is. cap. xxix. T. iii. p. 246. fin.

[g] Ama scripturas sanctas, et amabit te sapientia. Ad Demetr. ap. 97. [al. 8.] T. iv. P. ii. p. 796.

[h] Pro gemmis et serico divinos codices amet——Discat primo Psalterium. His se Canticis avocet. Et in Proverbiis Salomonis erudiatur ad vitam. In Ecclesiaste consuescat, quæ mundi sunt, calcare. In Job virtutis et sapientiæ exempla sectetur. Ad evangelia transeat, nunquam ea positura de manibus. Apostolorum Acta, et epistolas, totâ cordis imbibat voluntate. Quumque pectoris sui cellarium his opibus locupletaverit, mandet memoriæ prophetas, Heptateuchum, et Regum et Paralipomenôn libros: Ezræ quoque et Esther volumina. Ad ultimum, sine periculo discat Canticum Canticorum—Caveat omnia apocrypha—Cypriani opuscula semper in manu teneat—Ad Læt. ep. 57. [al. 7.] T. iv. p. 596.

the scriptures, and in this order: first the Psalms, next the Proverbs of Solomon, and his Ecclesiastes, and Job; the gospels, the Acts, and the epistles of the apostles. Afterwards she may read the Prophets, the Heptateuch, the Kings and Chronicles, Ezra, Esther, and lastly the Canticles, but no apocryphal books. Or, if she does, she should first, by way of caution, be informed of their true character. After that he recommends the reading of Cyprian, some of the works of Athanasius, and Hilary. This shows, that Jerom did not desire, that any part of scripture should be hid from any people.

4. In his letter to Nepotian, which might be entitled Advice to a young Clergyman, or to a Candidate for the Ministry, he directs in this manner: 'Be[j] much in reading the divine scriptures, or rather let them never be out of your hands.'

5. In another letter he makes a difference[k] between the apostles, and the rest of the writers of sacred scriptures, and other writers; they always speak truth; these as men may err.

6. In the preface to his Commentary upon the epistle to the Ephesians he says; Nothing is[l] so likely to entertain a wise man, and enable him to bear with moderation the troubles of this life, as the meditation and study of the scriptures. And since by these divine books we may know God, and learn the end of our creation, he wonders that any should be backward to study them, or hinder those who would.

7. The letter to Paulinus, from which we made large extracts some while ago, contains[m] a long and earnest exhor-

[j] Divinas scripturas sæpius lege; imo nunquam de manibus tuis sacra lectio deponatur. Ad Nepotianum de Vitâ Clericorum et Monachorum. Ep. 34. [al. 2.] T. 4. p. 261. m.

[k] Numquid ego in turbam mitto Origenem? Numquid cæteros tractatores? Scio me aliter habere apostolos, aliter reliquos tractatores. Illos semper vera dicere, istos in quibusdam, ut homines, aberrare. Ad Theoph. ep. 39. [al. 62.] T. iv. p. 337, M.

[l] Si quidquam est, Paula et Eustochium, quod in hac vitâ sapientem virum teneat, et inter pressuras et turbines æquo animo manere persuadeat, id esse vel primum reor, meditationem et scientiam scripturarum. Quum enim a cæteris animantibus hoc vel maxime differamus, quod rationale animal sumus, et loqui possumus; ratio autem omnis et sermo divinis libris contineatur, per quos et Deum discimus, et quare creati sumus, non ignoramus; miror quosdam exstitisse, qui aut ipsi se inertiæ et somno dantes, nolint quæ præclara sunt discere, aut cæteros, qui id studii habent, reprehendendos putent. Pr. in Eph. T. iv. P. i. p. 319.

[m] Paulus apostolus ad pedes Gamalielis legem Domini et prophetas didicisse se gloriatur.—Ad Timotheum scribit ab infantiâ sacris literis eruditum, et hortatur ad studium lectionis, ne negligat gratiam, quæ data sit ei per impo-

tation to diligent reading of the scriptures, and expressions[n] of Jerom's sincere and ardent affection for them. He moreover says there: All[o] men talk of the scriptures, and pretend to understand them, and explain them; but he adviseth his friend to seek proper helps, and take due care to obtain the right meaning of them.

XII. Let us now observe a few various readings in this writer.

1. Jerom says, that[p] the latter part of the 16th chapter of St. Mark's gospel, from ver. 9, to the end, was generally wanting in the Greek copies. But it may be thought, and not without reason, that[q] Jerom here expresseth himself rather too strongly.

2. After verse 14, of Mark xvi. in some, and especially Greek copies, was inserted a passage, which[r] I transcribe below. Probably it was taken out of some apocryphal gospel.

3. Luke ii. 33, "And Joseph and his mother marvelled at those things which were spoken of him." In[s] Jerom's

sitionem manûs presbyterii. Tito præcipit, ut inter cæteras virtutes episcopi, quem brevi sermone depinxit, scientiam quoque eligat scripturarum—Cur dicitur Paulus apostolus vas electionis? Nempe quia legis et sanctarum scripturarum armarium est. Ad Paulin. ep. 50. [al. 103.] T. iv. p. 569, 570.

[n] Cernis me scripturarum amore raptum excessisse modum epistolæ, et tamen non implêsse quod volui. Ib. p. 574.

[o] Hæc a me perstricta sunt breviter—ut intelligeres, te in scripturis sanctis, sine prævio et monstrante semitam, non posse ingredi—Quod medicorum est, promittunt medici; tractant fabrilia fabri. Sola scripturarum ars est, quam sibi omnes vindicant.—Hanc garrula anus, hanc delirus senex, hanc sophista verbosus, hanc universi præsumunt, lacerant, docent, antequam discant, &c. Ibid. p. 571. m.

[p] Hujus quæstionis duplex solutio est. Aut enim non recipimus Marci testimonium, quod in raris fertur evangeliis; omnibus Græciæ libris pene hoc capitulum in fine non habentibus; præsertim quum diversa atque contraria evangelistis cæteris narrare videatur. Ad Hedib. Qu. iii. T. iv. P. i. p. 172. al. ep. 150.

[q] Verum hic, ut sæpe, alibi, nimium ὑπερβολικως forte loquitur Hieronymus. I. Cleric. ep de edit. N. T. Millian.

[r] In quibusdam exemplaribus, et maxime in Græcis codicibus, juxta Marcum, in fine ejus evangelii scribitur: 'Postea quum accubuissent undecim, 'apparuit eis Jesus, et exprobavit incredulitatem et duritiam cordis eorum, 'quia his qui viderant eum resurgentem non crediderunt. Et illi satisfaciebant, 'dicentes: Seculum istud iniquitatis et incredulitatis substantia est; quæ non 'sinit per immundos spiritus veram Dei apprehendi virtutem. Idcirco jam 'nunc revela justitiam tuam.' Adv. Pelag. Dial. 2. T. iv. P. ii. p. 520. Vid. Mill. ad Marc. xvi. 14. et Prolegom. n. 724.

[s] 'Et certe Maria conservabat omnia verba hæc, conferens in corde suo.' [Luc. ii. 19.] Ac ne impudenter neges ista ignorâsse Joseph: 'Et erant,' inquit Lucas, 'pater illius et mater admirantes super his quæ dicebantur de eo:' licet tu mirâ impudentiâ hæc in Græcis codicibus falsata contendas, quæ non solum omnes pene Græciæ tractatores in suis voluminibus reliquerunt, sed non-

Greek copies this seems to have been written in this manner: 'And his father and mother marvelled.' The same reading was then in some Latin copies, particularly[t] Augustine's, and is still in the Latin Vulgate, and some other versions. See Mill upon the place.

4. The words of Luke xxii. 43, 44, were[u] in some Greek and Latin copies in Jerom's time.

5. In[v] many Greek and Latin copies was the history of the woman taken in adultery, which we have at the beginning of the 8th chapter of St. John's gospel, and with that particular, of our Lord's 'writing with his finger on the ground.' Concerning which may be seen Mill, and other editors of the New Testament, with various readings, and also[w] Dr. Heumann's Dissertation upon it, who with great care and diligence has considered the objections against the genuineness of this paragraph.

6. In one place[x] he quotes Acts viii. 39, as if it were written; 'and when they were come up out of the water, the Spirit came upon the eunuch.' But in his Latin edition of the New Testament, as published by Martianay, there is only our common reading.

7. St. Jerom, as is[y] allowed, does no where cite the passage concerning the heavenly witnesses, now found in most editions of the New Testament, in the fifth chapter of St. John's first epistle. There is indeed in his works a preface to the seven Catholic Epistles; the design of which is to show the genuineness of that clause. But that prologue is now universally rejected, not only by[z] R. Simon, but also

nulli quoque e Latinis, ita ut in Græcis habentur, assumserint, &c. Adv. Helvid. T. iv. P. ii. p. 134. f.

[t] Vid. De Consens. Evang. l. ii. cap. 1. n. 3. T. iii.

[u] In quibusdam exemplaribus, tam Græcis quam Latinis, invenitur, scribente Lucâ: 'Apparuit illi angelus de cœlo, confortans eum:' haud dubium, quin Dominum Salvatorem. 'Et factus in agoniâ, prolixius orabat, factusque est sudor ejus sicut guttæ sanguinis decurrentis in terram.' Adv. Pelag. l. ii. T. iv. p. 521.

[v] In evangelio secundum Johannem, in multis et Græcis et Latinis codicibus, invenitur de adulterâ muliere, quæ accusata est apud Dominum. Accusabant autem et vehementer urgebant scribæ et pharisæi, juxta legem eam lapidare cupientes. 'At Jesus inclinans digito scribebat in terrâ.' Ibid. p. 521, 522.

[w] Vid. Diss. v. in Nova Sylloge Dissertationum, Part i. p. 173, &c. Rostochii, 1752.

[x] —De quo scriptura ita loquitur: 'Et descenderunt ambo in aquam, et 'baptizavit eum Philippus. Et quum abscederet ab aquâ, Spiritus Sanctus 'venit in eunuchum.' Adv. Lucif. T. iv. p. 295. Et Conf. Mill in Loc.

[y] Hieronymus, qui in operibus indubitate genuinis, loci hujus nusquam meminit. Mill. ad 1 Joh. v. p. 581. a.

[z] Hist. Crit. du N. T. ch. xviii.

by [a] Mill, and [b] Martianay, the Benedictine editor of St. Jerom's works. I need not mention any others.

XIII. I shall now transcribe some observations of our author relating to the scriptures.

1. In his letter to Paulinus he says of Isaiah, that[c] his book is rather a gospel than a prophecy. He speaks to the like purpose[d] elsewhere.

2. In the same letter he says, that among[e] the Jews the beginning and end of Ezekiel, and the beginning of Genesis, were not to be read by any before they were thirty years of age.

3. Jerom often says, that the writers of the New Testament, when they take passages from the Old, do not quote from the Greek version of the Seventy, but from the original Hebrew; so he says, particularly, of[f] John the evangelist.

4. So he says likewise of the evangelist Matthew, in a passage, which[g] I place below somewhat at length; and it is plain, that he speaks of Matthew's Greek gospel. And having spoken of him, he adds, that generally, when the evangelists and apostles allege passages of the Old Testament, they do not exactly follow the words, but the sense;

[a] Mill, ubi supra, p. 582. b. [b] Vid. Opp. S. Hieron. T. i. p. 1670, &c.

[c] Quorum primus non prophetiam mihi texere videtur, sed evangelium. Ad. Paulin. T. iv. p. 573.

[d] Veniam ad Isaïam,—Quem quum magis evangelistam quam prophetam dicerem, eo quod universa Christi ecclesiæ mysteria sic ad liquidum persecutus esset, ut non de futuro vaticinari, sed de præteritis historiam texere crederetur. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. p. 431.

[e] Tertius principia et finem tantis habet obscuritatibus involuta, ut apud Hebræos istæ partes cum exordio Geneseos ante annos triginta non legantur. Ad. Paulin. ep. 50. [al. 103.] p. 573.

[f] Johannes autem evangelista, qui de pectore Domini hausit sapientiam, Hebræus ex Hebræis, quem Salvator amabat plurimum, non magnopere curavit, quid Græcæ literæ continerent; sed verbum e verbo interpretatus est, ut in Hebræo legerat. Et tempore dominicæ passionis dixit esse completum. In Zach. xii. 10. T. iii. p. 1784. Conf. Joh. xix. 37.

[g] Ex quo apparet, Matthæum evangelistam, non veteris interpretationis auctoritate constrictum, dimisisse Hebraïcam veritatem; sed quasi Hebræum ex Hebræis, et in lege Domini doctissimum, ea Gentibus protulisse, quæ in Hebræo legerat.—Quod beatum Matthæum non solum in hoc testimonio, sed in alio loco, fecisse legimus: 'Ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum.' [Mat. ii. 15.] Pro quo Septuaginta transtulerunt: 'Ex Ægypto vocavi filios ejus,' [Ose. xi. 1.] Quod utique, nisi sequamur Hebraïcam veritatem, ad Dominum Salvatorem non pertinere manifestum est—Rursumque quod apud Hebræos legitur: 'Et in lege ejus sperabunt insulæ.' [Is. xlii. 4.] Matthæus, sensum potius quam verba interpretans, pro 'lege' et 'insulis,' 'nomen' posuit, et 'gentes.' [xii. 21.] Et hoc non solum in præsenti loco, sed ubicunque de veteri instrumento evangelistæ et apostoli testimonia protulerunt, non eos verba sequutos esse, sed sensum: et ubi Septuaginta ab Hebraïco discrepant, Hebræum sensum suis expressisse sermonibus. Ad Algas. Qu. 2. T. iv. P. i. p. 190. al. ep. 151.

and that where the Seventy differ from the Hebrew, they express the sense of the Hebrew in their own words.

5. In another place[h] he speaks again to the like purpose of the evangelists Matthew and John: but supposeth that Luke quotes the Seventy, sometimes at least. He also allows, that St. Paul's quotation of Isaiah, vi. 9, 10, in his discourse with the Jews, recorded Acts xxviii. 26, 27, is more agreeable to the Seventy, than to the Hebrew. He there also says, that the quotations of the Seventy in the epistle to the Hebrews, caused doubts in the minds of some, whether it was Paul's.

6. Again, he says, that[i] for the most part the writers of the New Testament, excepting St. Luke in some places, quote not according to the Seventy, but the Hebrew.

7. Sometimes he expresseth himself in this manner: That[k] the apostles in their citations of the scriptures of the Old Testament follow the Greek version of the Seventy, when it does not differ from the Hebrew.

8. Once more, with regard to this matter, he says, that

[h] Ac primum solvenda est illa quæstio, quæ nobis objici potest; quare apostolus Paulus, cum Hebræis disputans, non juxta Hebraïcum, quod rectum esse cognoverat, sed juxta lxx. sit loquutus? Evangelistam Lucam tradunt veteres ecclesiæ tractatores medicinæ artis fuisse scientissimum, et magis Græcas literas scisse quam Hebræas. Unde—magisque testimoniis Græcis utitur quam Hebræis. Matthæus autem et Joannes, quorum alter Hebræo, alter Græco sermone, evangelium texuerunt, testimonia de Hebræo proferunt. Ut est illud: 'Ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum: et, Quoniam Nazaræus vocabi-'tur:' et, 'Flumina de ventre ejus fluent aquæ vivæ,' et, 'Videbunt in quem 'compunxerunt:' et cætera his similia. Pauli quoque idcirco ad Hebræos epistolæ contradicitur, quod, ad Hebræos scribens, utatur testimoniis quæ in Hebraïcis voluminibus non habentur. In Is. cap. vi. T. iii. p. 63, 64.

[i] Legimus in apostolo [1 Cor. xiv. 21.]; 'In aliis linguis, et in labiis aliis, 'loquar populo huic, et nec sic exaudient me, dicit Dominus.' Quod mihi videtur juxta Hebraïcum de præsenti sumtum capitulo. [Is. xxviii. 11.] Et nos in Novo observavimus Testamento (absque paucis testimoniis, quibus Lucas solus abutitur, qui magis Græcæ linguæ habuit scientiam:) ubicunque de Veteri Instrumento quid dicitur, non eos juxta Septuaginta, sed juxta Hebraïcum ponere, nullius sequentes interpretationem, sed sensum Hebraïcum suo sermone vertentes. In Is. cap. xxviii. T. iii. p. 237, 238.

[k] Longum est nunc revolvere, quanta Septuaginta de suo addiderint, quanta dimiserint;———Et tamen jure Septuaginta editio obtinuit in ecclesiis, vel quia prima est, et ante Christi facta adventum, vel quia ab apostolis (in quibus tamen ab Hebraïco non discrepat) usurpata. Ad Pamm. ep. 33. [al. 101.] p. 255. in.—Apostolici viri scripturis utuntur Hebraïcis. Ipsos apostolos et evangelistas hoc fecisse perspicuum est. Dominus atque Salvator ubicunque veteris scripturæ meminit, de Hebraïcis voluminibus ponit exempla—et multa his similia. Nec hoc dicimus, quod Septuaginta interpretes fugillemus, sed quod apostolorum et Christi major sit auctoritas: et ubicunque Septuaginta ab Hebræo non discordant, ibi apostolos de interpretatione eorum exempla sumsisse: ubi vero discrepant, id posuisse in Græco quod ab Hebræis didicerant, &c. Adv. Rufin. l. ii. T. iv. p. 433.

[l] the writers of the New Testament, when they quote the ancient scriptures, follow no translation whatever; but as they speak, or write, translate from the Hebrew for themselves: and oftentimes express the sense only, instead of translating word for word.

9. In his preface to the Latin translation of the New Testament, which had been corrected by him, he says, 'It[m] is certain, that all the books of the New Testament were written in Greek, except the gospel of the apostle Matthew, who first wrote in Judea in the Hebrew language.'

9. In another place he says, that[n] the versions of the Old Testament are to be corrected by the Hebrew, so those of the New Testament are to be compared with the Greek: and to the like purpose in another[o] letter.

10. So writes Jerom. And though he says, the gospel of St. Matthew was written in Hebrew; and he often speaks of the gospel according to the Hebrews, as thought by some to be St. Matthew's authentic gospel; it does not appear that he consulted it, when he corrected the Latin version before in use. But in the account which he gives of that service among his other works, he says, he[p] had published the New Testament agreeably to the Greek: or he had corrected it by the Greek. Yea, he expressly says, somewhat lower in the preface before cited, that[q] he had corrected the Latin translation of the four gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, by the Greek copies, and those ancient.

[l] Paraphrasin hujus testimonii, quasi Hebræus ex Hebræis, assumit apostolus de authenticis libris in epistolâ ad Corinthios. [1 Cor. ii. 9.] non verbum verbo reddens, quod facere omnino contemnit, sed sensuum exprimens veritatem, quibus utitur ad id quod voluerit roborandum. In Is. lxiv. 4. T. iii. p. 473. Vid. supr. not. [e], p. 466.

[m] De novo nunc loquor Testamento: quod Græcum esse non dubium est, excepto apostolo Matthæo, qui primus in Judæâ evangelium Christi Hebraïcis literis edidit. Præf. in iv. Evang. T. i. p. 1426.

[n] Novum Testamentum Græcæ reddidi auctoritati. Ut enim veterum librorum fides de Hebræis voluminibus examinanda est, ita novorum Græci sermonis normam desiderat. Ad Lucin. ep. 52. [al. 28.] T. iv. p. 579.

[o] Sicut autem in Novo Testamento, si quando apud Latinos quæstio exoritur, et est inter exemplaria varietas, recurrimus ad fontem Græci sermonis, quo Novum scriptum est Instrumentum: ita in Veteri Testamento, si quando inter Græcos Latinosque diversitas est, ad Hebraïcam confugimus veritatem. Ad Sun. et Fret. T. ii. p. 627. al. ep. 135.

[p] Novum Testamentum Græcæ fidei reddidi. De V. I. cap. 135. Vid. supr. not. [r], p. 469.

[q] Igitur hæc præsens præfatiuncula pollicetur quatuor tantum evangelia; quorum ordo est Matthæus, Marcus, Lucas, Johannes: codicum Græcorum emendata collatione, sed veterum. Pr. in iv. Evang. T. i. p. 1426.

11. In[r] the same preface to the four gospels, he speaks of a great disorder in the common editions of the Latin translation of the four gospels. He says, that the copies were very different from each other, and that there was great confusion in them: several passages of Luke's and Matthew's gospels being inserted in Mark's, to make it more complete; and in Matthew's gospel many passages of John and Mark; and in like manner of the rest. Many things belonging to one gospel were inserted in the others. And it must be allowed that there was some ground for these complaints; otherwise Jerom would not have made them. At the same time it may be supposed, that he makes use of strong expressions, and aggravates beyond the truth.

12. St. Jerom says, that[s] the apostle Paul was a man of quick understanding and ready wit. He also says, that[t] Paul had some acquaintance with secular learning. This, he says, appears from his quoting divers Greek poets: Epimenides, Aratus, and Menander.

13. St. Paul's quotations of those Greek poets are taken notice of by Jerom[u] more than once.

[r] Si enim Latinis exemplaribus fides est adhibenda, respondeant, quibus. Tot enim sunt exemplaria pene, quot codices. Sin autem veritas est quærenda de pluribus, cur non ad Græcam originem revertentes, ea quæ vel a vitiosis interpretibus male edita—corrigimus?—Magnus siquidem hic in nostris codicibus error inolevit, dum quod in eâdem re alius evangelista plus dixit, in alio quia minus putaverint, addiderunt. Vel dum eundem sensum alius aliter expressit, ille qui unum e quatuor primum legerat, ad ejus exemplum cæteros quoque æstimavit emendandos. Unde accidit, ut apud nos mixta sint omnia, et in Marco plura Lucæ atque Matthæi: rursum in Matthæo plura Joannis et Marci: et in cæteris reliquorum quæ aliis propria sunt, inveniantur. Ibid.

[s] Paulus apostolus homo erat acuti et acris ingenii; et qui ad primos quosque disputationum conatus sagaci mente quæ erant inferenda prænosceret. In Ephes. cap. iv. T. iv. P. i. p. 366.

[t] Quippe qui et seculares literas aliquâ ex parte contigerat.—Scîsse autem Paulum licet non ad perfectum ipsius verba testantur: 'Dixit quidam ex eis, proprius eorum propheta: Cretenses semper mendaces, malæ bestiæ, ventres pigri.' [Tit. i. 12.] Hic versus heroicus Epimenidis poëtæ est, cujus et Plato, et cæteri scriptores veteres recordantur. Apud Athenienses quoque, quum in Areopago satisfaceret, hæc addidit: 'Sicut et quidam de vobis poëtæ dixerunt: Ipsius enim et genus sumus.' [Acts xvii. 28.] Hoc hemistichium fertur in Arato, qui de cœlo stellisque conscripsit. Nec non et illud: 'Corrumpunt bonos mores confabulationes pessimæ.' [1 Cor. xv. 33.] Trimeter Iambicus de comœdiâ sumtus est Menandri. Ex quibus, et aliis, evidens est, Paulum non ignorâsse literas seculares. In ep. ad Galat. iv. 24. T. iv. P. i. p. 280.

[u] Sed et Paulus apostolus Epimenidis poëtæ abusus versiculo est, scribens ad Titum: 'Cretenses semper mendaces, malæ bestiæ, ventres pigri.' Cujus heroïci hemistichium postea Callimachus usurpavit.—In aliâ quoque epistolâ Menandri ponit senarium: 'Corrumpunt mores bonos confabulationes pessimæ.' Et apud Athenienses in Martis Curiâ disputans, Aratum testem vocat:

14. He says, that[v] there appear in Paul's epistles several words peculiar to the dialect of his own city and country; meaning Tarsus and Cilicia. He mentions several instances; one intended by him, as it seems, is the word rendered by us, "let no man beguile you of your reward." [Col. ii. 18.] The Greek word for which, used by St. Paul, appears to me a very elegant word. If the Cilicians had such words in their dialect they might be used by any man without reproach.

15. Jerom says, moreover, that[w] the apostle makes use of low and trivial expressions. He instanceth in Gal. iii 1. "Who has bewitched you?" And, if the Greek word exactly corresponds with the English, it must be owned to be a trivial expression. But still the apostle might have good reason for using it: which I think Jerom does not deny. And therefore he says, that we ought to understand it worthily of Paul; who, 'though he was rude in speech, yet certainly not in knowledge;' however, he again affirms, that[x] in his epistle to the Galatians the apostle willingly

'Ipsius enim et genus sumus.' Quod Græce dicimus: τȣ γαρ και γενος εσμεν. Et est clausula versus heroïci. Ac ne parum hoc esset, Ductor christiani exercitûs, et orator invictus, pro Christo causam agens, etiam inscriptionem fortuitam arte torquet in argumentum fidei. Ad Magn. Orat. ep. 83. T. iv. P. ii. p. 654, 655. Vid. et Comm. in Tit. cap. i. v. 12—14. T. 4. P. i. p. 420, 421.

[v] Conabimur itaque παραφραστικως sensus ejus evolvere, et tricas implicati eloquii suo ordini reddere et juncturæ——'Nemo vos superet,' [Col. ii. 18.] id est, nemo adversum vos bravium accipiat. Hoc enim Græce dicitur καταβραβευετω· quando quis in certamine positus iniquitate Agonothetæ, vel insidiis Magistrorum, βραβειον et palmam sibi debitam perdit. Multaque sunt verba, quibus juxta morem urbis et provinciæ suæ familiarius apostolus utitur. E quibus, exempli gratiâ, pauca ponenda sunt. Mihi autem parum est judicari ab humano die, hoc est, απο ανθρωπινης ἡμερας. [1 Cor. iv. 3.] Et, 'humanum dico,' hoc est κατα ανθρωπον λεγω. [Gal. iii. 15.] Et, ου κατεναρκησα ὑμων· hoc est, 'non gravavi vos.' [2 Cor. xii. 13.]—Quibus, et multis aliis verbis, usque hodie utuntur Cilices. Nec hoc miremur in apostolo, si utatur ejus linguæ consuetudine, in quâ natus est et nutritus: quum Virgilius, alter Homerus apud nos, patriæ suæ sequens consuetudinem, 'sceleratum frigus' appellet. Ad Algas. Qu. x. T. iv. P. i. p. 204. al. ep. 151.

[w] Quod autem sequitur: 'Quis vos fascinavit:' digne Paulo (qui etsi imperitus sermone, non tamen scientiâ) debemus exponere; non quo scierit esse fascinum, qui vulgo putatur nocere; sed usus sermone sit trivii, et, ut in cæteris, ita et in hoc quoque loco verbum quotidianæ sermocinationis assumserit. In ep. ad Galat. iii. 1. T. iv. P. i. p. 248.

[x] 'Fratres, secundum hominem dico.'—Apostolus, qui omnibus omnia factus,—Galatis quoque, quos paulo ante stultos dixerat, factus est stultus. Non enim ad eos his usus est argumentis, quibus ad Romanos, sed simpliciori-bus, et quæ stulti possent intelligere, et pene de trivio—Unde manifestum est, id fecisse apostolum quod promisit; nec reconditis ad Galatas usum esse sensibus, sed quotidianis, et vilibus, et quæ possent, nisi præmisisset, 'secundum hominem dico,' prudentibus displicere. In Galat. iii. 15. T. iv. P. i. p. 261.

condescended to some vulgar, and almost trivial expressions.

16. Again, he says, the[y] apostle either despised the Greek eloquence, or chose not to avail himself of it; that the success of his preaching might not appear to depend upon human wisdom, but the power of God. See 1 Cor. ii.

17. And farther he says, that[z] the apostle was not able to express, especially in Greek, all the grandeur and sublimity of his sentiments: and that when he says, he was 'rude in speech though not in knowledge,' [2 Cor. xi. 6,] he should not be understood to speak thus of himself by way of humility, but truly.

18. Finally he says, that[a] Paul not being fully acquainted with the rules of grammar, has some expressions contrary to them. And he even says, that[b] there are some solecisms in his style; which, however, he does not say with a view of disparaging the apostle; for it affords a certain evidence of

[y] Ille Hebræis literis eruditus, et ad pedes doctus Gamalielis, quem non erubescit, jam apostolicæ dignitatis, magistrum dicere, Græcam facundiam contemnebat, vel certe, quod erat humilitatis, dissimulabat; ut prædicatio ejus non in persuasione verborum, sed in signorum virtute consisteret. Adv. Ruf. l. i. T. iv. p. 367.

[z] Illud quod crebro diximus: 'et si imperitus sermone, non tamen scientiâ:' nequâquam Paulum de humilitate, sed de conscientiæ veritate dixisse, etiam nunc approbamus. Profundos enim et reconditos sensus lingua non explicat. Et quum ipse sentiat quid loquatur, in alienas aures puro non potest transferre sermone. Ad Algas. Qu. x. T. iv. P. i. p. 204. M.—Qui putant, Paulum juxta humilitatem, et non vere dixisse, 'et si imperitus sermone, non tamen scientiâ;' defendant hujus loci consequentiam. Debuit quippe secundum ordinem dicere: 'Vos, qui spirituales estis, instruite hujusmodi in spiritu lenitatis, considerantes vosmet ipsos, ne et vos tentemini;' et non plurali inferre numerum singularem. Hebræus igitur ex Hebræis, et qui esset in vernaculo sermone doctissimus, profundos sensus alienâ linguâ exprimere non valebat: Nec curabat magnopere de verbis, quum sensum haberet in tuto. In Gal. cap. vi. 1. ibid. p. 309.

[a] Sequitur: 'Quæ sunt rationem quidem habentia sapientiæ.' [Col. ii. 23.] Hoc loco 'quidem' conjunctio superflua est. Quod in plerisque locis propter imperitiam artis grammaticæ apostolum fecisse reperimus, &c. Ad Algas. Qu. x. T. iv. P. i. p. 207. al. ep. 151.

[b] Puto autem, quod et vitiosa in hoc loco elocutio est———Si vero quis potest etiam juxta sermonis et eloquii contextum docere apostolum fuisse perfectum, et in artis grammaticæ vitia non incurrisse, ille potius auscultandus est. Nos quotiescumque solœcismos, aut tale quid annotamus, non apostolum pulsamus, ut malevoli criminantur, sed magis apostoli assertores sumus, quod Hebræus ex Hebræis, absque rhetorici nitore sermonis, et verborum compositione, et eloquii venustate, nunquam ad fidem Christi totum mundum transducere valuisset, nisi evangelizâsset eum non in sapientiâ verbi, sed in virtute Dei. Nam et ipse ad Corinthios ait—[1 Cor. ii. 1.]—et rursum—[ib. ver. 4, 5.] Iste igitur, qui solœcismos in verbis facit; qui non potest hyperbaton reddere sententiamque concludere, audacter sibi vindicat sapientiam, et dicit: 'Quoniam secundum revelationem cognitum factum est mihi mysterium.' [Ephes. iii. 3.] In Eph. iii. T. iv. P. i. p. 348.

the wisdom given him from above, and of his preaching the gospel with the power of God; otherwise, it had been impossible for him to convert the world to the faith of Christ without the ornaments of language, and the charms of eloquence.

19. Upon Gal. iv. 14, he[c] supposeth it likely, that when the apostle was first in Galatia, he had some sickness. Moreover, he says, there was a tradition, that Paul often had a violent headach: and that was the "thorn in the flesh, and messenger of Satan," which he speaks of, 2 Cor. xii. 7.

XIV. 1. Jerom seems to have despised popular preaching, and advises Nepotian, in the letter cited some while ago, not[d] to aim to please men, and those mean and ignorant, but to teach them important truths out of the scriptures, and to endeavour to make them better. He speaks to the like purpose in another work.[e]

2. Jerom[f] censures the superstition of some women, who wore about them pieces of the wood of the cross, and small gospels, or passages of them. He says it may be a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge; and that the faults of the pharisees, who made broad their phylacteries, had descended to christians.

[c] Aut certe suspicari possumus, apostolum eo tempore, quo primum venit ad Galatas, ægrotâsse, et aliquâ corpusculi infirmitate detentum. Nam tradunt, eum gravissimum capitis dolorem sæpe perpessum, et hunc esse angelum Satanæ, qui appositus ei sit, ut eum colaphizaret in carne, ne extolleretur. In Gal. iv. T. iv. P. i. p. 274.

[d] Docente te in ecclesiâ, non clamor populi, sed gemitus suscitetur. Lacrymæ auditorum laudes tuæ sint. Sermo presbyteri Scripturarum lectione conditus sit. Nolo te declamatorem esse et rabulam, garrulumque, sine ratione, sed mysteriorum peritum, et sacramentorum Dei tui eruditissimum. Verba volvere, et celeritate dicendi apud imperitum vulgus admirationem sui facere, indoctorum hominum est.—Præceptor quondam meus, Gregorius Nazianzenus, rogatus a me ut exponeret, quid sibi vellet in Lucâ δευτεροπρωτον, id est, secundo-primum, eleganter lusit, docebo te, inquiens, super hac re in ecclesiâ; in quâ mihi omni populo acclamante, cogeris scire quod nescis. Aut certe si solus tacueris, solus ab omnibus stultitiæ condemnaberis. Nihil tam face, quam vilem plebeculam et indoctam concionem linguæ volubilitate decipere, quæ quidquid non intelligit, plus miratur. Ad Nepot. ep. 34. al. 2. T. iv. P. ii. p. 262.

[e] Jam enim et in ecclesiis ista quæruntur. Omissâque apostolicorum simplicitate et puritate verborum, quasi ad Athenæum, et ad auditoria convenitur, ut plausus circumstantiam excitentur; ut oratio, rhetoricæ artis fucata mendacio, quasi meretricula procedat in publicum, non tam eruditura populos, quam favorem populi quæsitura. Pr. 3. in ep. ad. Galat. T. iv. P. i. p. 287.

[f] Væ nobis miseris, ad quos pharisæorum vitia transierunt.—Hoc apud nos superstitiosæ mulierculæ in parvulis evangeliis, et in crucis ligno, et istiusmodi rebus, quæ habent zelum Dei, sed non juxta scientiam, usque hodie factitant. Ad Matt. xxiii. T. iv. P. i. p. 108, 109.

3. He[g] complains of the excessive pride of some bishops in his time.

4. Jerom seems to allow, that[h] some of the Antenicene writers of the church had so expressed themselves, as to give countenance to the Arian doctrine.

5. He[i] triumphs in the progress of the christian religion: which was become the religion of the emperors, and of many other great men, and of a large part of the city of Rome, and had spread all over the world, in Egypt, India, Persia, Armenia, Ethiopia, Scythia, and other parts.

CHAP. CXV.

RUFINUS.

I. *His time.* II. *A catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament.* III. *Remarks upon it.*

I. RUFINUS, presbyter of Aquileia, and contemporary with Jerom, according to Cave[a] flourished about the year 390. He died in 410. He[b] is supposed to have begun to publish writings about the year 397. For a farther account of him I refer to[c] others.

II. I proceed to transcribe immediately his catalogue of

[g] Quæ quidem et nos ad humilitatem provocant, et supercilium decutiunt episcoporum, qui velut in aliquâ sublimi speculâ constituti, vix dignantur videre mortales, et alloqui conservos suos. In Gal. iv. T. iv. P. i. p. 273.

[h] Vel certe antequam in Alexandriâ, quasi dæmonium meridianum, Arius nasceretur, innocenter quædam et minus caute loquuti sunt, et quæ non possint perversorum hominum calumniam declinare. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. T. iv. P. ii. p. 411.

[i] Solitudinem patitur et in Urbe Gentilitas. Dii quondam nationum cum bubonibus et noctuis in solis culminibus remanserunt. Vexilla militum crucis insignia sunt. Regum purpuras, et ardentes diadematum gemmas, patibuli salutaris pictura condecorat. Jam Ægyptius Serapis factus est christianus. Marnas Gazæ luget inclusus, et eversionem templi jugiter pertimescit. De Indiâ, de Perside, Æthiopiâ monachorum quotidie turbas suscipimus. Deposuit pharetras Armenius. Hunni discunt Psalterium. Scythiæ frigora fervent calore fidei. Getarum rutilus et flavus exercitus ecclesiarum circumfert tentoria. Ad. Læt. ep. 57. [al. 7.] T. iv. P. ii. p. 591. M.

[a] Claruit præcipue circa ann. 390. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 186.

[b] See Tillem. Mem. T. xii. S. Jérom, art. 129, beginning.

[c] Du Pin, Bib. T. iii. p. 240, &c. Tillem. Mem. T. xii. S. Jérome, art. 12, 13, 125—130. Pagi, ann. 395. n. xxi. 397. n. ii. xiii—xviii. 399. vi. 410. xxvi. et alibi. Basnag. ann. 399. n. xiii. et alibi.

the books of scripture, which is in his [d] Explication of the Apostles' Creed, a work highly commended by [e] Gennadius, and [f] Du Pin.

'This [g] then is the Holy Spirit, who in the Old Testament inspired the law and the prophets, and in the New the gospels and apostles. Wherefore the apostle says, that "all scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine." [2 Tim. iii. 16.] It will not therefore be improper to enumerate here the books of the New and the Old Testament, which we find by the monuments of the fathers to have been delivered to the churches as inspired by the Holy Spirit. And of the Old Testament, in the first place, are the five books of Moses, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy. After these are Joshua the son of Nun, and the Judges, together with Ruth. Next the four books of the Kingdoms, which the Hebrews reckon two; the book of the Remains, which is called the Chronicles, and two books of Ezra, which by them are reckoned one, and Esther. The prophets are Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel; and besides, one book of the twelve prophets. Job also, and the Psalms of David. Solomon has left three books to the churches, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs: with these they conclude the number of the books of the Old Testament. Of the New there are the four gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the Acts of the Apostles by Luke; fourteen epistles of the apostle Paul; two epistles of the apostle Peter; one of

[d] Expositio in Symbolum Apostolorum. Apud S. Cyprian. Opp. in Append. ad S. Hieron. Opp. T. v. p. 127—146.

[e] Proprio autem labore, imo gratiâ Dei et dono, exposuit idem Rufinus Symbolum, ut in ejus comparatione alii nec exposuisse credantur. Gennad. De V. I. cap. 17. al. 18.

[f] Et en effet, il seroit difficile de trouver un traité sur le Symbole plus parfait que celui-ci. Ubi supra, p. 142.

[g] Hic igitur Spiritus Sanctus est, qui in Veteri Testamento legem et prophetas, in Novo evangelia et apostolos inspiravit. Unde apostolus dicit: Omnis scriptura inspirata utilis est ad docendum. Et ideo quæ sunt Novi ac Veteris Testamenti volumina, quæ secundum majorum traditionem per ipsum Spiritum Sanctum inspirata creduntur, et ecclesiis Christi tradita, competens videtur hoc in loco evidenti numero, sicut ex patrum monumentis accepimus, designare. Itaque Veteris Testamenti omnium primo Möysi quinque libri sunt traditi, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numerus, Deuteronomium. Post hæc Jesus Nave, et Judicum, simul cum Ruth. Quatuor post hæc Regnorum libri, quos Hebræi duos numerant. Paralipomena, qui Dierum dicitur Liber, et Esdræ duo, quia apud illos singuli computantur, et Hester. Prophetarum vero Isaïas, Jeremias, Ezechiel, et Daniel. Præterea duodecim prophetarum liber unus. Job quoque, et Psalmi David singuli sunt libri. Salomon vero tres ecclesiæ tradidit, Proverbia, Ecclesiasten, Cantica Canticorum. In his concluserunt numerum librorum Veteris Testamenti. Novi vero quatuor evangelia, Matthæi, Marci, Lucæ, et Joannis: Actus Apostolorum, quos describit Lucas: Pauli apostoli epistolæ quatuordecim: Petri apostoli duæ, Jacobi fratris Domini et

James, the brother of the Lord, and apostle; one of Jude; three of John; the Revelation of John. These are the volumes which the fathers have included in the canon, and out of which they would have us prove the doctrines of our faith.

'However, it ought to be observed, that there are also other books, which are not canonical, but have been called by our forefathers ecclesiastical: as the Wisdom of Solomon; and another, which is called the Wisdom of the Son of Sirach; and among the Latins is called by the general name of Ecclesiasticus: by which title is denoted not the author of the book, but the quality of the writing. In the same rank is the book of Tobit, and Judith, and the books of the Maccabees. In the New Testament is the book of the Shepherd, or of Hermas, which is called the Two Ways, or the Judgment of Peter. All which they would have to be read in the churches, but not to be alleged by way of authority, for proving articles of faith. Other scriptures they called apocryphal, which they would not have to be read in the churches.

'These things I have thought proper to put down here, as received from our ancestors, for the information of those who are learning the first elements of the church, and the faith: that they may know from what fountains they ought to fetch the word of God.'

That is Rufinus's catalogue of the books of scripture, which has been several times referred to in this[h] work.

III. I need to add only a few remarks.

1. In this exposition of the Creed Rufinus has more than once quoted the epistle to the Hebrews, as the apostle[i]

apostoli una, Judæ una, Joannis tres: Apocalypsis Joannis. Hæc sunt, quæ patres intra canonem concluserunt, et ex quibus fidei nostræ assertiones constare voluerunt.—Sciendum tamen est, quod et alii libri sunt, qui non sunt canonici, sed ecclesiastici a majoribus appellati sunt; ut est Sapientia Salomonis, et alia Sapientia, quæ dicitur filii Sirach, qui liber apud Latinos hoc ipso generali vocabulo Ecclesiasticus appellatur. Quo vocabulo non auctor libelli, sed scripturæ qualitas cognominata est: Ejusdem ordinis est libellus Tobiæ, et Judith, et Maccabæorum libri. In Novo vero Testamento libellus, qui dicitur Pastoris sive Hermatis, qui appellatur Duæ Viæ, vel Judicium Petri. Quæ omnia legi quidem in ecclesiis voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam. Cæteras vero scripturas apocryphas nominârunt quas in ecclesiis legi noluerunt. Hæc nobis a patribus, ut dixi, tradita, opportunum visum est hoc in loco designare, ad instructionem eorum, qui prima sibi ecclesiæ ac fidei elementa suscipiunt, ut sciant ex quibus sibi fontibus verbi Dei haurienda sint pocula. Rufin. in Symb. ap. Cyprian. in App. p. 26, 27. et ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 141, 142.

[h] See vol. ii. p. 532. and Vol. iii. p. 54.

[i] Sicut et Paulus apostolus, ad Hebræos scribens, dicit. In App. Cypr. p. 18. in.

Paul's. He also quotes expressly[k] the book of the Revelation; which shows, that he had no doubts about the genuineness, or authority of either. I scarce need to add, that[l] he quotes the epistle to the Ephesians with that title.

2. This catalogue plainly shows what books of the Old and New Testament were of authority with christians; and that, when other books were quoted by them, it was for illustration only, and not as decisive in matters of controversy, or by way of authority. And with this particular enumeration of the several books or volumes of inspired, and canonical scripture, agree his general titles and divisions. One of these we saw at the beginning of the catalogue just transcribed: 'In the Old Testament the law and the prophets: in the New the gospels and apostles.' In another place his expression is[m] the prophets, gospels, and apostles; and the testimony of Rufinus is very valuable. He was a learned man, well acquainted both with the Greek and the Latin writers of the church: and he had travelled. He was born in the western part of the empire: but he was also acquainted with the churches in Egypt, and Palestine, where he had resided a good while.

3. Where Rufinus speaks of the 'Shepherd,' and 'Hermas,' and 'the Two Ways,' and 'the Judgment of Peter,' his meaning is not very obvious. I imagine, that we have not the true reading of the place. I have translated, agreeably to the edition at the end of bishop Fell's St. Cyprian; from which the copy in the Appendix to St. Jerom's works is very little[n] different. Fabricius thought, that[o] when Rufinus speaks of the 'Two Ways,' he might intend the latter part of the epistle of Barnabas. Grabe's conjecture is, that[p] by 'the Judgment of Peter,' mentioned by no ec-

[k] Ut in Apocalypsi Joannis de Seraphim scriptum est. Ib. p. 19. in.

[l] Sed et Paulus, ad Ephesios scribens. Ap. Cypr. p. 25. in ap. Hieron. p. 140. in.

[m] Propterea ergo propheticis, et evangelicis, atque apostolicis vocibus nobis prænunciatur hic error. Ib. p. 26. in.

[n] In Novo autem Testamento libellus, qui dicitur Pastoris sive Hermatis, qui appellatur Duæ Viæ, vel Judicium Petri. T. v. p. 142. in.

[o] At memorat etiam Rufinus in Symbolum 'Judicium Petri de duabus viis:' fortasse intelligens ea quæ de duabus viis leguntur in appendice epistolæ, quæ ad S. Barnabam apostolum referri solet. Fabr. in Hieron. de V. I. cap. 1. ap. Bib. Eccl.

[p] Quod enim attinet 'Judicium Petri,' cujus mentionem injicit Rufinus in Symbolum Apostolorum, quodque quatuor ante recensitis addit Hieronymus in Catalogo Scr. Ec. cap. i. de Petro, vereor sane, ne Rufinus κηρυγμα Petri, in Græcis libris contracte scriptum κρμα, legerit κριμα, idque Latine reddiderit 'Judicium,' Petri, neve Rufinum secutus Hieronymus, re minus consideratâ, tanquam diversum a 'Prædicatione' enumeraverit, cum tamen idem fuerit opusculum. Atque licet hæc mea conjectura haud parum inde confirmetur,

clesiastical writers, beside Rufinus and Jerom, is meant the preaching or doctrine of Peter; which seems not improbable: and, possibly, in Rufinus's original there were three books mentioned, 'the Shepherd of Hermas,' 'the Two Ways,' and 'the Judgment of Peter.' But we need not be very solicitous about the titles of books, which were not reckoned canonical, or of authority.

CHAP. CXVI.

THE THIRD COUNCIL OF CARTHAGE.

1. IN 397 assembled[a] the third, otherwise called the sixth council of Carthage; where were present [b]Aurelius bishop of Carthage, president, and Augustine then bishop of Hippo Regius, and others, in all forty-four.

2. The forty-seventh canon is to this purpose. 'Moreover[c] it is ordained, that nothing beside the canonical 'scriptures be read in the church under the name of divine 'scriptures; and the canonical scriptures are these: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua the 'Son of Nun, Judges, Ruth, four books of the Kingdoms, 'two books of the Remains, Job, David's Psalter, five books 'of Solomon, the books of the twelve prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Tobit, Judith, Esther, two books of 'Ezra, two books of the Maccabees. The books of the New

quod non modo Eusebius, dubia et apocrypha Petri scripta diligenter recensens, de isto libro ne verbum dixerit, sed et nullus alius Patrum Græcorum aut Latinorum, exceptis duobus modo dictis, illum nominaverit, vel citaverit; nolim tamen hac in re quidquam velut certum definire. &c. Grab. Spic. T. i. p. 56.

[a] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 368, 369. Pagi ann. 397. n. xxiii—xxxiv. S. Basnag. an. 397. n. vii—ix.

[b] Et subscripserunt Aurelius episcopus ecclesiæ Carthaginensis—Epigonius episcopus Bullensis Regionis—Augustinus episcopus plebis Hipponæ Regiensis. Similiter et omnes episcopi, quadraginta quatuor numero, subscripserunt. Can. L. Ap. Labb. Concil. T. ii. p. 1178.

[c] Item placuit, ut præter scripturas canonicas nihil in ecclesiâ legatur sub nomine divinarum scripturarum. Sunt autem canonicæ scripturæ: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium, Jesus Nave, Judicum, Ruth, Regnorum libri quatuor, Paralipomenôn libri duo, Job, Psalterium Davidicum, Salomonis libri quinque, libri duodecim prophetarum, Isaïas, Jeremias, Ezechiel, Daniel, Tobias, Judith, Esther, Esdræ libri duo, Machabæorum libri

'Testament are these: The four books of the gospels, one 'book of the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen epistles of the 'apostle Paul, the epistle of the same to the Hebrews, two 'epistles of the apostle Peter, three of the apostle John, one 'of the apostle Jude, and one of James, the Revelation of 'John one book.'

3. There is a like canon in the decrees of the[d] sixth, otherwise fifteenth council of Carthage, held in 418; or, as others, in 419. It is reckoned the twenty-seventh canon of that council; and may be seen[e] in the authors to whom I refer. It differs little from the canon just transcribed at length, except that there are roundly mentioned, without hesitation, fourteen epistles of the apostle Paul; and the epistle of James is placed just before that of Jude, which is the last.

4. Upon the canon above transcribed, remarks may be seen in divers[f] modern writers. I shall make only these following: (1.) This was a provincial or national council only, not general. (2.) The bishops of this council do not show much learning or judgment, when they reckon five books of Solomon. (3.) This council, as S. Basnage[g] observes, 'placeth among canonical scriptures Tobit, Judith, 'and the two books of the Maccabees: which decree either 'contradicts antiquity, or, as we rather think, ought to be 'explained with a distinction. What was the opinion of 'the ancients concerning the canon of the Old Testament, 'may be learned from Melito in Eusebius, the Festal Epistle 'of Athanasius, from Epiphanius, and Cyril of Jerusalem; 'according to whom the books above named were not canoni- 'cal. The word 'canonical' therefore may be supposed to be 'used here loosely, so as to comprehend not only those

duo. Novi autem Testamenti: Evangeliorum libri quatuor, Actuum Apostolorum liber unus, Pauli apostoli epistolæ tredecim ejusdem ad Hebræos una, Petri apostoli duæ, Joannis apostoli tres, Judæ apostoli una, et Jacobi una, Apocalypsis Joannis liber unus. Can. 47. Ap. Labb. ibid. p. 1177.

[d] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 472. &c. Pagi ann. 419. n. xxiv.

[e] Ap. Bevereg. Cod. Can. T. i. p. 549. Hod. de Bibl. Text. Orig. p. 652. Col. 53. Labb. ubi supr. p. 1062.

[f] Vid. S. Basnag. ann. 397. n. ix. Ja. Basnag. Hist. de l'Eglise, l. viii. ch. 83. n. iv. v.

[g] Quibus Carthaginenses inserunt Tobiam, Judith, Maccabæorum libros duos. Quod decretum vel antiquitati pugnat, vel, quod verius esse putamus, distinctione est aliquâ explicandum. De libris canonicis quænam veterum opinio fuit, abunde testantur Melito ap. Eusebium, l. iv. c. 26. Epistola Festalis Athanasii, Epiphanius de Pond. et Mensuris, Cyrillus.—Itaque distinctione opus est, ut cum Antiquitate Carthaginenses ineant concordiam: nempe, vox 'canonica' latius patet, et libros significat, non qui certam, fixamque morum fideique regulam constituunt, sed qui ædificandæ plebi leguntur in ecclesiâ, &c. Basn. ann. 397. n. ix.

'books which are admitted as the rule of faith, but those 'also which are esteemed useful, and may be publicly read 'for the edification of the people.' (4.) This council mentions but two books only of Ezra, meaning, I suppose, the book of Ezra, properly so called, and the book of Nehemiah. They say nothing of the other two, sometimes called the third and fourth books of Ezra: it is the same in the other council of Carthage, before referred to. There is not any notice taken of these two books. (5.) This council's canon of the New Testament is the same as that now received, without any other later writings as canonical. But the manner in which the epistle to the Hebrews is mentioned affords some reason to suspect it was not so generally received as the other thirteen epistles of Paul.

5. I add nothing farther: as it will be needful to show largely the testimony of Augustine to the scriptures, who was one of the principal bishops present at this council; it is likely that all necessary remarks may then offer themselves to our minds.

CHAP. CXVII.

AUGUSTINE, BISHOP OF HIPPO REGIUS IN AFRICA.

I. *His time, and character.* II. *A catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament, with remarks.* III. *Books of the Old Testament received by him.* IV. *Apocryphal books cited by him.* V. *Books of the New Testament received by him, particularly the four gospels.* VI. *The Acts of the Apostles.* VII. *St. Paul's epistles.* VIII. *The catholic epistles.* IX. *The Revelation.* X. *General titles and divisions of the books of scripture.* XI. *Respect for them and their high authority.* XII. *Were publicly read in the assemblies of christians.* XIII. *The integrity of the scriptures.* XIV. *Various readings.* XV. *Versions of the scriptures.* XVI. *Interpretations of texts.* XVII. *Select passages.* 1. *Concerning the scriptures.* 2. *The truth of the christian religion.* 3. *The sub-*

sistence and dispersion of the Jewish people. 4. *The ends of Christ's ministry and death.* 5. *Divers other matters.*

I. AURELIUS AUGUSTINUS,[a] or St. AUGUSTINE, son of Patricius and Monnica, was born at Tagasta, a small town of Africa, in the inland part of Numidia, in the year 354. He was ordained presbyter at Hippo Regius, a sea-port in the same country, about a hundred miles distant from Cirta the metropolis of Numidia, and more than two hundred miles from Carthage, in the year 391; and bishop of the same city in 395: he died in the year 430, in the thirty-fifth year of his episcopate, and the seventy-sixth of his age. I formerly[b] took some notice of the time, history, and character of Augustine.

As I have not room for the history of Augustine, it is not easy to attempt his character. It is likely that many may be led to make a comparison between him and Jerom, both eminent Latin writers, and contemporaries. Such[c] a comparison may be seen in Erasmus, who prefers Jerom in several respects: he says, 'he had a better education, and 'better masters; he understood both Greek and Hebrew; 'he applied himself early to the study of the scriptures, 'and had read the Greek commentators, of whom Augustine 'had little knowledge.' Nevertheless, I think, that though Jerom was superior in learning, Augustine was not inferior to him in good sense; and, in points that depended upon reasoning, he was as able to form a right judgment, as Jerom. As much is acknowledged by[d] Le Clerc, who

[a] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 290, &c. Du Pin, Bib. Ec. T. iii. p. 158, &c. Augustin. Vit. a Benedictin. conscript. Pagi ann. A. 395. xvii. 430. n. xxviii. S. Basn. ann. 384. n. vi. 430. n. iv. et alibi. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. xiii.

[b] See vol. iii. p. 277, 278.

[c] Nemo negabit, plurimum esse momenti situm in patriâ et educatione. Hieronymus Stridone natus; quod oppidum sic Italiæ vicinum est, ut Itali sibi vindicent; Romæ educatus, in Italiâ, sub eruditissimis viris. Augustinus in Africâ, regione barbarâ, in quâ studia literarum mire frigebant; quod ipse non dissimulat in suis epistolis Augustinus. Hieronymus, christianus a christianis, una cum ipso lacte Christi philosophiam imbibit. Augustinus, pene triginti natus annos, nullo præceptore, Paulinas epistolas legere cœpit. Hieronymus, tali ingenio præditus, triginta quinque annos impendit studio sanctarum scripturarum. Augustinus statim ad episcopale munus pertractus est, et coactus docere quod ipse nondum didicerat———Jam fac, si libet, patriæ, ingeniorum, præceptorum, educationis, pares esse calculos: expendamus, quanto instructior Hieronymus ad hoc negotium accesserit. Nisi forte leve momentum esse putas Græcarum et Hebraïcarum literarum peritiam. Tota philosophia, tota theologia tum temporis Græcorum erat. Augustinus Græce nescit, aut, si quid attigit, non magnopere fuit usui, ad Græcorum commentarios evolvendos———Quid aliis usu veniat, nescio. In me certe comperio, quod dicam: Plus me docet christianæ philosophiæ unica Origenis pagina, quam decem Augustini. Ad Joan. Eck. lib. ii. ep. 26.

[d] Cæteroqui, cum in iis, quæ ex merâ ratiocinatione pendent, Hieronymo

cannot be suspected of partiality to Augustine. Erasmus[e] likewise ascribes to Augustine great acuteness, joined with amiable mildness of temper.

What acquaintance Augustine had with the Greek language, may be best known from his own works. In his Confessions he speaks of his aversion to Greek learning in his early age. One[f] reason of it seems to have been the compulsion made use of in teaching him: however, as his friends were very desirous to make him a good scholar, it may be reckoned probable, that they in part prevailed over his indolence, or obstinacy, to which soever that aversion was owing. In one of his works he says, he[g] had little or no knowledge of Greek; and yet shows at the same time, that he was not ignorant of it. And perhaps that expression is not so much his own acknowledgment, as a condescension to his adversary, who had too low an opinion of his skill in the Greek language: as if he had said; 'Be it so, that I have little or no knowledge of Greek; nevertheless, I may say, without vanity, that I understand very well the meaning of the Greek word in question.' In the preface to one of his books of the Trinity, he says, that[h] he was not so well skilled in the Greek language, as to read and understand the Greek authors, who had treated of that doctrine. In[i] a letter to Jerom he entreats him in his own name, and

inferior non esset Augustinus; in eo literarum ejus capite, quod spectat factum Pauli, sine dubio meliorem partem defendit. Quod libenter hic observamus, ne Hieronymo præter meritum favere, vel Augustino æquo facilius adversari videamur. Pherep. in Aug. ep. 28. T. xii.

[e] Ingenii felicitas prorsus erat incomparabilis, sive spectes acumen, vel obscurissima facile penetrans, sive capacis memoriæ fidem, sive vim quandam mentis indefatigabilem.—Ad docendum semper erat paratus, non aliter quam avidus negotiator ad lucrum. Aderat interim, miranda quædam animi lenitas,—quam Plato putat non ita frequenter deprehendi in his, quibus contigit acrius ingenium. Erasm. Ep. ad Alfons. Archiep. Toletan. Vid. præf. ad Augustin. opp.

[f] Cur ergo Græcam etiam grammaticam oderam talia cantantem?—Videlicet difficultas omnino ediscendæ peregrinæ linguæ quasi felle asperegebat omnes suavitates Græcas fabulosarum narrationum. Nulla enim verba illa noveram, et sævis terroribus ac pœnis, ut nôssem, instabatur mihi vehementer. Conf. l. i. c. 14. Vid. et cap. 13. T. i.

[g] Et ego quidem Græcæ linguæ perparum assecutus sum, et prope nihil. Non tamen impudenter dico, me nôsse ὁλον non esse *unum* sed *totum:* et καθ' ὁλον, *secundum totum.* Unde catholica nomen accipit. Contr. Petil. l. ii. c. 38. T. ix.

[h] Quod si ea, quæ legimus de his rebus, sufficienter edita in Latino sermone aut non sunt, aut non inveniuntur, aut certe difficile a nobis inveniri queunt, Græcæ autem linguæ non sit nobis tantus habitus, ut talium rerum libris legendis et intelligendis ullo modo reperiamur idonei, quo genere literarum ex iis quæ nobis pauca interpretata sunt, non dubito cuncta quæ utiliter quærere possumus contineri. De Trinit. l. iii. Pr. T. viii.

[i] Petimus ergo, et nobiscum petit omnis Africanarum ecclesiarum studiosa

in the name of all studious christians of Africa in general, to translate the best Greek commentaries upon the scriptures into Latin: nevertheless we find him elsewhere[k] giving a literal translation of a passage of St. Basil. He often speaks of Epiphanius: it is undoubted, that[l] he was well acquainted with his work against heresies; that is, the Synopsis, or Recapitulation of it. Tillemont says, he[m] had read it, though it had not been translated into Latin. I place below[n] a passage, which shows that Augustine read his Greek Testament, or at least was wont to consult it, when he had any doubt about the propriety of the Latin translation then in use: and I shall transcribe below[o] some more passages, from which it may be argued, that Augustine frequently compared his copies of the Latin version with those of the Greek original. Mr. Le Clerc allows that[p] Augustine does sometimes very happily explain Greek words. But he suspects that possibly upon such occasions he had the assistance of another; which seems to me a suspicion without ground: for who was there in Africa more likely to understand Greek than Augustine? And if he had any friends in his own country more skilful in Greek than himself, he needed not to have sent the request above mentioned to Jerom, to translate the Greek commen-

societas, ut in interpretandis eorum libris, qui Græce scripturas nostras quam optime tractaverunt, curam atque operam impendere non graveris. Ep. 65. [al. 86.] Ap. Hieron. T. iv. p. 601.

[k] Audi, quod ad rem præsentem spectat, quid—dicat sanctus sine ullâ ambiguitate Basilius. Quod etsi reperi interpretatum, tamen propter diligentiorem veri fidem, verbum e verbo malui transferre———Contr. Julian. l. i. c. 5. n. xviii. T. x.

[l] Vid. August. de Hær. in Pr. et cap. 57. T. viii. Vid. et Ep. 222. T. ii.

[m] Il avoit lu S. Epiphane, au moins l' abrégé, quoiqu'il ne fût pas traduit en Latin. S. Aug. art. iii. T. iii. Mem. Ec.

[n] Quod itaque dicimus Deo, 'ne nos inferas in tentationem:' quid dicimus nisi, ne nos inferri sinas. Unde sic orant nonnulli, et legitur in codicibus pluribus, et hoc sic posuit beatissimus Cyprianus: 'Ne patiaris nos induci in tentationem.' In evangelio tamen Græco nusquam inveni, nisi: 'Ne nos inferas 'in tentationem.' De Dono Perseverantiæ, Cap. 6. n. xii. T. x.

[o] Scio plerosque codices habere, 'Qui spiritu Deo servimus.' [Philip. iii. 3.] Quantum autem inspicere potuimus, plures Græci hoc habent, 'Qui spiritui Dei servimus.' Serm. 169. al. De Verb. Ap. 15. T. v.—'Spiritui Dei servientes,' quod est in Græco λατρευοντες. Plures enim codices etiam Latini sic habent, 'qui Spiritui Dei servimus:' Græci autem omnes, aut pene omnes, &c. De Trin. l. i. c. 6. n. xiii. T. viii.

[p] Est in Græco Matthæi contextu γεννηθεν 'generatum.' Quod obiter monitum oportuit ab Augustino. Sed forte neminem habebat ad manum, qui Græce sciret, cum hanc conscriberet epistolam. Alioquin interdum non male ex Græcâ linguâ quæstionibus respondet, ut infra, ep. cxcvii. ubi docet quodnam sit discrimen inter voces καιροι et χρονοι. Pherepon. Animadv. in Aug. Ep. clxxxvii. T. xii. p. 522.

tators for their use. Upon the whole, it seems to me, that Augustine understood Greek better than some have supposed: and I have enlarged the more because of Mr. Wetstein's brevity; to whom I might refer. But it requires no great pains to transcribe all he says: I therefore put it[q] below. I wish Mr. Wetstein had quoted the whole passage of Augustine; of which he has taken a part only, and thereby left his readers without an opportunity of forming a right judgment, unless they turn to the work itself.

II. I now proceed without farther delay to take Augustine's testimony to the scriptures.

I begin with citing a passage from a work of Augustine, entitled, Of the Christian Doctrine, supposed to have been begun by him about the year 397, and to have been finished in 426. To be a little more particular concerning a work, which we shall have occasion to quote several times: it consists of four books; and it appears, from Augustine's Retractations, that the first two books, and a large part of the third, were written about 397; the remaining part of the third, and the whole fourth book, were composed afterwards, about[r] 426. The passage to be now cited, is in the second book of that work.

'In[s] receiving canonical scriptures, let him who desires carefully to study them, follow the judgment of the greater number of catholic churches; among which they certainly ought to be reckoned, which are apostolical sees, and have had letters of apostles sent to them. This rule therefore he will observe, with regard to canonical scriptures; he will prefer such as are received by all catholic churches, to those which some do not receive; and with regard to such as are not received by all, he will prefer those, which are received by many and eminent churches, to those which are received by few churches, and of less authority. But if he should find some received by the greatest number

[q] Augustinus: cujus de se ipso testimonium, lib. ii. c. 33. l. 38. contra Petilianum hoc est. Et ego quidem Græcæ Linguæ perparum assecutus sum, et prope nihil. Prolegom. ad N. T. G. T. i. p. 81.

[r] The additional part begins with the words: Hujus igitur varietatis observatio duas habet formas. L. iii. cap. 24. n. xxxvi.

[s] In canonicis autem scripturis ecclesiarum catholicarum quam plurimum auctoritatem sequatur: ['divinarum scripturarum solertissimus indagator:'] inter quas sane illæ sunt, quæ apostolicas sedes habere, et epistolas accipere meruerunt. Tenebit igitur hunc modum in scripturis canonicis, ut eas, quæ ab omnibus accipiuntur ecclesiis catholicis, præponat eis quas quædam non accipiunt. In eis vero, quæ non accipiuntur ab omnibus, præponat eas, quas plures gravioresque accipiunt, eis, quas pauciores minorisve auctoritatis ecclesiæ tenent. Si autem alias invenerit a pluribus, alias a gravioribus haberi, quanquam hoc facile invenire non possit, æqualis tamen auctoritatis eas habendas

of churches, others by the more eminent; (which however will scarce happen;) I think such scriptures ought to be held by him as of equal authority.

'And the entire canon of scripture is comprised in these books. There are five of Moses, that is, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; one book of Joshua, the son of Nun; one of the Judges; one small book called Ruth, which seems rather to belong to the beginning of the Kingdoms: then the four books of the Kingdoms, and two of the Remains; not following one another, but proceeding as it were parallel, on the side of each other. These are historical books, which contain a succession of times in the order of events. There are others which do not observe the order of time, and are unconnected together: as Job, Tobit, Esther, and Judith, and the two books of the Maccabees, and the two books of Esdras; which [last] do more observe the order of a regular succession of things, after that contained in the Kingdoms and Remains. Next are the Prophets; among which is one book of the Psalms of David, and three of Solomon, the Proverbs, the Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes. For those two books, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, are called Solomon's, for no other reason but because they have a resemblance with his writings; for it is a very general opinion, that they were written by Jesus, the son of Sirach: which books, however, since they are admitted into authority, are to be reckoned among prophetical books. The rest are the books of those who are properly called prophets; as the several books of the twelve prophets, which being joined together, and never separated, are reckoned one book. The names of which prophets are these; Hosea,

puto.—Totus autem canon scripturarum, in quo istam considerationem versandam dicimus, his libris continetur: quinque Moseos, id est, Genesi, Exodo, Levitico, Numeris, Deuteronomio: et uno libro Jesu Nave, uno Judicum, uno libello qui appellatur Ruth, qui magis ad Regnorum principium videtur pertinere: deinde quatuor Regnorum, et duobus Paralipomenôn non consequentibus, sed quasi a latere adjunctis, simulque pergentibus. Hæc est historia, quæ sibimet annexa tempora continet, atque ordinem rerum. Sunt aliæ, tanquam ex diverso ordine, quæ neque huic ordini neque inter se connectuntur: sicut est Job, et Tobias, et Esther, et Judith, et Macchabæorum libri duo, et Esdræ duo, qui magis subsequi videntur ordinatam illam historiam usque ad Regnorum et Paralipomenôn terminatam. . Deinde Prophetæ: in quibus David unus liber Psalmorum, et Salomonis tres, Proverbiorum, Cantica Canticorum, et Ecclesiastes. Nam illi duo libri, unus qui Sapientia, et alius qui Ecclesiasticus inscribitur, de quâdam similitudine Salomonis dicuntur: nam Jesus Sirach eos conscripsisse constantissime perhibetur: qui tamen quoniam in auctoritatem recipi meruerunt, inter propheticos numerandi sunt. Reliqui sunt eorum libri, qui proprie prophetæ appellantur: duodecim prophetarum libri singuli, quoniam nunquam sejuncti sunt, pro uno habentur. Quorum prophetarum nomina sunt hæc—Deinde quatuor prophetæ sunt majorum voluminum—

Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi. After them are the four prophets, of larger volumes; Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel. In these four-and-forty books is comprised all the authority of the Old Testament. Of the New, there are the four books of the gospel, according to Matthew, according to Mark, according to Luke, according to John; fourteen epistles of the apostle Paul; to the Romans, two to the Corinthians, to the Galatians, to the Ephesians, to the Philippians, two to the Thessalonians, to the Colossians, two to Timothy, to Titus, to Philemon, to the Hebrews; two epistles of Peter, three of John, one of Jude, and one of James; the Acts of the Apostles in one book: and the Revelation of John in one book. In these books they who fear God seek his will.'

Upon this passage we may make a few remarks;

1. There was not then any canon of scripture, settled by any authority, that was universally acknowledged by christians: this, I think, is apparent from Augustine's preamble to his account of the books contained in the canon. There might be decrees of councils relating to this matter; but they were not esteemed decisive and of authority, every where, and by all. But still private and inquisitive christians had a right to use their own judgment concerning this point.

2. In his Retractations, written in 426 or 427, Augustine, revising his books of christian doctrine, says, 'he[t] had understood, that it was probable, the book called by many the Wisdom of Solomon, was not written by Jesus, son of Sirach, author of the book of Ecclesiasticus.'

3. Augustine says, 'that Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus ought to be reckoned among prophetical books, because they had been received into authority.' But there is no force in that observation; the right observation, in such a case as this, is; 'Since they were not written by prophets, they ought not to be received into authority:' and it is generally, or universally allowed, and by Augustine himself, that no writings, but those of prophets, ought to be esteemed a part of the sacred scriptures of the Old Testament. And, I sup-

His quadraginta quatuor libris Testamenti Veteris terminatur auctoritas. Novi autem, quatuor libris evangelii—In his omnibus libris timentes Deum, et pietati mansueti, quærunt voluntatem Dei—De Doctr. Christ. l. ii. cap. 8. n. 12, 13, 14. Tom. iii. P. i. Bened.

[t] In secundo sane libro de auctore libri, quam plures vocant Sapientiam Salomonis, quod etiam ipsum sicut Ecclesiasticum Jesus Sirach scripserit, non ita constare, sicut a me dictum est, postea didici: et omnino probabilius comperi, non esse hunc hujus libri auctorem. Retr. l. ii. c. 4.

pose, it must have appeared from the works of ancient christian writers, which we have hitherto examined, that though they sometimes quote other books by way of illustration, as they also do heathen writings, yet they had a supreme regard for the Jewish canon, or those books which were received by the Jewish people, as sacred and divine. I think likewise, that Rufinus and Jerom, who were a little older than Augustine, must be allowed to bear a right testimony, and to declare truly what was the sentiment of most christian churches, when they say, 'that[u] the Wisdom of Solomon, 'Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, Judith, and the Maccabees were 'indeed allowed to be publicly read; but that nevertheless 'they were not canonical, and that no doctrine of religion 'may be proved by their authority.'

4. None can forbear to observe, how clean a catalogue here is of the books of the New Testament. Here is no Shepherd, no Clement, no Constitutions, no Ignatius, no 'Doctrine of Apostles,' no 'Judgment of Peter,' no 'Preaching of Peter,' no 'Sibylline Oracles,' nor any other ecclesiastical or apocryphal writing. Nothing of that kind is here mentioned among books of authority; but only the well known writings of apostles and apostolical men.

5. These general observations upon that passage may suffice for the present. I now proceed to take more particularly his testimony to the scriptures; first to the books of the Old, and then of the New Testament.

III. 1. Augustine says, 'that[v] in all the time after their return from Babylon, till the days of our Saviour, the Jews had no prophets after Malachi, Haggai, and Zechariah, who prophesied at that time, and Ezra; except another Zachariah, father of John, and his wife Elisabeth, just before the birth of Christ; and after his birth old Simeon, and Anna, a widow of a great age; and John last of all. But the prophecy of these five, which is known from the gospel only, is not received by them; and Malachi, Haggai, Zechariah, and Ezra, are the last which are received into the canon by the unbelieving Jews.'

[u] See vol. iii. p. 54. See this vol. p. 421, 484.

[v] Toto autem illo tempore, ex quo redierunt de Babyloniâ, post Malachiam, Aggæum, et Zachariam, qui tunc prophetaverunt, et Esdram, non habuerunt prophetas, usque ad Salvatoris adventum, nisi alium Zachariam, patrem Joannis, et Elisabet ejus uxorem, Christi nativitate jam proximâ: et, eo jam nato, Simeonem senem, et Annam viduam, jamque grandævam——Sed istorum quinque prophetatio ex evangelio nobis nota est——Sed hanc istorum prophetiam Judæi non recipiunt——Malachiam vero, Aggæum, Zachariam, et Esdram etiam, Judæi reprobi in auctoritatem canonicam receptos novissimos habent. De Civ. Dei, l. xvii. cap. 24.

If that be so, which I think is universally acknowledged, they ought likewise to be the last Jewish sacred scriptures which are received by christians; for to them, in ancient times, were committed the oracles of God; and they only could determine what writings should be received as sacred.

2. I shall add some other passages, where[w] Augustine owns, that the Jews had no prophets after their settlement in Judea, upon their return from the Babylonish captivity; for which[x] reason, as he also observes, the books of the Maccabees were not received in the Jewish canon; those books containing the history of things in later times.

3. Again: 'From[y] Samuel the prophet to the Babylonish captivity, and then to their return from it, and the rebuilding the temple, after seventy years, according to the prophecy of Jeremiah, is the whole time of the prophets.'

4. Some christians alleged the Sibylline poems as prophetical of Christ. 'But, says[z] Augustine, it is much better to insist only upon the prophecies of the Old Testament, which the Jews our enemies receive; they are now dispersed all over the earth; and they bear witness, that the prophecies concerning Christ, therein contained, have not been forged by us.'

5. Again, to the like purpose: 'It[a] must be most pru-

[w] ———usque ad hoc tempus prophetas habuit populus Israël: qui cum multi fuerint, paucorum et apud Judæos, et apud nos, canonica scripta retinentur. De Civ. Dei, l. xviii. c. 26.

[x] Post hos tres prophetas, Aggæum, Zachariam, Malachiam, per idem tempus liberationis populi ex Babylonicâ servitute, scripsit etiam Esdras, qui magis rerum gestarum scriptor est, quam propheta: sicubi est et liber, qui appellatur Esther; cujus res gesta in laudem Dei non longe ab his temporibus invenitur ——Ab hoc tempore apud Judæos restituto templo, non reges, sed principes fuerunt——quorum supputatio temporum non in scripturis sanctis, quæ canonicæ appellantur, sed in aliis inveniuntur. In quibus sunt et Maccabæorum libri, quos non Judæi, sed ecclesia pro canonicis habet, propter quorundam martyrum passiones vehementes atque mirabiles.—De Civ. Dei, l. xviii. c. 36.

[y] Hoc itaque tempus, ex quo sanctus Samuel prophetare cœpit, et deinceps, donec populus Israël captivus in Babyloniam duceretur, atque inde secundum sancti Jeremiæ, prophetiam post septuaginta annos reversis Israëlitis Dei domus instauraretur, totum tempus est prophetarum. De Civ. Dei, l. xvii. c. 1.

[z] Judæi autem, qui eum occiderunt, et in eum credere noluerunt,——— eradicati, dispersique per terras, per scripturas testimonio sunt, prophetas nos non finxisse de Christo———Nobis quidem illæ sufficiunt, quæ de nostrorum inimicorum codicibus proferuntur. De Civ. Dei, l. xviii. c. 46.

[a] Sed quæcumque aliorum prophetiæ de Dei per Christum gratiâ proferuntur, possunt putari a christianis esse confictæ. Ideo nihil est firmius ad convincendos quoslibet alienos, si de hac re contenderint, nostrosque faciendos, si recte sapuerint, quam ut divina prædicta de Christo proferantur, quæ in Judæorum scripta sunt codicibus; quibus avulsis de sedibus propriis, et propter hoc testimonium toto orbe dispersis, Christi usquequaque crevit ecclesia. De Civ. Dei, l. xviii. c. 47.

dent for us, to argue from those writings which are received by the Jews. None can suspect, that they have been forged by us; whereas it may be pretended, that other predictions relating to the evangelical dispensation have been forged by us.'

6. Augustine has several times owned, that[b] there are but three books of Solomon really his; the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles; and that the Jews have no more of his writings in their canon. He observes likewise, that, on account of some resemblance of style and design, the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus have been by some esteemed Solomon's; but the learned are satisfied they are not his. He also owns, that those two books were chiefly respected by the christians who lived in the western part of the world.

7. Augustine owns particularly, that[c] the book of Judith was not in the Jewish canon.

8. Undoubtedly there are in Augustine many quotations of those books of the Old Testament, which we now generally call apocryphal; as Wisdom, Tobit, Ecclesiasticus, and the Maccabees; but then he frequently uses some expressions which show they were not esteemed the books of the prophets, or of equal authority with the books of the Jewish canon.

9. Having quoted the book of Ecclesiasticus, he adds: 'But[d] if this be disputed, because that book is not in the Jewish canon; what shall we say to somewhat else found in Deuteronomy?' Which shows, that the book of Ecclesiasticus was not of unquestioned authority, or sufficient to decide a point in dispute.

[b] Prophetâsse etiam ipse [Salomo] reperitur in suis libris, qui tres recepti sunt in auctoritatem canonicam, Proverbia, Ecclesiastes, et Canticum Canticorum. Alii vero duo, quorum unus Sapientia, alter Ecclesiasticus dicitur, propter eloquii similitudinem, ut Salomonis dicantur, obtinuit consuetudo: non autem esse ipsius, non dubitant doctiores. Eos tamen in auctoritatem maxime occidentalis antiquitus recepit ecclesia: quorum in uno, qui appellatur Sapientia Salomonis, passio Christi apertissime prophetatur. Impii quippe interfectores ejus commemorantur dicentes, Circumveniamus justum.—[Sap. ii. 12—20.] Et in Ecclesiastico autem fides gentium futura prædicitur isto modo: 'Miserere nostri, dominator Deus omnium.'—[Eccles. xxxvi. 1. 5.] Sed adversus contradictores non tantâ firmitate proferuntur, quæ scripta non sunt in canone Judæorum. In tribus vero illis, quos Salomonis esse constat, et Judæi canonicos habent, &c. De Civ. Dei, l. xvii. cap. 20.

[c] Per idem tempus [Darii] etiam illa sunt gesta, quæ conscripta sunt in libro Judith; quem sane in canone scripturarum Judæi non recepisse dicuntur. De Civ. Dei, l. xviii. c. 26.

[d] Sed hi huic libro, ex Hebræorum (quia in eorum non est) canone, contradicitur; quid de Möyse dicturi sumus———? De Curâ pro Mortuis, cap. xv. T. vi.

10. In his Retractations he owns his mistake in[e] quoting the book of Ecclesiasticus as prophetical; when it was not certain that it was written by a prophet.

11. In another place of the same work he says of somewhat, which he had formerly advanced, that[f] he had not any proof of it, but from the book of Wisdom, which the Jews did not receive as of canonical authority.

12. In another work, written about the year 420, he says, 'The[g] Jews do not receive the scripture of the Maccabees as they do the law, and the Prophets, and the Psalms, to which our Lord bears testimony. [Luke xxiv. 44.]—But it is received by the church not unprofitably, if it be read and heard soberly, especially for the sake of the history of the Maccabees, who suffered so much from the hand of persecutors for the sake of the law of God.' So that in the end Augustine I think differs not from Jerom and Rufinus: but is of the same opinion with them; that these books are received as useful, but not as of authority, so that any doctrine may be proved by them.

IV. I shall now observe a passage or two relating to books, which by all christians in general are allowed to be apocryphal.

1. He quotes Numb. xxi. 13, 14,—"Wherefore it is said in the book Of the wars of the Lord:" and then says, 'that[h] from such expressions in canonical books of scripture, men have taken occasion to forge books, called apocryphal.'

2. In his books Of the City of God, Augustine has[i] a long

[e] Item videor non recte appellâsse verba prophetica———quia non in ejus libro legitur, quem certi sumus appellandum esse prophetam. Retr. l. i. cap. 20.

[f] In primo autem quod de mannâ dixi.—Non mihi occurrit, unde possit probari, nisi ex libro Sapientiæ, quem Judæi non recipiunt in auctoritatem canonicam. Retr. l. ii. cap. 20.

[g] Et hanc scripturam, quæ appellatur Macchabæorum, non habent Judæi, sicut Legem et Prophetas et Psalmos, quibus Dominus testimonium perhibet—Sed recepta est ab ecclesiâ non inutiliter, si sobrie legatur et audiatur, maxime propter illos Macchabæos, qui pro Dei lege, sicut veri martyres, a persecutoribus tam indigna atque horrenda perpessi sunt, &c. Contr. Gaudent. Denat. l. i. cap. 31. n. 38. T. ix.

[h] —In quo libro scriptum sit, non commemorant, neque ullus est in his, quos divinæ scripturæ canonicos appellamus. De talibus occasiones reperiunt, qui libros apocryphos incautorum auribus et curiosorum conantur inserere ad persuadendas fabulosas impietates, &c. Qu. in Numb. 42. libr. iv. T. iii.

[i] Omittamus igitur earum scripturarum fabulas, quæ apocryphæ nuncupantur, eo quod earum occulta origo non claruit patribus, a quibus usque ad nos auctoritas veracium scripturarum certissimâ et notissimâ successione pervenit—Scripsisse quidem nonnulla divina Enoch illum septimum ab Adam, negare non possumus, cum hoc in epistolâ canonicâ Judas apostolus dicat. Sed non frustra non sunt in eo canone scripturarum, qui servabatur in templo Hebræi populi succedentium diligentiâ sacerdotum—Unde illa, quæ sub ejus nomine

observation upon fabulous apocryphal books of the Old and the New Testament, of which he speaks with contempt: he says, they are called 'apocryphal,' because their real original is secret or uncertain. He thinks that Enoch must have written something, because he is quoted by the apostle Jude: but what goes under his name has been justly reckoned not to be his; as have also other writings ascribed to other prophets, and since to the apostles. All which, upon careful examination, were rejected from being a part of canonical scripture, and are called apocryphal.

V. That Augustine received our four gospels, and them only, is apparent from the passage alleged at the beginning of this chapter; nevertheless it is very fit for us to take notice of several things concerning them, which are to be found in his writings.

1. In one of his sermons he says, 'There[k] are four evangelists, Matthew, John, Mark, and Luke. Of these Matthew and John were of the number of the twelve apostles. Mark and Luke were not apostles, but only companions of apostles: and he thinks, there was a fitness in this, that the history of Christ should be so written.'

2. He says there[l] are four gospels, because the world consists of four parts, and the whole world was called in the gospel.

3. In[m] the Old Testament the five books of Moses have the highest authority; in the New Testament the four gospels.

4. In another place he seems to say, that[n] the book of the gospels is the most excellent part of all the divine scriptures.

5. In one of the sermons upon John xx. 'To[o] day has

proferuntur—recte a prudentibus judicantur non ipsius esse credenda; sicut multa sub nominibus et aliorum prophetarum, et recentiora sub nominibus apostolorum ab hæreticis proferuntur, quæ omnia nomine apocryphorum ab auctoritate canonicâ, diligenti examinatione remota sunt. De Civ. Dei, l. xv. cap. 23. T. vii.

[k] Nam cum sint quatuor evangelistæ Matthæus, Johannes, Marcus, Lucas, duo sunt ex illis duodecim apostolis, id est, Matthæus et Johannes.—Marcus, et Lucas apostolorum non pares, sed suppares fuerunt. Ideo namque voluit Spiritus Sanctus etiam ex his qui inter duodecim non fuerunt, eligere ad evangelium conscribendum duos, ne putaretur gratia evangelii usque ad apostolos pervenisse, et in illis fontem gratiæ defecisse. Serm. 239. n. 1. T. v.

[l] Quia enim quatuor sunt orbis partes, et totus orbis in evangelio vocabatur, unde quatuor evangelia conscripta sunt. In Ps. ciii. Enarr. Serm. 3. n. 2. T. iv.

[m] Vetus Testamentum in quinque libris Möysis excellit. Novum autem quatuor evangeliorum auctoritate præfulget. De Peccator. Merit. &c. l. ii. cap. 35. T. x.

[n] Inter omnes divinas auctoritates, quæ sanctis literis continentur, evangelium merito excellit. De Consens. Evang. l. i. in.

[o] Et hodie resurrectio Domini recitata est de sancto evangelio. Lectum est

been read the account of our Saviour's resurrection in John; and in that, we have heard what was omitted in the other gospels. It is all one history of the truth; they all drink from the same fountain: but, as we have often observed to you, my brethren, some things are related by all, some by three, some by two, some by one only.'

6. At the beginning of another sermon: 'At[p] this season, according to custom, are read the accounts of our Lord's resurrection. None of the evangelists could omit to give the history of his passion and resurrection: and though there are some differences in their accounts, they are not contrary to each other. Our Lord's acts are very numerous, and could not be all related. Some therefore are related by one, some by another; but all with complete harmony, agreeably to the truth. Those things were done, which were proper to be done then: so many were written, as are proper to be read now.'

7. In his books Of the City of God he says: 'For[q] proving his divine authority, Christ wrought many miracles; some of which are recorded in the evangelical scripture, even so many as were judged sufficient to attest his authority to the world. The first of which is, that he was so wonderfully born; the last, that he ascended up to heaven, with his body raised from the dead.'

8. Augustine's introduction to his four books of the Consent of the Evangelists, written about the year 400, is very observable. I have not room for it all; and therefore refer my readers to it; however, I will transcribe a good part of it.

'The[r] first preachers of the gospel, he says, were the

autem evangelium secundum Johannem. Audivimus quæ in aliis libris evangelii non audieramus. Omnibus quidem communis est prædicatio veritatis, et de uno fonte omnes biberunt. Sed in prædicatione evangelii, sicut sæpe commonui Caritatem Vestram, alia omnes, alia tres, alia duo, alia singuli posuerunt. Serm. 245. in. T. v.

[p] Per hos dies—solemniter leguntur evangelicæ lectiones, ad resurrectionem Domini pertinentes. Omnes enim evangelistæ quatuor neque de passione, neque de resurrectione ejus tacere potuerunt. Nam quia multa fecit Dominus Jesus, non omnes omnia conscripserunt: Sed alius ista, alius illa: summa tamen concordia veritatis. Multa etiam commemorat Johannes evangelista facta esse a Domino—quæ a nullo eorum conscripta sunt. Tanta facta sunt, quanta tunc fieri debuerunt: tanta scripta sunt, quanta nunc legi debuerunt. Serm. 240. in.

[q] Qui, ut in se commendaret Deum, miracula multa fecit; ex quibus quædam, quantum ad eum prædicandum satis esse visum est, scriptura evangelica continet. Quorum primum est, quod tam mirabiliter natus est. Ultimum autem, quod cum suo resuscitato a mortuis corpore adscendit in cœlum. De C. D. l. xviii. c. 46. T. vii.

[r] Cujus primi prædicatores apostoli fuerunt, qui Dominum ipsum et Salvatorem nostrum Jesum Christum etiam præsentem in carne viderunt. Qui non

apostles, who had conversed with the Lord; who have related to the world not only what they themselves saw him do, or heard him say; but likewise divers other things, which happened before they were called to follow him, concerning his nativity, infancy, and youth; which things they might know from himself, or from his parents, or his friends and acquaintance, who were to be depended upon: and two of the evangelists were apostles, Matthew and John. Nevertheless it was wisely ordained by Divine Providence, that not only apostles, but some others besides should not only preach the Lord Jesus, but likewise write gospels: these are Mark and Luke, who were disciples of apostles. And though others may have attempted to write, or have actually published, histories of the actions of Christ, and his apostles, their writings have not been received.

'These four evangelists, therefore, are well known all over the world; and perhaps they are four, because there are so many parts of the world, in the whole of which extent the church of Christ was to be planted. They are said to have written in this order; first Matthew, next Mark, then Luke, and last of all John.

'Of these four, Matthew only is said to have written in Hebrew; the rest in Greek: and though all have an order of narration peculiar to themselves, they do not write as if

solum ea, quæ ex ore ejus audita, vel ab illo sub oculis suis operata, dicta, et facta meminerant: verum etiam quæ, prius quam illi per discipulatum adhæserant, in ejus nativitate, vel infantiâ, vel pueritiâ, divinitus gesta et digna memoriâ, sive ab ipso, sive a parentibus ejus, sive a quibushibet aliis, certissimis indiciis et fidelissimis testimoniis requirere et cognoscere potuerunt, imposito sibi evangelizandi munere generi humano annuntiare curârunt. Quorum quidam, hoc est, Matthæus et Johannes, etiam scripta de illo, quæ scribenda visa sunt, libris singulis ediderunt.—Ac, ne putaretur, quod adtinet ad percipiendum et prædicandum evangelium, interesse aliquid, utrum illi annuntient, qui eundem Dominum hic in carne apparentem discipulatu famulante secuti sint, an ii qui ex illis fideliter comperta crediderunt, divinâ providentiâ procuratum est per Spiritum Sanctum, ut quibusdam etiam ex illis, qui primos apostolos sequebantur non solum annuntiandi, verum etiam scribendi evangelium tribueretur auctoritas. Hi sunt Marcus et Lucas. Cæteri autem homines, qui de Domini vel apostolorum actibus aliqua scribere conati vel ausi sunt, non tales suis temporibus exstiterunt, ut eis fidem haberet ecclesia, atque in auctoritatem canonicam sanctorum librorum eorum scripta reciperet———Isti igitur quatuor evangelistæ, universo terrarum orbe notissimi, et ob hoc fortasse quatuor, quoniam quatuor sunt partes orbis terræ, per cujus universitatem Christi ecclesiam dilatari, ipso sui numeri sacramento quodammodo declarârunt. Hoc ordine scripsisse perhibentur. Primum Matthæus, deinde Marcus, tertio Lucas, ultimo Johannes——Horum sane quatuor solus Matthæus Hebræo scripsisse perhibetur eloquio, cæteri Græco. Et quamvis singuli suum quendam narrandi ordinem tenuisse videantur, non tamen unusquisque eorum velut alterius præcedentis ignarus voluisse scribere reperitur, vel ignorata prætermisisse quæ scripsisse alius invenitur: sed, sicut unicuique inspiratum est, non superfluam

they were totally ignorant of each other's labours——Matthew writes of our Lord's nativity, and the history of his life as a man. Mark follows him close as his abridger; for he has nothing which is in John alone: he has very few things peculiar to himself; not many peculiar to Luke; but many things which are in Matthew, and almost in the same words. Luke had no abridger, as Matthew had in Mark.

'Moreover those three evangelists relate those things which were done by Christ here on earth in his human nature. But John speaks of the Lord's divinity, by which he is equal to the Father: therefore he riseth higher than the rest, and seems to ascend to heaven itself, and the throne of God, where he learned what is included in those words: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God."—— And whereas there are four living creatures mentioned in the Revelation, [iv. 7.] which are understood of the evangelists, he thinks it probable, that Matthew is represented by a lion, Mark by a man, Luke by an ox, and John by an eagle.'

Having transcribed so largely that introduction, we will now take notice of some things in it.

(1.) Augustine here says, that of all the four evangelists Matthew only wrote in Hebrew. In another part of the same work, the Consent of the Evangelists, he says: It[s] was reported, that Matthew wrote in the Hebrew language.

(2.) Augustine, in what was above transcribed, gives the preference to John: in another place of the same work he

cooperationem sui laboris adjunxit. Nam Matthæus suscepisse intelligitur incarnationem Domini secundum stirpem regiam, et pleraque secundum hominum vitam facta et dicta ejus. Marcus, eum subsecutus, tanquam pedissequus et breviator ejus videtur. Cum solo Johanne nihil dixit. Solus ipse perpauca: cum solo Lucâ pauciora: cum Matthæo vero plurima; multa pene totidem atque ipsis verbis, sive cum solo, sive cum cæteris consonante. Non autem habuit breviatorem conjunctum Lucas, sicut Marcum Matthæus. Tres autem isti evangelistæ in his rebus maxime diversati sunt, quas Christus per humanam carnem temporaliter gessit. Porro autem Johannes ipsam maxime divinitatem Domini, quâ Patri est æqualis, intendit—Itaque longe a tribus istis superius fertur, ita ut hos videas in terrâ cum Christo homine conversari; illum autem transcendisse nebulam, quâ tegitur omnis terra, et pervenisse ad liquidum cœlum, unde acie mentis acutissimâ atque firmissimâ videret. In principio Verbum apud Deum, per quem facta sunt omnia—Unde et mihi videntur, qui ex apocalypsi illa quatuor animalia ad intelligendos quatuor evangelistas interpretati sunt, probabilius aliquid attendisse illi, qui leonem in Matthæo, hominem in Marco, vitulum in Lucâ, aquilam in Johanne intellexerunt, quam illi qui hominem Matthæo, aquilam Marco, leonem Johanni tribuerunt. De Cons. Evangelistarum, l. i. c. i.—vi. T. iii. P. ii.

[s] Cujus rei causa illa mihi videtur, quod Matthæus Hebræâ linguâ perhibetur evangelium conscripsisse. De Consens. Evang. l. i. cap. 66. n. 128.

says, the apostle[t] John is the most eminent of all the four evangelists.

(3.) 'He also[u] excels or differs from the other evangelists, in that he insists more upon our Lord's discourses than upon his miracles.'

(4.) In another work he gives the preference to John, because[v] he had more fully declared our Lord's divinity than the other evangelists.

(5.) In a sermon[w] he gives the preference to John, not only above the other evangelists, but above Peter also, because John had written more of Christ's divinity than Peter had.

(6.) He has also[x] elsewhere and largely spoken of the symbols of the evangelists, in Ezekiel, and the Revelation.

(7.) There are two other things which require some particular consideration. One, is what Augustine says of the evangelists having seen each other's works before they wrote: the other, is what he says of Mark being an abbreviator of Matthew.

Of both these things J. Le Clerc, under the borrowed name of Phereponus, observes to this purpose: 'We[y] can 'scarce doubt whether John had seen the other three gos-'pels: for as he is said to have lived to a great age, so it 'appears, from his gospel itself, that he took care not to re-'peat things related by them, except a few only, and those 'necessary things. But I do not see how it can be reckoned

[t] Johannes quoque apostolus in evangelistis eminentissimus. Ibid. cap. 6. n. 18.

[u] At vero Johannes, qui multum ab eis tribus evangelistis eo distat, quia magis in sermonibus quos Dominus habuit, immoratur, quam in factis quæ mirabiliter fecit. Ibid. cap. 45. n. 94. Conf. ib. l. i. cap. 5. n. 18.

[v] In quatuor evangeliis, vel potius quatuor libris unius evangelii, sanctus Johannes apostolus, non immerito aquilæ comparatus, altius multoque sublimius aliis tribus erexit prædicationem suam—Nam cæteri tres evangelistæ, tanquam cum homine Domino in terrâ ambulabant, de divinitate ejus pauca dixerunt ——Iste autem——erexit se——et pervenit ad eum, per quem facta sunt omnia——In Joh. Evang. Tr. 36. n. 1. Vid. ib. n. 5.

[w] Hoc mihi videtur intelligi: Quoniam Petrus scripsit de Domino. Scripserunt et alii. Sed scriptura eorum magis circa humanitatem Domini est occupata—Sed de divinitate Christi in literis Petri aliquid.—in evangelio autem Johannes multum eminet. 'In Principio erat Verbum,' ipse dixit. Transcendit nubes, et transcendit sidera: transcendit angelos, transcendit omnem creaturam. Pervenit ad Verbum, per quod facta sunt omnia. Serm. 253. cap. 4. T. v.

[x] Et apud Ezechielem prophetam, et in Apocalypsi ipsius Johannis, cujus est hoc evangelium commemoratur animal quadruplex, habens quatuor personas, hominis, vituli, leonis, aquilæ. Qui ante nos scripturarum sanctarum mysteria tractaverunt, plerique in hoc animali, vel potius in his animalibus quatuôr evangelistas intellexerunt, &c. In Johan. Evang. Tr. 36. n. 5. T. iii. P. ii.

[y] Vid. Opp. Augustin. T. xii. p. 532.

'certain, that Mark knew of Matthew's having written a 'gospel before him; or that Luke knew they two had written gospels before him. If Mark had seen the work of 'Matthew, it is likely that he would have remained satisfied 'with it, as being the work of an apostle of Christ, that is, 'an eye-witness, which he was not. Nor would Luke, who 'from the beginning of his gospel appears to have been acquainted with several memoirs of the words and works of 'Christ, have omitted to say, that one or more of them had 'been written by an apostle, as Matthew was. And[z] who 'can persuade himself to think, that he would have introduced a new genealogy of Christ, without saying a word 'of the genealogy already published by Matthew; especially, as no small difficulties would arise in reconciling 'them?—They seem to think more justly who say, that the 'first three evangelists were unacquainted with each other's designs: in that way greater weight accrues to their testimony. When witnesses agree, who have first laid their 'heads together, they are suspected; but witnesses who 'testify the same thing separately, without knowing what 'others have said, are justly credited.'

With regard to what Augustine says of Mark's copying Matthew, the same learned writer adds: 'I[a] wonder that 'Augustine should speak thus of an inspired writer: there 'is no need of inspiration to abbreviate what has been already written by another. I rather assent to those, who 'say, that Mark received the evangelical history from Peter.'

These appear to me to be just observations. I may however have occasion to enlarge farther upon these points hereafter: at the present I observe only, that so far as I remember, Augustine is the first christian writer who has considered Mark's gospel as an abbreviation of Matthew. The common account of the more ancient writer is, what is hinted by Le Clerc, that Mark wrote from Peter's mouth; or, that his gospel is the substance of Peter's preaching; or,

[z] Quis credat eum novam Christi genealogiam allaturum fuisse, ne verbo quidem memoratâ genealogiâ Matthæo antea editâ, cum præsertim, ad eos in concordiam redigendos, non levis difficultas exoritura esset?—Multo rectius sentire videntur, qui evangelistas tres priores scripsisse suas historias censent, cum neuter aliorum consilii conscius esset. Unde etiam eorum testimonio majus accedit pondus. Cum enim consentiunt testes, qui inter se capita contulerunt, suspecti potius habentur. Sed testes, qui idem testantur seorsim, nescii aliorum testimonii, merito verum dicere videntur. Pherepon. Animadv. in libr. de Cons. Ev. Ap. Augustin. T. xii. p. 532.

[a] Miror ita loqui Augustinum de scriptore afflato. Neque enim inspiratione opus est, ut quispiam sit 'pedissequus et breviator' operis alieni. Crediderim potius iis, qui Marcum a Petro evangelicam historiam accepisse censent. Id. Ibid.

that it was dictated by Peter, written and published by Mark; and, as some add, approved or authorized by Peter, to be read in the churches. After this manner speak, as we have already seen, [b] Papias, [c] Clement of Alexandria, [d] Tertullian, [e] Origen: to whom might be added the accounts in [f] Eusebius and [g] Jerom.

VI. We have already seen the Acts of the Apostles reckoned by Augustine among the books of canonical scripture. Shall I, nevertheless, add a few other passages?

1. In the books of the Consent of the Evangelists, which we have already quoted several times, he ascribes [h] the Acts of the Apostles to Luke.

2. In another place of the same work he does the like again, and also gives at large the design and contents of this book. He says, 'That [i] Luke, after having written a gospel, even one of the four which are in so high esteem, containing a history of Christ's words and works to the time of his resurrection and ascension, wrote such an account of the Acts of the Apostles as he judged to be sufficient for the edification of believers: and it is the only history of the apostles which has been received by the church; all other having been rejected, as not to be relied upon.' Augustine there adds, 'Mark and Luke wrote at a time when their writings might be approved, not only by the church, but also by apostles still living.'

3. The book of the Acts is quoted by Augustine in innumerable places. It was [k] publicly read in the christian

[b] See vol. ii. p. 119, 121, 122. [c] P. 224—234.
[d] P. 276—278. [e] P. 494.
[f] See this vol. p. 92, 93. [g] P. 439, 442, 443.

[h] ———sicut Lucas in Apostolorum Actibus narrat. De Cons. Evang. l. iii. cap. 25. n. 74. T. iii. p. ii.

[i] Admonet autem, ut noverimus eundem Lucam etiam illum librum scripsisse, qui Actus Apostolorum vocatur, non solum quia Theophili nomen etiam illic inest——Sed quia et ibi exorsus est ut diceret: Primum quidem sermonem feci de omnibus, o Theophile, quæ cœpit Jesus facere et docere.——Dedit intelligi, quod jam scripserit evangelii librum, unum ex quatuor quorum est in ecclesiâ sublimis auctoritas—Iste autem non solum usque ad resurrectionem assumptionemque Domini perduxit orationem suam, ut in quatuor auctoribus evangelicæ scripturæ dignum labore suo haberet locum; verum etiam deinceps quæ per apostolos gesta sunt, quæ sufficere credidit ad ædificandam fidem legentium et audientium ita scripsit, ut solus ejus liber fide dignus haberetur de apostolorum actibus narrantis, reprobatis omnibus qui non eâ fide, quâ oportuit, facta dictaque apostolorum ausi sunt scribere. Eo quippe tempore scripserunt Marcus et Lucas, quo non solum ab ecclesiâ Christi, verum etiam ab ipsis adhuc in carne manentibus apostolis, probari potuerunt. De Cons. Ev. l. iv. c. 8. n. 9.

[k] In Actibus Apostolorum advertite, quando legitur: modo incipit liber ipse legi. Hodie cœpit liber, qui vocatur Actus Apostolorum. Serm. 227. In die Paschæ iv. T. v.

assemblies of worship, and then expounded, as appears from many sermons of Augustine. He says, it[l] was in the canon of scripture: and that it was usually begun to be read on the first Lord's day in Easter; and was read through, I suppose, before the feast of Pentecost. In another sermon: 'To-day,'[m] says he, 'the reading was that of the Acts of the Apostles, where the apostle Paul of a persecutor is made a preacher of Christ.'

4. In a work written about the year 428, Augustine says, that[n] the beginning of Paul's faith [or his conversion] was well known, upon account of its being read in the churches.

VII. In the general passage at the beginning of the chapter, we saw that Augustine received fourteen epistles of the apostle Paul, which are also there named. I shall however take farther notice of some particulars.

1. In his books against Cresconius the Donatist, he mentions these apostolical churches; the[o] church of the Romans, the Corinthians, the Galatians, Ephesians, Thessalonians, Colossians, Philippians, to whom, as by name, Paul writes; the church of Jerusalem, governed by the apostle James as bishop: the church of Antioch, where the disciples were first called christians; Smyrna, Thyatira, Sardis, Pergamos, Philadelphia, Laodicea, to which is sent the Revelation of the apostle John: and all the churches of Pontus, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, to which the apostle Peter writes.

2. There is a like passage in another book against the Donatists, a part of which[p] I place below.

[l] —quia cum aliorum martyrum vix gesta inveniamus, quæ in solennitatibus eorum recitare possimus, hujus [Stephani] in canonico libro est. Actus Apostolorum liber est de canone scripturarum. Ipse liber incipit legi a Dominico Paschæ, sicut se consuetudo habet ecclesiæ. Serm. 315. in.

[m] Hodie lectio de Actibus Apostolorum pronuntiata est, ubi apostolus Paulus ex persecutore christianorum annuntiator Christi factus est. Serm. 278. cap. 1.

[n] Nam scripta sunt etiam fidei ejus initia, suntque ecclesiasticâ celebri lectione notissima. De Prædest. Sanct. cap. 2. n. 4. T. x.

[o] Vos itaque secundum vestrum errorem, vel potius furorem, accusare cogimini non solum Cæcilianum et ordinatores ejus, verum etiam illas ecclesias, quas in scripturis apostolicis et canonicis pariter legimus, non solum Romanorum, quo ex Africâ ordinare paucis vestris soletis episcopum, verum etiam Corinthiorum, Galatarum, Ephesiorum, Thessalonicensium, Colossensium, Philippensium, ad quas apertissime scribit apostolus Paulus; Jerosolymitanam, quam primus apostolus Jacobus episcopatu suo rexit; Antiochensem, ubi primo appellati sunt discipuli christiani; Smyrnensem, Thyatirensem, Sardensem, Pergamensem, Philadelphensem, Laodicensem, ad quas est Apocalypsis apostoli Johannis. Tot alias ecclesias Ponti, Cappadociæ, Asiæ, Bithyniæ, ad quas scribit apostolus Petrus.—Has certe ecclesias, quas ex literis divinis atque canonicis nominavi—accusare cogimini. Contr. Crescon. Donat. l. 2. cap. 37.

[p] Illæ ipsæ solæ, quas in sanctis literis, in Actibus, in epistolis apostolorum,

3. There is no occasion for many remarks: however, it should be observed, that Augustine always calls the epistle to the Ephesians as we do; and supposeth that it was sent to the church at Ephesus.

4. The only epistle that requires consideration, is that called the fourteenth epistle of Paul, written to the Hebrews.

(1.) Tillemont's account of Augustine's opinion concerning that epistle is to this purpose: 'Augustine[q] often cites 'this epistle by the bare title of the epistle to the Hebrews, 'without ascribing it to any one; and he observes, that 'some doubted whether it was Paul's, or absolutely denied 'it to be his, and feared to receive it into the canon of 'scripture, because the name of Paul was wanting. For 'himself he declares, that he was inclined to follow the 'judgment of the churches of the east, which esteemed it 'canonical, as well as the other epistles of Paul. In one 'place he says, it was received by the most; which may 'include the churches in the west.'

(2.) For clearing up this point fully, several things may be observed.

(3.) In the passage at the beginning of this chapter, transcribed from that part of the books of christian doctrine which was written about the year 397, Augustine reckons up fourteen epistles of Paul, the last of which is that to the Hebrews.

(4.) In an early work, supposed to have been begun near the end of the year 388: 'As[r] the apostle to the Hebrews says:' there it is quoted as Paul's.

(5.) In his commentary upon the epistle to the Romans, an unfinished work, begun about 394, when he was yet presbyter, he says: 'Paul[s] has a like salutation at the beginning of all his epistles, excepting that which he wrote to the Hebrews; where he is said designedly to have omitted his ordinary form of salutation, because of the prejudice which the Jews had against him; for which reason some have feared to receive that epistle into the canon of scrip-

et in Apocalypsi invenimus.—Ad Corinthios, ad Ephesios, ad Philippenses, ad Thessalonicenses, ad Colossenses, &c. &c. De Unit. Ec. cap. 12. n. 31.

[q] Mem. Ec. T. i. note 72. sur St. Paul.

[r] Sicut apostolus ad Hebræos dicit. De Qu. 83. Qu. 75. T. vi.

[s] Quod propterea maxime credo, quoniam, exceptâ epistolâ quam ad Hebræos scripsit, ubi principium salutatorium de industriâ dicitur omisisse, ne Judæi, qui adversus eum pertinaciter oblatrabant, nomine ejus offensi, vel inimico animo legerunt, vel omnino legere non curarent, quod ad eorum salutem scripserat. Unde nonnulli eam in canonem scripturarum recipere timuerunt. Sed quoquo modo se habeat ista quæstio, exceptâ hac epistolâ cæteræ omnes, quæ, nullâ dubitante ecclesiâ, Pauli esse firmantur, talem continent salutationem Expos. ep. ad Rom. inchoat. n. 11. T. iii. p. 2.

ture: but whatever becomes of that question, excepting that epistle, all the rest, which are received as the apostle Paul's by all the churches in general without hesitation, have such a salutation.' Where, I think, Augustine quotes the epistle to the Hebrews, as Paul's; though he owns that some, for the reason there mentioned, feared to receive it as his.

(6.) In a sermon: 'Which[t] opinion is confirmed not only by the epistle to the Hebrews, but likewise by what Stephen says in the Acts of the Apostles.' Which manner of speaking certainly shows, that the book of the Acts was of greater, or more established authority, and more generally received, than the epistle to the Hebrews.

(7.) In a work written in 413: 'In[u] the epistle which is inscribed to the Hebrews it is said.'

(8.) In another work, written in 412: 'So[v] also the epistle to the Hebrews, though with some it is of doubtful authority: however, I am inclined to follow the opinion of the churches in the east, who receive it among canonical scriptures.' I need not make any remarks upon this passage.

(9.) In the work Of the City of God, begun in 413, and not finished before 426: 'In[w] the epistle which is inscribed to the Hebrews.' Which[x] manner of expression, says Ludovicus Vives upon the place, shows, that the author of the epistle was not certainly known.

(10.) Again, in the same work: 'Of[y] whom [Melchisedec] it is said in the epistle, which is inscribed to the Hebrews, which many [or the most] affirm to be the apostle Paul's, though some deny it.'

(11.) He often quotes[z] the epistle to the Hebrews in the books Of the City of God, without naming the writer.

(12.) 'As[a] it is read in the epistle to the Hebrews.' So

[t] Quam sententiam confirmat non solum epistola, quæ scribitur ad Hebræos———sed etiam in Actibus Apostolorum Stephanus dicit. Serm. 7. n. 6. T. v. [u] Unde et in epistolâ, quæ ad Hebræos inscribitur. De Fid. et Operib. cap. 11. n. 17. T. vi.

[v] Ad Hebræos quoque epistola, quanquam nonnullis incerta sit—Magisque me movet auctoritas ecclesiarum orientalium, quæ hanc etiam in canonicis habent. De Peccat. Merit. l. i. cap. 27. n. 50. T. x.

[w] In epistolâ quæ inscribitur ad Hebræos. De Civ. Dei, l. 10. cap. 5. T. vii.

[x] Significat incertum esse auctorem. Lud. Viv. Comm. in loc.

[y] De quo, in epistolâ quæ inscribitur ad Hebræos, quam plures apostoli Pauli esse dicunt, quidam vero negant, multa et magna conscripta sunt. De Civ. Dei, l. 16. c. 22.

[z] Unde scriptum est in epistolâ ad Hebræos. De C. D. l. 16. c. 28. Vid. ib. c. 29. et 32.

[a] Sicut in epistolâ legitur, quæ est ad Hebræos. Retr. l. ii. c. 22. n. 2. T. i.

he quotes it in his Retractations, a late work, written in 426, or 427.

(13.) 'In[b] the epistle to the Hebrews, which has been quoted by illustrious defenders of the catholic doctrine, it is said: "Faith is the evidence of things not seen."' So in a book written about 241, or later.

(14.) In a work written about 419, he seems[c] purposely to decline calling it Paul's, or the apostle's, and only calls it 'the epistle to the Hebrews.'

(15.) In the Opus Imperfectum, written in the later years of his life, he quotes the epistle in this manner: 'The[d] writer of the epistle to the Hebrews.'

(16.) Julian, the Pelagian, against whom Augustine writes in that work, readily quotes the epistle as Paul's: but Augustine only calls it[e] the epistle to the Hebrews. One would think that he there studiously declines to call it Paul's.

(17.) Upon the whole, we perceive from Augustine, that in his time, in Africa, and among other Latin christians with whom he was acquainted, the epistle to the Hebrews was received by many; but some had doubts about it. Augustine quotes it sometimes as Paul's, and is inclined to receive it as his. At other times, and especially in his latter works, as I have observed in reading him, and it appears from the passages here alleged, he scruples to quote it in that manner: and indeed, according to the rule laid down by Augustine in the passage cited at the beginning of this chapter, he could not admit this epistle to be of equal authority with the other epistles, which, without hesitation, were received by all churches in general as the apostle Paul's.

VIII. Augustine received all the seven catholic epistles; we have already seen proof of it in the passage at the beginning of this chapter, and elsewhere: I shall nevertheless add a few particulars.

1. When he quotes the epistle of St. James, he calls him[f] apostle, and[g] one of Christ's apostles.

[b] In epistolâ quippe ad Hebræos, quâ teste usi sunt illustres catholicæ regulæ defensores. Ench. cap. 8. T. vi.

[c] Tantum habet fides, de quâ dicit apostolus: Omne quod non est ex fide peccatum est. [Rom. xiv. 23.] De quâ item scriptum est ad Hebræos: Sine fide impossibile est placere Deo. [Hebr. xi. 6.] De Nuptiis, cap. 4. T. x.

[d] Vid. Op. Imp. l. i. cap. 50. et 132. l. v. cap. i. T. x.

[e] Quod scriptum est in epistolâ ad Hebræos. Op. Imp. l. vi. cap. 22. Sicut scriptum est. Ibid. cap. 32. sub fin.

[f] Denique, ut ait apostolus Jacobus: Et dæmones credunt, et contremiscunt. Ench. de Fid. &c. cap. 8. n. 2. T. vi.

[g] Quapropter etiam Jacobus, unus ex apostolis ejus, in epistolâ suâ. De Grat. N. T. ad Honorat. Ep. 140. cap. 10. n. 26. T. ii.

2. He often quotes St. Peter's two epistles: he says, that [h] Peter has comforted us by his apostleship, his martyrdom, and his epistles.

3. He says, that [i] Peter wrote to Gentiles: he speaks to the like purpose in another [k] place: so that he has twice expressed himself after that manner in his works. I would add here, that in a sermon ascribed to Augustine, the [l] epistles of Peter are supposed to be written to Gentiles; and though the author be not Augustine, it [m] may be reckoned not improbable that he was a disciple of his.

4. He received St. John's three epistles: the first he supposed to have been written to the Parthians. Possidius, in the catalogue of Augustine's works, mentions [n] ten sermons upon the epistle of John to the Parthians; which [o] are placed, by the Benedictines, in the second part of their third tome of Augustine's works. Augustine also quotes it by that title in another [p] place.

Concerning this inscription of the first epistle of St. John, may be seen Estius, Grotius,[q] Lampe, and [r] others.

In the seventh of the fore-mentioned sermons upon this epistle, Augustine calls it [s] a canonical epistle; and says, it was received every where, and read in all the churches of Christ in all nations.

5. When Augustine quotes the epistle of St. Jude, he [t]

[h] Et plane nos confortavit Petrus per apostolatum, per martyrium, per epistolas suas. Serm. 210. cap. 5. n. 6. T. v.

[i] Unde et Petrus scribens ad Gentes——'Vos autem genus electum.'—— [1 Pet. ii. 9. Vid. et Osee, cap. i. 10.] Cont. Faust. l. xxii. c. 89. T. viii.

[k] Ipsi sunt pulli corvorum, quibus Petrus dicit: 'Quia non corruptibili argento vel auro redemti estis de supervacuâ vestrâ consuetudine a parentibus vestris traditâ.' [1 Pet. i. 18.] Enarr. in Ps. 146. [al. 147.] n. 9. T. iv.

[l] Et in suâ epistolâ ad gentes secundâ. De Catacl. cap. v. p. 606. B. T. vi.

[m] Vid. Admon. in Sermones de Symbolo ad Catechumenos, in eod. Tom.

[n] De epistolâ Joannis ad Parthos sermones decem. Possid. sub fin. T. x. in Append.

[o] In epistolam Joannis ad Parthos tractatus decem. T. iii. p. 2.

[p] Secundum sententiam hanc etiam illud dictum est a Joanne in epistolâ ad Parthos: 'Dilectissimi, nunc filii Dei sumus, et nondum apparet quid erimus.' [1 Jo. iii. 2.] Qu. Evan. l. ii. Qu. 39. T. iii. p. 2.

[q] Lamp. Prolegom. in Joan. l. i. c. 7. sect. ii. p. 104. Conf. eund. in lib. i. c. 3. n. 12. p. 47, 48.

[r] Vid. Mill. Prolegom. n. 150. et Wolf. Prolegom. in i. S. Joan. Epist.

[s] Si nos diceremus, 'Deus dilectio est,' forte scandalizaretur aliquis ex vobis, et diceret: Qui dixit?——Ecce habetis, fratres, scripturas Dei. Canonica est ista epistola. Per omnes gentes recitatur; orbis terræ auctoritate retinetur; orbem terrarum ipsa ædificavit. Audis hic ab spiritu Dei: Deus dilectio est: In Ep. Joann. Tr. vii. n. 5. ubi supra.

[t] De talibus quippe Judas apostolus loquens.——Quod enim Petrus ait: Coëpulantes vobiscum, oculos habentes plenos adulterii, hoc Judas: 'In dilec-'tionibus vestris maculati coëpulantur.' Et quod Petrus ait, 'fontes sicci,'

calls him apostle, and compares together some expressions of that epistle, and of the second of Peter, and also of the epistle of James.

6. Augustine seems to have supposed, that [tt] the epistles of James, Peter, John, and Jude, were occasioned by the abuse which some made of Paul's doctrine, not rightly understood, concerning justification by faith without works. By which, as our author says, Paul meant 'works of the law:' but he required 'a faith that produced works of righteousness.'

7. Some may be desirous to know the order in which these epistles were placed by Augustine. It may be observed, then, that in the catalogues of books of scripture alleged by us from the books of christian doctrine, near the beginning of this chapter, he mentions them in this manner: two epistles of Peter; three of John; one of Jude; and one of James. In another work, where he quotes the beginnings of all the seven epistles, the order is again exactly the same: the [u] first epistle of Peter; his second epistle; the first, second, and third of John; the epistle of Jude; the epistle of James. In [v] the Speculum, the order of the quotations is, the two epistles of Peter; the epistle of James; the three epistles of John; the epistle of Jude.

IX. Augustine, as we have already seen, received the book of the Revelation; which indeed he quotes very frequently.

1. He supposeth it [w] to have been written by the same John who wrote the gospel and the first epistle.

2. We also perceive from him, that [x] this book was not universally received; at least there were doubts about it in the minds of some; and the passage which I refer to is in a sermon, or discourse to the people.

hoc Judas, 'Nubes sine aquâ:' hoc Jacobus, 'Fides mortua.' De Fid. et Opp. cap. 25. [al. n. 46.] T. 6.

[tt] Nam etiam temporibus apostolorum, non intellectis quibusdam subobscuris sententiis apostoli Pauli, hoc eum arbitrati sunt dicere——Non hoc agit, ut perceptâ et professâ fide opera justitiæ contemnantur: Sed ut sciat se quisque per fidem posse justificari, etiamsi legis opera non præcesserint——Quoniam ergo hæc opinio tunc fuerat exorta, aliæ apostolicæ epistolæ, Petri, Johannis, Jacobi, Judæ, contra eam maxime dirigunt intentionem, ut vehementer adstruant fidem sine operibus non prodesse, &c. De Fid. et Opp. cap. 14. n. 21. T. vi.

[u] Nec aliæ apostolorum epistolæ, quas usus ecclesiasticus recipit, parum nos admonet de istâ trinitate in principiis suis. Nam Petrus ita dicit, &c. Epistolæ ad Rom. inchoat. Expos. n. 12. T. iii. p. 2. [v] T. iii. P. i.

[w] Idem quippe Johannes, qui illud vidit, hoc dixit. De Virginitate, cap. 49. T. vi. [x] Et si forte tu, qui ista sapis, hanc scripturam non accepisti. Serm. 299. n. 11. T. v.

X. I proceed, in the next place, to observe some general titles and divisions of the books of scripture.

1. 'We[y] read in the Acts of the Apostles of some who believed, that "they searched the scriptures daily, whether those things were so" [ch. xvii. 11]. What scriptures I pray, except the canonical scriptures of the law and the prophets? To them have been since added the gospels, the epistles of apostles, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Revelation of John. These do you search.'

2. In[z] the Old Testament the New is hid: in the New Testament the Old is revealed.

3. A common division, equivalent to Old and New Testament, is[a] of prophets and apostles; or[b] evangelic and prophetic writings.

4. In[c] the holy scriptures; that is, the legal, prophetical, evangelical, and apostolical scriptures, which are of canonical authority.

5. To the[d] two commandments, of loving God and our neighbour, all the legal, and prophetical, and evangelical, and apostolical precepts may be reduced. I put[e] another like passage in the margin.

6. On these[f] two commandments hang all the law and the prophets: add; the gospel, and the apostles.

7. In[g] these two, the Old and New Testament, God himself, in his great goodness, has given us a rule of life.

[y] Legimus in Actibus Apostolorum dictum de quibusdam credentibus, quod quotidie scrutarentur scripturas, an hæc ita se haberent. Quas utique scripturas, nisi canonicas legis et prophetarum? Huc accesserunt evangelia, apostolicæ epistolæ, Actus Apostolorum, Apocalypsis Johannis. Scrutamini hæc omnia. De Unitate Eccl. cap. 19. n. 51. T. ix.

[z] Quapropter in Veteri Testamento est occultatio Novi: in Novo est manifestatio Veteris. De Catechiz. Rudibus. cap. 4. n. 8. T. vi.

[a] ——labore prophetarum et apostolorum, qui utique Judæi fuerunt. In Job. cap. vi. sub in. T. iii.

[b] Non solum evangelicis, verum etiam propheticis libris demonstratur. Ep. 102. n. 21. T. ii.

[c] Quis ignorat, in scripturis sanctis, id est, legitimis, propheticis evangelicis, et apostolicis, auctoritate canonicâ præditis? Speculi Præf. T. ii.

[d] Quamvis illic sint illa duo præcepta de dilectione Dei et proximi; quo rectissime omnia et legitima, et prophetica, et evangelica, et apostolica referuntur. Retr. l. i. c. 22. n. 2. T. i.

[e] Mirum est tamen, si ita appellatam [gratiam] in ullis legitimis, propheticis, evangelicis, apostolicisque literis legimus. Ep. 177. n. 8. T. ii.

[f] Et utique in his duobus præceptis tota lex pendet, et prophetæ. Adde evangelium; adde apostolos. Ench. cap. 121. [al. n. 32.] T. vi.

[g] In his duobus Deus ipse, cujus bonitate atque clementiâ fit, omnino ut aliquid simus, duobus Testamentis, Vetere et Novo, disciplinæ regulam nobis dedit. De Morib. Ec. Cath. l. i. cap. 28. n. 56. T. i.

8. 'In[h] the evangelical and apostolical writings, which properly belong to the revelation of the New Testament.' I put[i] another like passage below.

9. In an argument, in the books of the City of God: Here,[k] says he, I shall allege passages from the holy scriptures; first from the books of the New Testament, as more excellent; then from those of the Old. In the Old, are the law and the prophets; in the New, are the gospel and the epistles of apostles.

10. That[l] is not to be reckoned of authority, which is not alleged from the law, or the prophet, or the psalm, or the apostle, or the gospel.

11. I[m] desire to hear the voice of the pastor. Let me hear him speaking in the prophet, in the psalm, in the law, in the gospel, in the apostle.

12. Our[n] faith is taught in the scriptures; in the prophets, in the gospel, in the apostle.

13. 'This[o] I prove by the scriptures of the Lord, and of the apostles;' meaning the gospels, and the epistles of the New Testament.

14. He says, 'that[p] some called all the canonical scriptures one book, on account of their wonderful harmony, and unity, and design.' It is likely that this way of speaking gradually brought in the general use of the word Bible, for the whole collection of the scriptures, or books of the Old and New Testament.

15. We observed, not long ago, the order of the catholic

[h] —in evangelicis et apostolicis literis, quæ ad Novi Testamenti revelationem proprie pertinent. Ad Casulan. ep. 36. cap. 14. n. 32. T. ii.

[i] Ego in evangelicis et apostolicis literis, totoque Novo Instrumento, quod appellatur Testamentum Novum, animo revolvens, video præceptum esse jejunium: quibus autem diebus non oporteat jejunare, et quibus oporteat, præcepto Domini vel apostolorum non invenio definitum. Ib. cap. 11. n. 25.

[k] —testimonia de scripturis sanctis, quæ ponere institui, prius eligenda sunt de libris Instrumenti Novi, postea de Veteri. Quamvis enim Vetera priora sunt tempore, Nova tamen auteponenda sunt dignitate—In Veteribus habentur lex et prophetæ; in Novis evangelium et apostolicæ literæ. De Civ. Dei, l. 20. c. 4. T. vii.

[l] —Quod non de lege, non de prophetâ, non de psalmo, non de apostolo, non de evangelio, sed ex corde vestro—recitatis. Ep. 105. cap. 1. n. 2.

[m] Ego vocem pastoris inquiro. Lege hoc mihi de prophetâ, lege mihi de psalmo, recita mihi de lege, recita de evangelio, recita de apostolo. Serm. 46. cap. 14. n. 32. T. v.

[n] Habet ergo fides ipsa quoddam lumen suum in scripturis: in prophetiâ, in evangelio, in apostolicis lectionibus. Serm. 126. cap. i. Vid. et Serm. 341. c. i. T. v.

[o] Sicut dominicis et apostolicis literis probo. Ep. 35. n. 3. T. ii.

[p] Sunt etiam qui universas omnino scripturas canonicas unum librum vocant, quod valde mirabili et divinâ unitate concordent. Enarr. in Ps. cl. n. 2. T. iv.

epistles: let us now observe the order of the books of the New Testament in general. In the catalogue of the books of scripture transcribed near the beginning of this chapter, the books of the New Testament are mentioned in this order: the gospels; the epistles of Paul; the catholic epistles; the Acts of the Apostles; and the Revelation of John. In the first passage alleged under this article of general titles and divisions, he mentions 'gospels, epistles of apostles,' [meaning Paul's epistles, and the catholic epistles,] 'the Acts of the Apostles, and the Revelation of John:' that may be supposed to have been the most common order in the time of Augustine. I shall take notice of some other places, though perhaps not very material.

In one of his books, after some reasons and arguments, he proceeds to allege[q] a number of texts of the books of the New Testament; first, from the gospels; next from the catholic epistles, where he quotes the first and second epistle of Peter, and the first epistle of John; then[r] almost all the epistles of Paul; after that[s] the Revelation; and last of all,[t] the Acts of the Apostles.

In another work[u] he first takes notice of the prophetical writings of the Old Testament; after that of the epistles of apostles, then of their acts.

In the Speculum,[v] the books of the New Testament are quoted very much in our present order; the four gospels, the Acts, Paul's fourteen epistles, the catholic epistles, and the Revelation of John: but if the Speculum be Augustine's, it may have been altered since it came out of his hands; and probably it has been altered in several respects.

XI. The great respect which christians had for the holy scriptures appears in some passages already transcribed; it will be, however, very proper to observe divers others to the like purpose.

1. 'The[w] truth itself, God, the Son of God,' he says, 'is

[q] Hæc ratiocinatio tunc erit fortior, cum ea quæ promisi testimonia multa congressero. De Peccat. Merit. &c. l. i. c. 27. n. 40. T. x.

[r] Jam nunc attende in hanc rem Pauli apostoli testimonia, tanto utique plura, quanto plures epistolas scripsit. Ib. n. 43. &c.

[s] Ibid. n. 51. [t] N. 52.

[u] —Apostoli vero in epistolis suis aliter locuti sunt, aliterque conscripti Actus Apostolorum, jam videlicet revelato Novo Testamento.—Denique in tot epistolis apostolorum, atque in ipso tam grandi libro, in quo actus eorum canonicâ veritate narrantur, non invenitur talis aliquis mentiens. De Mendac. ad Consent. cap. 12. n. 26. T. vi.

[v] Tom. iii. P. i.

[w] —ipsa veritas Deus Dei filius, homine assumto,—eandem constituit et fundavit fidem.—Hic prius per prophetas, deinde per seipsum, postea per apostolos, quantum satis esse judicavit, locutus, etiam scripturam condidit, quæ

the author of the scriptures. First by prophets, then by himself, afterwards by his apostles, he spake what was sufficient, and then constituted that scripture which is called canonical, which is of the highest authority, on which we rely for the truth of those things, which we ought not to be ignorant of, and which we could not discover of ourselves.'

He[x] calls them the scriptures of our religion, which we esteem above all other writings whatever.

3. Having mentioned Hilary and Cyprian, he says, 'Their[y] writings have not the same authority with the canonical scriptures; and if they advance any thing contrary to truth, we have a right to reject it.' That observation of Augustine is much applauded by[z] Phereponus, that is, Le Clerc.

4. However, there are many other like passages, where Augustine speaks of the authority of the well known books of the Old and New Testament, as superior to that of bishops and councils, and all manner of determinations composed and written since the completing the canon of the New Testament. The[a] determinations of bishops, he says, may be corrected and altered if found not to be right; whereas, it is past doubt and controversy, that whatever can be shown to be in scripture is true and right.

5. In another book against the Donatists; 'Whether[b]

canonica nominatur, eminentissimæ auctoritatis, cui fidem habemus de his rebus, quas ignorare non expedit, nec per nosmetipsos nôsse idonei sumus. De Civ. Dei, l. xi. c. 1. 2. T. vii.

[x] Sed scripturas religionis nostræ, quarum auctoritatem cæteris quibusque literis anteponimus.—De Civ. Dei, l. 14. cap. 7.

[y] —Quia hoc genus literarum ab auctoritate canonis distinguendum est. Non enim sic leguntur, tanquam ita ex eis testimonium proferatur, ut contra sentire non liceat, sicubi forte aliter sapuerunt, quam veritas postulat. Ad Vincent. Ep. 93. cap. x. n. 35. T. ii.

[z] Hæc aureis literis scribenda essent in fronte singulorum patrum, quæ eduntur, ne auctoritas eorum veritati præferatur. Pherep. August. T. xii. p. 495. *a*.

[a] Vos certe nobis objicere soletis Cypriani literas, Cypriani sententiam, Cypriani concilium.—Quis autem nesciat, sanctam scripturam canonicam, tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti, certis suis terminis contineri, eamque omnibus posterioribus episcoporum literis ita præponi, ut de illâ omnino dubitari et disceptari non possit, utrum verum vel utrum rectum sit, quidquid in eâ scriptum esse constiterit; episcoporum autem literas, quæ post confirmatum canonem vel scriptæ sunt vel scribuntur, et per sermonem forte sapientiorem cujuslibet in eâ re peritioris, vel per aliorum episcoporum graviorem auctoritatem, doctioremque prudentiam, et per concilia licere reprehendi. De Baptism. cont. Donatist. l. 2. cap. iii. n. 4. T. ix.

[b] Sed utrum ipsi ecclesiam teneant, non nisi de divinarum scripturarum canonicis libris ostendant; quia nec nos propterea dicimus, nobis credi oportere quod in ecclesiâ Christi sumus, quia ipsam quam tenemus, commendavit,

they are of the church can be known no other way, but by the canonical books of the divine scriptures; neither do we claim to be of the church, because we have the testimony of Optatus of Milevi, or Ambrose of Milan, or any other bishops of our communion, be they ever so numerous; or because we have on our side decrees of the councils of our colleagues.'

6. In another work, against the same people: 'We[c] do no wrong to Cyprian in distinguishing his epistles from the canonical authority of the divine scripture; for it is not without reason, that the canon of the church has been settled with so much caution and exactness, containing only certain books of prophets and apostles, which we cannot presume to judge; and by which we freely judge of the writings of all others, whether believers or unbelievers.'

7. Again, in the same work, soon after: 'I[d] am not bound by the authority of that epistle, because the writings of Cyprian are not canonical; but I examine them by the canonical scriptures, and whatever in them is agreeable to the authority of the divine scriptures I receive with applause; and what is not agreeable to it, with his good leave I reject. If you had recited somewhat from a canonical book of apostles or prophets, I should have nothing to object; but as your quotation is not canonical, I make use of that liberty to which the Lord has called us; and wherever Cyprian appears to differ from scripture, I receive it not, though he be above all my praises, though I compare not my writings to his, though I respect him as a man of excellent abilities, and a glorious martyr of Christ.'

Milevitanus Optatus, vel Mediolanensis Ambrosius, vel alii innumerabiles nostræ communionis episcopi; aut quia nostrorum collegarum conciliis ipsa prædicata est. De Unit. Ecc. cap. 19. n. 5.

[c] Nos enim nullam Cypriano facimus injuriam, cum ejus quaslibet literas a canonicâ divinarum scripturarum auctoritate distinguimus. Neque enim sine causâ, tam salubri vigilantiâ, canon ecclesiasticus constitutus est, ad quem certi prophetarum et apostolorum libri pertineant; quos omnino judicare non audeamus, et secundum quos de cæteris literis vel fidelium vel infidelium libere judicemus. Cont. Crescon. Donat. l. 2. c. 31. n. 39.

[d] Ego hujus epistolæ auctoritate non teneor; quia literas Cypriani non ut canonicas habeo; sed eas ex canonicis considero, et quod in eis divinarum scripturarum auctoritati congruit, cum laude ejus accipio; quod autem non congruit, cum pace ejus respuo. Ac per hoc, si ea, quæ commemorâsti ab illo ad Jubaianum scripta de aliquo libro apostolorum et prophetarum canonico recitares, quid omnino contradicerem, non haberem. Nunc vero, quoniam canonicum non est quod recitas, eâ libertate ad quam nos vocavit Dominus, ejus viri, cujus laudes assequi non valeo, cujus multis literis mea non comparo, cujus ingenium diligo, cujus ore delector, cujus caritatem miror, cujus martyrium veneror, hoc quod aliter sapuit, non accipio. Ib. cap. 32. n. 40.

8. In another place: 'All[e] these things I have alleged from the writings of those who lived before us in the catholic church, whether Greeks or Latins, who have explained the divine oracles——Nevertheless, we do not esteem the writings of any men, though catholic and much admired, as if they were canonical scriptures; but allowing them their due honour, we may still reject whatever in them is not agreeable to truth.'

9. I put in the margin[f] some other passages of Augustine, where he distinguisheth the books of sacred scripture from the writings of Cyprian, and of other bishops and ecclesiastical writers of the best established reputation for learning and piety.

10. After having quoted passages of former catholic writers, he adds: 'These I do not cite, as if I bestowed canonical authority upon any men whatever; but only to show the novelty of the opinion against which I am arguing.'

11. In a letter to Jerom: 'I[g] confess to you, my dear brother,' says Augustine, 'that I have learned to pay that honour and reverence to those books of scripture alone, which are now called canonical, as firmly to believe that the writers of them have not made any mistake——Other authors I so read, that however distinguished they may be for learning and piety, I do not believe any thing to be true because it was their opinion, but because they have been

[e] Hæc omnia de literis eorum, et Latinorum et Græcorum, qui priores nobis in catholicâ ecclesiâ divina eloquia tractaverunt, ideo commemoranda arbitratus sum——Neque enim quorundam disputationes, quamvis catholicorum et laudatorum hominum, velut scripturas canonicas habere debemus; ut nobis non liceat, salvâ honorificentiâ, quæ illis debetur hominibus, aliquid in eorum scriptis improbare et respuere, si forte invenerimus, quod aliter senserint, quam veritas habet. Commonit. ad Fortunat. ep. 148. cap. iv. n. 15. T. ii.

[f] Noli ergo, frater, contra divina tam multa, tam indubitata testimonia colligere velle calumnias ex episcoporum scriptis, sicut Hilarii,——sicut Cypriani et Agrippini; primo quia hoc genus literarum ab auctoritate canonis distinguendum est. Non enim sic leguntur, tanquam ita ex eis testimonium proferatur, ut contra sentire non liceat, sicubi forte aliter sapuerunt, quam veritas postulat. Ad Vincent. ep. 92. cap. x. n. 35. T. ii.—Deinde, si sancti Cypriani, episcopi, et gloriosi martyris, te delectat auctoritas; quam quidem, sicut dixi, a canonicâ auctoritate distinguimus. Ibid. n. 36.

[g] Ego enim fateor caritati tuæ, solis eis scripturarum libris, qui jam canonici appellantur, didici hunc timorem honoremque deferre, ut nullum eorum auctorem scribendo aliquid errâsse, firmissime credam.———Alios autem ita lego, ut quantâlibet sanctitate, doctrinâque præpolleant, non ideo verum putem, quia ipsi ita senserunt; sed quia mihi per illos auctores canonicos, vel probabili ratione, quod a vero non abhorreat, persuadere potuerunt. Nec te, mi frater, sentire aliud existimo. Prorsus, inquam, non te arbitror sic legi tuos libros velle, tanquam prophetarum et apostolorum; de quorum scriptis, quod omni errore careant, dubitare nefarium est. Ad Hieron. ep. 82. c. i. n. 3. T. ii.

able to persuade me, either by the authority of the forementioned canonical writers, or by probable reason, that it is agreeable to truth; nor do I think, my brother, that you are of a different sentiment, or that you would have your books read with the same respect that we read the books of prophets and apostles; of whose writings it would be impious to doubt whether they are free from all mistake.'

12. In the same letter he says: 'When[h] I read the holy scripture, placed in the highest pitch of authority, I am certain, and fully satisfied of its truth.' Again: 'We[i] must by all means maintain, that the divine scriptures, delivered to us [that is, written] for the support of our faith, not by common persons, but by the apostles themselves, and therefore placed in the highest pitch of canonical authority, are in all things true and unquestionable.'

13. Afterwards, in the same letter: 'To[k] the canonical scriptures alone I owe this ingenuous subjection, [or servitude,] to follow them in all things; and firmly to believe, that the writers of them have not erred in any things, nor said any thing fallaciously.'

14. I fear I should tire my readers if I transcribe any more passages of this kind; though still they would be but a small part of what might be alleged from this author.

15. 'I would not,' says[l] Augustine in a letter to Paulina, 'that you should follow my authority, or think that you ought to believe any thing, because it is my opinion; but only because it is agreeable to scripture or right reason.' In the same letter: 'If[m] any thing is clearly proved from the divine scripture, which the church calls canonical, it ought to be believed without hesitation.' You[n] do not doubt that we ought to assent to the truth of what is said

[h] Imo vero sanctam scripturam in summo et cœlesti auctoritatis culmine collocatam de veritate ejus certus et securus legam. Ibid. n. 5.

[i] Non nunc inquiro, quid fecerit [Paulus aut Petrus]; quid scripserit, quæro. Hoc ad quæstionem, quam suscepi, maxime pertinet; ut veritas divinarum scripturarum, ad fidem nostram ædificandam memoriæ commendata, non a quibuslibet sed ab ipsis apostolis, ac per hoc in canonicum auctoritatis culmen recepta, ex omni parte verax atque indubitanda persistat. Ibid. n. 7.

[k] Quamquam, sicut paulo ante dixi, tantummodo scripturis canonicis hanc ingenuam debeam servitutem, quâ eas solas ita sequar, ut conscriptores earum nihil in eis omnibus errâsse, nihil fallaciter posuisse, non dubitem. Ibid. n. 24.

[l] Nolo auctoritatem meam sequaris, ut ideo putes tibi aliquid necesse esse credere, quoniam a me dicitur; sed aut scripturis canonicis credas, aut interius demonstranti veritati. Ad Paulin. ep. 147. n. 2.

[m] Sed si divinarum scripturarum, earum scilicet quæ canonicæ in ecclesiâ nominantur, perspicuâ firmatur auctoritate, sine ullâ dubitatione credendum est. Ibid. n. 4.

[n] Divinis autem scripturis, etiam nondum perspicue intellectis, credendum esse, non dubitas. Ib. cap. 16. n. 40.

in the divine scriptures, even where we do not yet understand their meaning.' Once more: 'These[o] passages of so many eminent men I have alleged, not that you should follow the opinion of any men, as you do the authority of canonical scripture; but that by the judgments of so many interpreters of scripture, you may be excited to inquiry.'

16. Arguing with the Donatists: 'Let[p] us not bring false balances, where we may weigh what we will, and as we will; and at our pleasure say, This is heavy; this is light; but let us bring the divine balance of the holy scriptures, as out of the Lord's treasury; and then let us weigh matters.'

17. Giving directions concerning the receiving of converts to christianity, especially if they are men of learning, he[q] advises to apprize them of the superior authority of the scriptures to other christian writings, however useful they may be.

18. 'This[r] the Holy Spirit teacheth, who says to us by the apostle,' meaning Paul.

19. He calls the sacred scriptures the[s] book of God, and the[t] scriptures of God.

20. Paul's[u] epistles, he says, were heard in the churches with the same respect as if Christ was heard speaking by him.

21. 'When[v] the apostle John was read just now, we heard the Holy Spirit speaking in him.'

[o] Has sententias de re tantâ virorum tantorum non ob hoc interponere volui, ut cujusquam hominis sententiam, tanquam scripturæ canonicæ auctoritatem sequendam arbitreris; sed ut—Ibid. c. 23. p. 54.

[p] Non afferamus stateras dolosas, ubi appendamus quod volumus, et quomodo volumus, pro arbitrio nostro dicentes: Hoc grave, hoc leve est. Sed afferamus divinam stateram de scripturis sanctis, tanquam de thesauris dominicis, et in illâ quid sit gravius appendamus. De Bapt. contr. Donat. l. 2. cap. 6. n. 9. T. ix.

[q] Sed illud plane non prætereundum est, ut si ad te quisquam catechizandus venerit liberalibus doctrinis excultus, qui jam decreverit esse christianus—— Nec ipse sane inutiliter rogatur, quibus rebus motus sit, ut velit esse christianus; ut si libris ei persuasum esse videris, sive canonicis, sive utilium tractatorum, de his aliquid in principio loquaris, collaudans eos pro diversitate meritorum canonicæ auctoritatis, et exponentium solertissimæ diligentiæ, &c. De Catechizand. Rudid. cap. 8. n. 12. T. vi.

[r] Sanctus Spiritus docet, qui nobis ait per apostolum—Ep. 43. cap. i. T. ii.

[s] Non enim de libro Dei hoc recitaturus est. Ep. 54. cap. 4.

[t] ——Ut scripturam Dei, qui nobis hæc omnia futura pronuntiavit. Ep. 77. n. 1.—Utinam scripturæ Dei solicitâ mente intendentes.—Ep. 78. in.

[u] ——ita eum Domino commendante, meruit auctoritatem, ut verba illius hodie sic audiantur in ecclesiâ, tanquam illo Christus—locutus audiretur. Contr. Faust. l. 28. c. 4.

[v] Quando Johannes apostolus legebatur, audivimus loquentem per eum Spiritum Sanctum. Serm. 182. in. T. V.

22. Nothing could be received as a doctrine of religion, unless proved by scripture; Augustine, therefore, explaining the Creed, says to his hearers, 'Whatever[w] you find in the Creed is contained in the divine scriptures.'

23. Arguing upon a point in one of his sermons, he takes the book of the gospel into his hands, and says, 'Hear,[x] therefore, from the book itself; for I now perform the office not of a disputant only, but of a reader, that our discourse may be founded upon the authority of sacred scripture, not upon human suppositions, which would be building upon the sand. Hear then the gospel of John. The Lord speaks.'

24. I put in the margin a passage where[y] Augustine calls upon men to inquire impartially, and to determine disputable points by reason and scripture, joining prayer therewith.

25. He says, 'The[z] books of the canonical scriptures of the Old and New Testament, established in the times of the apostles, and confirmed by the testimony of the successions of bishops and churches in all following times, are placed in a peculiar degree of authority, to which the judgment and understanding of all faithful and pious men are subject.

[w] Quidquid enim in Symbolo, in divinis sacrarum scripturarum literis continetur. Serm. 212.

[x] Sed ex ipso codice audite. Propterea enim non tantum disputatoris, sed etiam lectoris fungor officio, ut sermo iste noster sanctarum scripturarum auctoritate fulciatur, non humanis suspicionibus super arenam ædificetur. Audite ergo evangelium secundum Johannem. Dominus loquitur. Serm. 362. cap. 22. T. v.

[y] Cessabit a nostris partibus terror temporalium potestatum. Cesset etiam a vestris partibus terror congregatorum Circumcellionum. Re agamus, ratione agamus, divinarum scripturarum auctoritate agamus—quæramus, pulsemus, ut accipiamus et inveniamus. Ep. 33. n. 7. T. ii.

[z] Quod genus literarum non cum credendi necessitate, sed cum judicandi libertate legendum est—distincta est a posterioribus libris excellentia canonicæ auctoritatis Veteris et Novi Testamenti, quæ apostolorum confirmata temporibus, per successiones episcoporum, et propagationes ecclesiarum, tanquam in sede quâdam sublimiter constituta est, cui serviat omnis fidelis et pius intellectus. Ibi si quid velut absurdum moverit, non licet dicere; auctor hujus libri non tenuit veritatem; sed, aut codex mendosus est, aut interpres erravit, aut tu non intelligis. In opusculis autem posteriorum, quæ libris innumerabilibus continentur, sed nullo modo illæ sacratissimæ canonicarum scripturarum excellentiæ coæquantur; etiam in quibuscumque eorum invenitur eadem veritas, longe tamen est impar auctoritas. Itaque in eis, si qua forte propterea dissonare putantur a vero——tamen liberum ibi habet lector auditorve judicium, quo vel approbet quod placuerit vel improbet quod offenderit.——In illâ vero canonicâ eminentiâ sacrarum literarum, etiamsi unus propheta, seu apostolus, aut evangelista aliquid in suis literis posuisse ipsâ canonis confirmatione declaratur, non licet dubitare quod verum sit. Contr. Faust. l. xi. cap. 5. T. viii.

In many books of later times the same truths may be found; but in them they are not of the same authority as in the canonical books of scripture. Other authors may err; the sacred writers are infallible. Nor is it necessary that a thing should be said by many of them; if but one prophet, or apostle, or evangelist has said it, we are sure it is true.'

XII. One proof of regard for the sacred scriptures, is the solemn and reverential reading them as a part of public worship.

1. In Augustine's time the scriptures were constantly read in the religious assemblies of christians in Africa; some parts of scripture were by custom usually read at certain seasons of the year. Of this Augustine speaks in the prologue[a] to his tracts or sermons upon the first epistle of John; and in[b] some of his sermons at the time of Easter, or the week before it. We saw, some time ago, that[c] the book of the Acts was begun to be read at Easter.

2. They had oftentimes three readings, and as it seems in this order; epistles of apostles, a psalm, the gospels: at least that order is several times mentioned at the beginning[d] of Augustine's sermons, which were discourses upon such portions of scripture as had been before read. Sometimes he discoursed briefly[e] upon each of the readings: at other times he pitched upon[f] one of them only as a subject of discourse.

[a] Meminit Sanctitas Vestra evangelium secundum Johannem ex ordine lectionum nos solere tractare. Sed quia nunc interposita est solennitas sanctorum dierum, quibus certas ex evangelio lectiones oportet in ecclesiâ recitari; quæ ita sunt annuæ, ut aliæ esse non possint: ordo ille, quem susceperamus, necessitate paululum intermissus est, non amissus. Prolog. in Tract. in ep. Jo. T. iii. p. 2.

[b] Resurrectio Domini nostri Jesu Christi et hodie recitata est. Primo enim lecta est secundum Matthæum, hesterno autem die secundum Marcum, hodie secundum Lucam; sic habet ordo evangelistarum. Sicut enim passio ipsius ab omnibus evangelistis conscripta est, sic dies isti septem vel octo dant spatium, ut secundum omnes evangelistas resurrectio Domini recitetur. Passio autem, quia uno die legitur, non solet legi nisi secundum Matthæum. Serm. 232. cap. 1. T. v. Vid. et Serm. 239. cap. 1.

[c] P. 506.

[d] Lectiones sanctæ propositæ sunt, et quas audiamus, et de quibus aliquid sermonis, adjuvante Domino, proferamus. In lectione apostolicâ gratiæ aguntur Domino de fide gentium. In Psalmo diximus. In evangelio ad cœnam vocati sumus. Serm. 112. n. 1. T. v. Apostolum audivimus, psalmum audivimus, evangelium audivimus. Consonant omnes divinæ lectiones. Serm. 165. n. 1.

[e] Primam lectionem audivimus apostoli. Deinde cantavimus psalmum. Post hæc evangelica lectio decem leprosos mundatos nobis ostendit. Has tres lectiones, quantum pro tempore possumus, pertractemus, dicentes pauca de singulis. Serm. 176. n. 1.

[f] Lectiones sanctas plures, cum recitarentur, audivimus: et de his oportet nos dicere quod Dominus fuerit donare dignatus. Sed lectionum omnis

3. In the work Of the City of God he speaks of the reading the scriptures as a general thing among christians. 'In[g] the faithful writings of the evangelists are recorded both the miracles of Christ, and the doctrine, for the confirming of which they were wrought. They were published to produce faith; and because they were believed, they have been made still more public: for they are read to the people that they may be believed; and if they had not been believed, they would not have been read. The canonical books of scripture being read every where, the miracles therein recorded are well known to all people.'

4. In the same work he has[h] an excellent article of the benefit of the christian religion, 'on account of the public reading the scriptures in the churches, where was a confluence of all sorts of people of both sexes; and the best rules of life, with proper arguments, are proposed: and if some attended on these readings who were not made thoroughly virtuous, the advantage to many was very great, and the usefulness of the design was manifest.'

5. He observes, in a sermon, that[i] the epistles of Peter and Paul were daily read to the people all over the world.

XIII. I formerly[k] alleged divers excellent observations of Augustine, in answer to the Manichees, concerning the genuineness and integrity of the books of the New Testament. I shall now add here no more than a passage or two upon those points.

auditor, quod recentius lectum est, magis meminit; et, ut inde aliquid a tractatore verbi dicatur, exspectat. Cum ergo ultimum sit sanctum evangelium recitatum, &c. Serm. 49. in.

[g] In eisdem quippe veracissimis libris cuncta conscripta sunt, et quæ facta sunt, et propter quod credendum facta sunt. Hæc, ut fidem facerent, innotuerunt. Hæc per fidem, quam fecerunt, multo clarius innotescunt. Leguntur quippe in populis ut credantur. Nec in populis, nisi credita, legerentur——— Canon quippe sacrarum literarum, quem definitum esse oportebat, illa facit ubique recitari, et memoriæ cunctorum inhærere populorum. De Civ. Dei, l. xxii. c. 8. T. vii.

[h] ——— quia populi confluunt ad ecclesias castâ celebritate, honestâ utriusque sexûs discretione. Ubi audiant, quam bene hic ad tempus vivere debeant, ut post hanc vitam beate semperque vivere mereantur: ubi sanctâ scripturâ justitiæque doctrinâ de superiore loco in conspectu omnium personante, et qui faciunt, audiant ad præmium: et qui non faciunt, audiant ad judicium. Quo etsi veniunt quidam talium præceptorum irrisores, omnis eorum petulantia aut repentinâ immutatione deponitur, aut timore vel pudore comprimitur. Nihil enim eis turpe ac flagitiosum spectandum imitandumque proponitur, ubi veri Dei aut præcepta insinuantur, aut miracula narrantur, aut dona laudantur, aut beneficia postulantur. De Civ. Dei, l. ii. c. 28.

[i] Literæ ipsorum quotidie populis recitantur. Et quibus populis; et quantis populis? Psalmum adtendite. In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum. Serm. 298. c. 1. T. v.

[k] P. 420—426.

1. He says: 'The[l] genuineness and integrity of the same scriptures may be relied upon, which have been spread all over the world, and which from the time of their publication were in the highest esteem, and have been carefully kept in the churches, or by christian people.'

2. 'Moreover,[m] there are some who say that was not Cyprian's sentiment; and that some have fraudulently inserted it in his writings: for the integrity of the books of any one bishop, however eminent, cannot be so completely kept, as that of the canonical scripture, translated into so many languages, and kept by the people of every age; and yet some there have been who have forged writings with the names of apostles. In vain, indeed, because that scripture has been so esteemed, so celebrated, so known. Nevertheless those audacious attempts show what may be done with regard to others, not so well known.'

XIV. I shall take notice of very few various readings.

1. Augustine had in his copies of St. John's gospel the[n] history of the woman taken in adultery. See ch. viii.

2. He had the latter part of St. Mark's gospel; as appears from[o] his books of the Consent of the Evangelists, and from quotations of it elsewhere.

3. How he read the Lord's Prayer, as recorded in St. Luke, was observed[p] formerly.

XV. It is very fit we should observe what notice Augustine has taken of the Latin version or versions of the scriptures, in use in his time.

1. Quoting a text of Genesis: 'As,' says[q] he, 'the Greek copies have it, from which that scripture has been translated.'

[l] Porro, si mendax est evangelium disseminatum et notum omnibus gentibus, et ab initio prædicationis Christi in ecclesiis omnibus in tanto sanctitatis culmine collocatum; quæ scriptura proferri potest, cui de Christo fides habenda sit? Contr. Faust. l. xvi. c. 11. T. viii.

[m] Quanquam non desint, qui hoc Cyprianum prorsus non sensisse contendunt, sed sub ejus nomine a præsumtoribus atque mendacibus fuisse confictum. Neque enim sic potuit integritas atque notitia librorum unius quamlibet illustris episcopi custodiri, quemadmodum scriptura canonica, tot linguarum literis, et ordine, et successione celebrationis ecclesiasticæ custoditur. Contra quam tamen non defuerunt, qui sub nominibus apostolorum multa confingerent. Frustra quidem, quia illa sic commendata, sic celebrata, sic nota est. Verum quid possit adversus literas, non canonicâ auctoritate fundatas, etiam hinc demonstravit impiæ conatus audaciæ, quod et adversus eas, quæ tantâ notitiæ mole firmatæ sunt, esse erigere non prætermisit. Ep. 93. cap. 10. n. 38. T. ii.

[n] Nam cum ad Dominum Christum Judæi adduxissent mulierem in adulterio comprehensam, eumque tentantes dicerent, quod jussa esset lege lapidari, &c. Ep. 153. cap. 4. n. 9. T. ii.

[o] Vid. de Consens. Ev. l. iii. cap. 25. n. 76. [p] Vol. ii. p. 560.

[q] Sicut Græci codices habent, unde in Latinam linguam scriptura ista conversa est. De Civ. Dei, l. xiii. cap. 24. n. 1.

2. In his Retractations he owns, that[r] in a work which he then revised, he had made a wrong quotation of a text from the Psalms, being misled by the Latin translation, made from the Greek version of the Seventy; from whence the scriptures of the Old Testament had been translated.

3. In a letter written to Jerom, in 394 or 395, he approves of Jerom's translating, that is, making a new Latin translation of the Greek version of the Seventy; but[s] is against his translating the same canonical scriptures of the Old Testament from Hebrew into Latin.

4. In another letter to Jerom, written about 405 or 406, he[t] in some measure approves of Jerom's undertaking to translate from the Hebrew: and he earnestly desires him to send to him his Latin translation of the scriptures from the Seventy; especially because the versions already made, and then in use, were full of faults, and made by unskilful persons. But though he approves of Jerom's design in translating from the Hebrew as useful, he could not consent to the reading of that version in the churches, because the people, who had been long used to a translation from the Seventy, would be disturbed and offended.

5. In a book, written in 419, Augustine often compares[u] the translation from the Seventy, and Jerom's translation from the Hebrew.

[r] In eo—ubi posui testimonium in quo legitur—mendositas nostri codicis me fefellit.—Hoc esse verius Græci libri indicant, ex quâ linguâ in Latinam secundum Septuaginta interpretes veterum divinarum scripturarum est facta translatio. Retract. l. i. c. 7. n. 2. T. i.

[s] De vertendis autem in Latinam linguam sanctis literis canonicis laborare te nollem, nisi eo modo quo Job interpretatus es: ut, signis adhibitis, quid inter hanc tuam et Septuaginta, quorum est gravissima auctoritas, interpretationem distet, appareat. Satis autem nequeo mirari, si aliquid adhuc in Hebræis exemplaribus invenitur, quod tot interpretes illius linguæ peritissimos fugerit. Omitto enim Septuaginta, de quorum vel consilii vel spiritûs majore concordiâ, quam si unus homo esset, non audeo in aliquam partem certam ferre sententiam, nisi quod eis præeminentem auctoritatem in hoc munere sine controversiâ tribuendam existimo, &c. Ep. 28. cap. 2. T. ii.

[t] De interpretatione tuâ jam mihi persuasisti, quâ utilitate scripturas volueris transferre de Hebræis—Deinde nobis mittas obsecro interpretationem tuam de Septuaginta, quam te edidisse nesciebam—Ideo autem desidero interpretationem tuam de Septuaginta, ut et tantâ Latinorum interpretum, qui qualescumque ausi sunt, quantum possumus, imperitiâ careamus; et hi, qui me invidere putant utilibus laboribus tuis, tandem aliquando, si fieri potest, intelligant propterea me nolle tuam ex Hebræo interpretationem in ecclesiis legi, ne contra Septuaginta auctoritatem, tanquam novum aliquid proferentes, magno scandalo perturbemus plebes Christi, quarum aures et corda illam interpretationem audire consueverunt, quæ etiam ab apostolis approbata est. Ep. 82. cap. v. n. 34, 35. T. ii.

[u] Vid. Quæstiones in Heptateuch. l. vi. Qu. 19. Qu. 24. Qu. 25. l. vii. Qu. 37. T. iii. p. 1.

6. In the last book of the Christian Doctrine, written about 426, he quotes[v] a passage of the prophet Amos not in the translation from the Seventy, but in Jerom's translation from the Hebrew.

7. I shall now put down some observations. In the second book of the Christian Doctrine, written in 397, after the long passage transcribed at the beginning of this chapter, he says: 'They[w] who use the Latin tongue, for whose instruction I now write, will want for their assistance in understanding the divine scriptures, the knowledge of two other languages, even the Hebrew and the Greek, that they may have recourse to the originals, when there is any doubt about the exactness of the Latin version: whereupon he proceeds to take notice of the great number, and of the unskilfulness of the Latin translators.'

Afterwards he says: 'And[x] among translations let that be preferred, which is most literal and clear; and for correcting all manner of Latin translations recourse should be had to the Greek;' where he argues, that for the Old Testament, the Greek of the Seventy ought to be consulted. 'As for the New Testament, there can be no question but that we ought to have recourse to the Greek copies, and especially such as are to be found with churches of the greatest learning and knowledge.'

At the beginning of the passage just quoted, Augustine is supposed to say, agreeably to the editions of this work which we now have: 'And among translations, let the Italic be preferred: for it keeps close to the original, without obscurity.' But that here is some fault of transcribers, appears to me highly probable. I shall therefore allege largely the words of Mr. David Casley, in his excellent preface

[v] Non autem secundum Septuaginta interpretes.—Sed sicut ex Hebræo in Latinum eloquium presbytero Hieronymo utriusque linguæ perito interpretante translata sunt. De Doctr. Christ. l. iv. cap. 10. n. 15. T. iii. p. 1.

[w] Et Latinæ quidem linguæ homines, quos nunc instruendos suscepimus, duabus aliis ad scripturarum divinarum cognitionem opus habent, Hebræâ scilicet et Græcâ, ut ad exemplaria præcedentia recurratur, si quam dubitationem attulerit Latinorum interpretum infinita varietas.—Qui enim scripturas ex Hebræâ linguâ in Græcam verterunt, numerari possunt, Latini autem interpretes nullo modo. Ut enim cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex Græcus, et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguæ habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari. De Doctrin. Chr. l. ii. cap. 11. n. 16. T. iii. p. 1.

[x] In ipsis autem interpretationibus Itala cæteris præferatur: nam est verborum tenacior, cum perspicuitate sententiæ. Et Latinis quibuslibet emendandis Græci adhibeantur, in quibus Septuaginta interpretum, quod ad Vetus Testamentum attinet, excellit auctoritas——Libros autem Novi Testamenti, si quid in Latinis varietatibus titubat, Græcis cedere oportere non dubium est, et maxime qui apud ecclesias doctiores et diligentiores reperiuntur. Ibid. cap. 15. n. 22.

before the Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the King's Library, p. xix. xx. 'I cannot refrain adding what I had in 'conversation from my worthy patron, Dr. Bentley—In St. 'Augustine's second book de Doctrinâ Christianâ, speaking 'of the several versions of the holy scriptures: In ipsis autem 'interpretationibus Itala cæteris præferatur; nam est verbo-'rum tenacior, cum perspicuitate sententiæ. Et Latinis 'quibuslibet emendandis Græci adhibeantur. Which the 'Doctor corrects: Illa cæteris præferatur, quæ est verbo-'rum tenacior; which, or somewhat like it, must be the true 'reading. For had there been a version in Augustine's time 'distinguished by the name of "Italic," to which he gave 'the preference for its strict adherence to the words of the 'original, how comes he never to name it, but this once; and 'that in the poetic word "Itala," and not "Italica?" How 'should all other Latin fathers be silent about it? How 'could Jerom in particular miss it, who wrote so much upon 'that subject in several of his works; and especially in his 'Preface to the New Testament; wherein he says, that Pope 'Damasus ordered him to compare the several Latin ver-'sions, and to make such an one as should be authentic; or 'in his epistle to Pammachius, about the best way of trans-'lating?——It seems not improbable, that it was at first '"illa Latina cæteris præferatur:" which being changed to '"Itala, quæ" must be changed to "nam" of course. And 'this is the more probable, from the "Latinis quibuslibet," 'set in opposition to it, in the same sentence.'

So Mr. Casley: And to me it seems, that there is great force in the argument taken from the silence of Jerom, and other ancient writers; and even of Augustine himself, who has never mentioned this Italic version elsewhere. If I understand Mr. Casley, Dr. Bentley's emendation was 'illa 'cæteris præferatur, quæ.'—And what was mentioned just now, 'illa Latina cæteris præferatur, quæ," is Mr. Casley's own. Possibly Dr. Bentley said, 'et illa:' that seems to me to be the most likely reading: it is very easily changed into 'Itala.' And I have observed a passage of Augustine, which may be of some use to confirm it: Habet enim et illa parva ætas magnum testimonii pondus, quæ primo pro Christo meruit sanguinem fundere. De Gen. ad Lit. l. x. cap. 23. T. iii. P. i. I therefore would read this passage of Augustine after this manner: In ipsis autem interpretationibus et illa cæteris præferatur, quæ est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ: and I have translated it accordingly. Augustine there lays down a rule concerning translations in general: he had no occasion to begin with

particular notice of any version whatever. But having laid down a general observation concerning translations, the mention of the Latin version follows, as here, very properly.

XVI. Many good interpretations of scripture might be collected out of St. Augustine's works: I observe a very few only.

1. Matth. vi. 13,—"but deliver us from evil." He[y] does not understand that of the evil one, but of the evil of affliction. At the same time it appears, I think, that Augustine's copies of the Lord's Prayer, as in St. Matthew, concluded with that petition, without the doxology.

2. Augustine understood Rom. viii. 33, 34, after this manner: 'Who[z] shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? God, who justifies: by no means. Who shall condemn? Christ, who died? yea rather, who is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us? by no means.'——So likewise the acute Mr. Locke upon the place.

XVII. I shall conclude this chapter with select passages concerning a variety of subjects.

1. In the first place I shall take some select observations concerning the scriptures.

(1.) In his books Of the City of God, which are a defence of the christian religion against heathens, he has this fine observation: 'Our[a] canonical books of scripture, which are of the highest authority with us, have been settled with great care: they ought to be few, lest their value should be diminished; and yet they are so many, and written by so many persons, that their agreement throughout is wonderful.'

[y] Cum dicimus: 'Libera nos a malo,' nos admonemus cogitare, nondum nos esse in eo bono, ubi nullum patiemur malum. Et hoc quidem ultimum quod in Dominicâ Oratione positum est, tam late patet, ut homo christianus in quâlibet tribulatione constitutus, in hoc gemitus edat, in hoc lacrymas fundat, hinc exordiatur, in hoc immoretur, ad hoc terminet orationem. Ep. 130. c. 11. n. 21. T. ii.

[z] Pronuntiabitur ergo ita, ut post percontationem, quâ dicimus: 'Quis accusabit electos Dei?' illud quod sequitur sono interrogationis enuntietur. 'Deus qui justificat?' ut tacite respondeatur: non. Et item percontemur: 'Quis est, qui condemnat?' Rursusque interrogemus: 'Christus Jesus, qui 'mortuus est, magis autem qui resurrexit, qui est in dexterâ Dei, qui et inter-'pellat pro nobis?' Ut ubique tacite respondeatur: non. De Doctrin. Christian. l. iii. cap. 3. n. 6.

[a] Denique auctores nostri, in quibus non frustra sacramentum literarum figitur, et terminatur canon, absit ut in aliquâ ratione dissentiant——Ipsi sane pauci esse debuerunt, ne multitudine vilesceret, quod religione carum esse oporteret; nec tamen ita pauci, ut eorum non sit miranda consensio. De Civ. D. l. xviii. c. 41. T. vii.

(2.) In an argument with the Manichees, Augustine has these expressions. 'I [b] should not believe the gospel, if I were not induced thereto by the authority of the catholic church.'

Upon which passage we may observe, 1. This is an expression put forth in the heat of dispute: 2. The word 'authority' is of ambiguous meaning, and is sometimes equivalent to 'testimony:' 3. Probably the 'testimony of the church,' here spoken of, relates to the genuineness or authenticity of the books of the New Testament; which is not to be known but by the testimony of christians, and others. That seems to be the best account of this passage; and so understood it may be reckoned reasonable and just. To this purpose [c] Beausobre.

(3.) In the second book of the christian doctrine, he speaks of the difficulty of understanding some parts of scripture; but he says, that [d] nothing is said in obscure places, but may be found clearly expressed in others; which he takes to be a proof of the wonderful wisdom of God.

(4.) In a sermon, he speaks of [e] the fullness and variety of the divine oracles, and [f] of their length and breadth; so that the things therein taught may be understood without mistake, and be kept without labour, by him who loves God and his neighbour.

(5.) Again: 'So [g] great is the depth of the christian scriptures, that I might be continually improving in the knowledge of them, if I were to study them only, from early youth to old age, in much leisure, with great care, and with a better capacity than mine: though all things necessary to salvation may be thence learned without difficulty.'

(6.) In another place he says: 'As [h] there are innumera-

[b] Ego vero evangelio non crederem, nisi me catholicæ ecclesiæ commoneret auctoritas. Contr. Ep. Fundam. cap. 5. T. viii.

[c] See Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 446.

[d] Magnifice igitur et salubriter Spiritus Sanctus ita scripturas sanctas modificavit, ut locis apertioribus fami occurreret, obscurioribus autem fastidia detergeret. Nihil enim fere de illis obscuritatibus eruitur, quod non planissime dictum alibi aperiatur. De Doctr. Christ. l. ii. c. 6. n. 8. T. iii.

[e] Divinarum scripturarum multiplicem abundantiam, latissimamque doctrinam, fratres mei, sine ullo errore comprehendit, et sine ullo labore custodit, cujus cor plenum est caritate. Serm. 250. n. 1. T. v.

[f] Totam magnitudinem et latitudinem divinorum eloquiorum secure possidet caritas, quâ Deum proximumque diligimus. Ib. n. 2.

[g] Tanta est enim christianarum profunditas literarum, ut in eis continuo proficerem, si eas solas ab ineunte pueritiâ usque ad decrepitam senectutem, maximo otio, summo studio, meliore ingenio addiscerem. Non quod ad ea quæ necessaria sunt saluti tantâ in eis perveniatur difficultate. Ep. 137. n. 3. T. ii. Vid. ibid. cap. 5. n. 18.

[h] Et miror, quod hoc te latet, quod non solum in aliis innumerabilibus

ble other things which he was ignorant of; so also in the scriptures, there are many more things which he did not know than he did know.'

Those expressions may be reckoned proofs of Augustine's humility and modesty, as well as of his high veneration for the scriptures.

(7.) There is a passage concerning the depth of the scriptures in[i] Augustine's Confessions, to which I refer.

(8.) Some[k] cast lots upon the gospels, and consulted them for direction in their secular affairs; which, he says, is better than going to dæmons, but yet is to be blamed.

2. Augustine has some very fine observations,[l] arguing the truth of the christian religion, from its wonderful progress; the foundation of which had been laid in the doctrine of a man ignominiously crucified, and the labours of his apostles, fishermen and publicans, who also underwent all manner of sufferings, and which was cherished by the sufferings of believers for a long time: till at length the ancient idolatry, with its foolish rites, had been almost universally abolished, and the true God every where worshipped, and throughout many nations all of every rank, high and low, learned and unlearned, gloried in Jesus Christ, as their Lord and Master.

In another work, speaking of the timorousness of the

multa me latent, sed etiam in ipsis sanctis scripturis multo nesciam plura quam sciam. Ep. 55. cap. 21. n. 38.

[i] Mira profunditas eloquiorum tuorum—Deus meus, mira profunditas. Confess. l. xii. c. 14. T. i.

[k] Hi vero qui de paginis evangelicis sortes legunt, etsi optandum est ut hoc potius faciant, quam ad dæmonia consulenda concurrant; tam etiam ista mihi displicet consuetudo, ad negotia secularia, et ad vitæ hujus vanitatem, propter aliam vitam loquentia oracula divina velle convertere. Ep. 55. cap. 20. n. 37. T. ii.

[l] Quanquam etiam si de Christo et ecclesiâ testimonia nulla præcederent, quem non movere deberet, ut crederet, repente illuxisse divinam humano generi claritatem; quando videmus, relictis diis falsis, et eorum contractis usquequaque simulacris, templis subversis, sive in alios usus commutatis, atque ab humanâ veternosissimâ consuetudine tot vanis ritibus exstirpatis, unum verum Deum ab omnibus invocari? Et hoc esse factum per unum hominem ab hominibus illusum, comprehensum, vinctum, flagellatum, expalmatum, exprobratum, crucifixum, occisum: discipulis ejus, quos idiotas, et imperitos, et piscatores, et publicanos, per quos ejus magisterium commendaretur, elegit —ita fidelibus usque ad mortem pro veritate, non mala rependentibus, sed perpetiendo certantibus, non occidendo, sed moriendo vincentibus: sic in istam religionem mutatus est mundus, sic ad hoc evangelium corda conversa mortalium, marium et feminarum, parvulorum atque magnorum, doctorum et indoctorum, sapientium et insapientium—nobilium et ignobilium—et per omnes gentes ecclesia diffusa sic crevit, ut contra ipsam catholicam fidem nulla secta perversa, nullum genus exoriatur erroris, quod ita reperiatur christianæ veritati adversari, ut non affectet atque ambiat Christi nomine gloriari. De Fide Rerum, quæ non videntur. cap. 7. T. vi.

philosophers, and the superior effect of the christian religion above their schemes, he says to the remaining heathens: 'If[m] the philosophers, in whose names they gloried, were to live again, and should see the churches crowded, the temples forsaken, and men called from the love of temporal fleeting things to the hope of eternal life, and the possession of spiritual and heavenly blessings, and readily embracing them, provided they were really such as they were said to have been, perhaps they would say: These are things which we did not dare to say to the people; we rather gave way to their custom, than endeavoured to draw them over to our best thoughts and apprehensions.'

Indeed, Augustine has many excellent arguments for the truth of the christian religion, and of the evangelical history.

Peter, he[n] says, and the other apostles had no interest to serve, of honour or profit, in preaching the gospel. They suffered all manner of evil; yet they continued to assert that Jesus, who had been crucified, was risen from the dead; which they must have known to be true; otherwise they would not have asserted it, especially in those circumstances, in the midst of such dangers, and in the view of such sufferings as they were exposed to.

Augustine speaks very often of the great advantage which[o] christians have in their arguments for the truth of

[m] Illi enim, si reviviscerent, quorum nominibus isti gloriantur, et invenirent refertas ecclesias, templaque deserta, et a cupiditate bonorum temporalium et fluentium ad spem vitæ æternæ et bona spiritalia et intelligibilia vocari et currere humanum genus, dicerent fortasse, si tales essent quales memorantur: hæc sunt, quæ nos persuadere populis non ausi sumus, et eorum potius consuetudini cessimus, quam illos in nostram fidem voluntatemque traduximus. De Verâ Relig. cap. 4. T. i.

[n] Cogitate, fratres, quale fuit, mitti homines per orbem terrarum prædicare hominem crucifixum resurrexisse, et pro istâ prædicatione perpeti omnia, quæ insaniens mundus inferret damna, exilia, vincula, tormenta, flammas, bestias, cruces, mortes. Hoc pro nescio quo? Numquid enim, fratres mei, Petrus pro suâ gloriâ moriebatur, aut seipsum prædicabat? Alius moriebatur, ut alius honoraretur: alius occidebatur, ut alius coleretur. Numquid hoc faceret, nisi flagrantiâ caritatis, de conscientiâ veritatis? Nam quomodo pro eâ re morerentur, quam non viderant? Serm. 311. cap. 2. T. v.

[o] Ideo ergo sparsi sunt, ut nobis libros servent. Serm. 5. n. 5. Tom. v.—Propter hoc enim illa gens regno suo pulsa est, et dispersa per terras, ut ejus fidei, cujus inimici sunt, ubique testes fieri cogerenter. Serm. 201. n. 3. T. v. Vid. Serm. 200. cap. 2. 202. cap. 3. 204. n. 3. 374. n. 2.—Reproba per infidelitatem gens ipsa Judæorum, a sedibus exstirpata, per mundum usquequaque dispergitur, ut ubique portet codices sanctos, ac sic prophetiæ testimonium, quâ Christus et ecclesia prænuntiata est, ne ad tempus a nobis fictum existimaretur, ab ipsis adversariis proferatur, ubi etiam prædictum est, non fuisse credituros. Ep. 137. n. 16. T. 2. Et hoc enim magnum est, quod Deus præstitit ecclesiæ suæ ubique diffusæ, ut gens Judæa, merito debellata et dispersa per terras, ne a nobis hæc composita putarentur, codices prophetiarum

the gospel, from the subsistence and dispersion of the Jewish people, who every where bear testimony to the antiquity and genuineness of the books of the Old Testament; so that none could say they were afterwards forged by christians. He [p] thinks it a work of Divine Providence, that the Jews, who had been justly expelled from their own territories, should still subsist, and be every where, to bear witness to the ancient prophecies which had been fulfilled in Christ and the church, or the numerous converts to a faith in him all over the world.

He therefore calls the Jews the [q] librarians of the christians: he compares them to [r] servants that carry books for the use of children of noble families; or that [s] carry a chest or bag of evidences for a disputant, who alleges them as evidences of what he could make out and prove.

4. It will be very proper to take notice of some of Augustine's passages, where he speaks of the design of Christ's coming, and of the ends and uses of his sufferings and death.

(1.) He says, that [t] Christ assumed a human body, and lived among men, that he might set us an example of living, and dying, and rising again.

(2.) In [u] his passion, he showed what we ought to endure;

nostrarum, et inimica fidei nostræ testis fieret veritatis nostræ. De Cons. Evang. l. i. c. 26. n. 40. T. iii. p. 2. et vid. ib. cap. 14. n. 22.

[p] Magis verendum erat, ne tantâ rerum evidentiâ circumfusus fortasse diceret, postea quam ista per mundum fieri cœperunt, christianos has literas composuisse, ut ante prædicta putarentur ne quasi temere humanitus facta contemnerentur. Hoc verendum erat, nisi esset late sparsus lateque notus populus Judæorum———Per eorum quippe codices probamus, non a nobis, tanquam de rerum eventu commonitis istâ esse conscripta, sed olim in illo regno prædicta atque servata, nunc autem manifestata et completa. Contr. Faust. l. xiii. cap. x. n. 7, 8. Conf. l. xvi. cap. 11. et de Civ. Dei, l. iv. cap. 34.

[q] Propterea autem adhuc Judæi sunt, ut libros nostros portent, ad confusionem suam———Librarii nostri facti sunt, quomodo solent servi post dominos codices ferre, ut illi portando deficiant, illi legendo proficiant. Enar. in Ps. lvi. n. 9. T. iv. Conf. in Ps. lviii. Serm. 1. n. 22. eod. tom.

[r] Et sparsi per orbem terrarum facti sunt quasi custodes librorum nostrorum. Quomodo servi, quando eunt in auditorium domini ipsorum, portant post illos codices, et foris sedent: sic—Serm. 5. n. 5. T. v.

[s] Quid est enim aliud hodieque gens ipsa, nisi quædam scriniaria christianorum, bajulans legem et prophetas ad testimonium adsertionis ecclesiasticæ—Contr. Faust. l. xii. c. 23. T. viii.—Nobis serviunt Judæi; tanquam capsarii nostri sunt; studentibus nobis codices portant. Enar. in Ps. xli. n. 14. T. 4. —Remanserunt illi, ad quos missi sunt, codices ferentes, veritatem non intelligentes; testamenti tabulas habentes, et hæreditatem non tenentes. Enar. in Ps. lxvii. n. 7.

[t] Jesus Christus, qui, humano corpore assumto, ad hoc utique hominibus homo factus apparuit, ut nobis et vivendi et moriendi et resurgendi præberet exemplum. Serm. 210. cap. 1. T. v.

[u] In passione quid egit? Docuit quid toleremus. In resurrectione quid egit? Ostendit quid speremus. Hic opus, ibi merces: opus in passione, merces in resurrectione. Serm. 213. cap. 4.

in his resurrection, what we are to hope for. In the one, we see our duty; in the other our reward.

(3.) He speaks very much to the same purpose[v] in another sermon.

(4.) He says, that[w] Christ, when on earth, was not remarkable for worldly splendour and happiness, because he was to declare the doctrine of eternal life. Yea, therefore did he suffer all manner of evil, that his followers might the better understand what rewards they are to expect, and that their thoughts might be raised to heavenly things.

(5.) Christ's[x] whole life on earth, he says, was an institution of virtue.

(6.) In[y] what he suffered from his enemies he gave us an example of patience, that, if it should be required of us, we also might be willing to suffer for the truth of the gospel.

(7.) Having in a sermon quoted John xii. 24, 25, he[z] enlarges, in showing that the design of the death of Christ was to gain converts, and make martyrs. In his death he made a gainful traffic; he purchased faithful men and martyrs; he bought us with his blood; he laid down the price of our redemption. Martyrs have returned what was laid out for them; that is, have given what was purchased, even their lives.

(8.) In another place he says, that[a] Christ taught his

[v] Passio Christi significat miserias hujus vitæ. Resurrectio Christi ostendit beatitudinem futuræ vitæ. In præsenti laboremus: in futura speremus. Modo tempus est operis: tunc mercedis. Serm. 233. in. T. v.

[w] Itaque Christus homo, ut per eum revelaretur Novi gratia Testamenti, quæ non ad temporalem, sed ad æternam vitam pertinet, non utique terrenâ felicitate commendandus fuit. Inde subjectio, inde passio, inde flagella, sputa, contumeliæ, crux, vulnera, et tanquam superato subjectoque mors ipsa, ut fideles ejus discerent, quale pietatis præmium ab illo, cujus filii facti essent, petere atque sperare deberent, &c. Ep. 140. cap. v. n. 13. T. ii.—Hoc enim voluit pati in conspectu inimicorum, quo eum tanquam derelictum putarent, ut gratia commendaretur Novi Testamenti, quâ disceremus etiam quærere felicitatem, quæ nunc est in fide, postea vero erit in specie, &c. Ibid. cap. 9.

[x] Tota itaque vita ejus in terris, per hominem quem suscipere dignatus est, disciplina morum est. De Verâ Relig. cap. 16. n. 32. T. i.

[y] Et quidem ad salutem nostram, et vitæ hujus transigendæ utilitatem, in his quæ passus est ab inimicis Dominus noster exemplum patientiæ nobis præbere dignatus est: ut pro evangelicâ dignitate, si hoc ipse voluerit, nihil tale perpeti recusemus. Serm. 218. cap. 1. Conf. Serm. 231. cap. 5.

[z] Quantas mortes emit unus moriens, qui si non moreretur, granum frumenti non multiplicaretur.—Egit enim in cruce grande commercium. Ibi solutus sacculus pretii nostri.—Emti sunt fideles, et martyres. Sed martyrum fides probata est. Testis est sanguis. Quod illis impensum est reddiderunt, et impleverunt quod ait sanctus Johannes. 1 Joh. iii. 16. Serm. 329. cap. 1.

[a] Dominus Jesus martyres suos non solum instruxit præcepto, sed et firmavit exemplo. Ut enim quod sequerentur haberent passuri, prior ille passus est pro eis. Iter ostendit, et viam fecit. Serm. 273. in.

martyrs not only by precept, but also by example; that they might have a pattern of suffering, he suffered first; he went before them, and showed them the way.

(9.) God[b] himself, our Master, concealing the majesty of his divinity, and appearing in the weakness of human flesh, not only delivered oracular discourses, but confirmed them by his passion and resurrection. In one he showed us what we ought to endure, in the other what we may hope for.

5. Augustine strongly asserts the necessity and value of good works, particularly offices of kindness and mercy. 'By[c] these alone,' says he, 'we secure happiness; in this way we recover ourselves; in this way we come to God, and are reconciled to him, whom we have greatly provoked. We shall be brought before his presence; let our good works there speak for us; and let them so speak that they may prevail over our offences; for which soever is most will prevail, either for punishment or for mercy.'

6. 'Nothing,' says[d] Augustine, 'is more easy or more pleasant than the ministerial office, if performed slightly and popularly; but then, nothing more contemptible and more miserable in the divine account; on the other hand, nothing more difficult in itself, nor more blessed in the sight of God, when rightly performed.'

7. Jesus[e] Christ, he says, never used force; he only taught and persuaded.

[b] Hoc enim Deus ipse Magister, latente majestate divinitatis, et carnis infirmitate apparente, non solum sermonis oraculo docuit, verum etiam suæ passionis et resurrectionis exemplo roboravit. In alterâ enim qualia tolerare, in alterâ qualia debeamus sperare, monstravit. Ep. 155. cap. 1. n. 4. T. ii.

[c] Alia requies, alia via non est, quâ perveniamus ad Deum, quâ redintegremur, quâ reconciliemur ei, quem periculosissime offendimus. Venturi sumus in conspectum ejus. Loquantur ibi pro nobis opera nostra; et ita loquantur, ut superent offensiones nostras. Quod enim amplius fuerit, hoc obtinebit, vel ad pœnam, si peccata meruerint, vel ad requiem, si opera bona. Serm. 159. n. 4. T. v.

[d] —nihil esse in hac vitâ, et maxime hoc tempore, facilius et lætius, et hominibus acceptabilius, episcopi, aut presbyteri, aut diaconi officio, si perfunctorie et adulatorie res agatur; sed nihil apud Deum miserius, et tristius, et damnabilius. Item nihil esse in hac vitâ, et maxime hoc tempore, difficilius, laboriosius, periculosius, episcopi—officio; sed apud Deum nihil beatius, si eo modo militetur, quo noster imperator jubet. Ep. 21. n. 2. T. ii.

[e] Nihil egit vi, sed omnia monendo et suadendo. De Verâ Relig. cap. 16. n. 31. T. i.

CHAP. CXVIII.

JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, BISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

I. *His time.* II. *A synopsis of scripture, both for the Old and New Testament, with remarks.* III. *Books of the Old Testament received by him.* IV. *The conclusion of the synopsis, containing an enumeration of the books of the New Testament.* V. *His testimony to the books of the New Testament in his other works, particularly to the gospels.* VI. *To the Acts of the Apostles:* VII. *St. Paul's epistles:* VIII. *The catholic epistles:* IX. *The book of the Revelation.* X. *A summary account of books of scripture received by him.* XI. *A passage concerning St. John, from Suidas, and a suppositious oration of Chrysostom.* XII. *Marks of respect for the scriptures.* XIII. *A various reading.* XIV. *Explications of texts.* XV. *Select passages, and miscellaneous observations concerning the Lord Jesus Christ.* XVI. *Concerning Christ's apostles.* XVII. *The speedy and wonderful progress of the gospel.* XVIII. *The credibility of the evangelical history.* XIX. *Miraculous powers of the church.* XX. *Free will.* XXI. *Concerning divers matters.*

I. JOHN[a] called Chrysostom[b] or golden-mouthed, from the charms of his uncommon eloquence, descended of honourable parents, was born at Antioch about the year 347, where he was ordained deacon in 380 or 381, and presbyter in 386; in which station he shined as a preacher twelve years. In 398 he was made bishop of Constantinople, and died in 407.

Jerom, in his book of Illustrious Men, written in 392, has a short chapter for Chrysostom, which I place[c] below.

As I do not write the history of this great orator and voluminous writer, I immediately proceed to take his testi-

[a] Vid. Socrat. H. E. l. 6. cap. 2—5. Sozom. l. 8. cap. 2—7. Cav. H. L. T. i. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 553. &c. Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. xi. Vit. a Benedictin. adornat. Opp. T. xiii. p. 91. &c.

[b] He was not so called till long after his death. Socrates, and other ecclesiastical historians, speaking of him, call him only John, or John of Constantinople.

[c] Joannes Antiochenæ ecclesiæ presbyter, Eusebii Emeseni, Diodorique sectator, multa componere dicitur; de quibus Περι Ἱερωσυνης tantum legi. De V. I. cap. 129.

mony to the scriptures, after which I intend to make some extracts, consisting of interpretations of divers texts, and remarkable observations upon a variety of subjects.

II. Montfauçon has published[d] a Synopsis Scripturæ, which he thinks to be Chrysostom's, as it is said to be in the two only manuscripts of it which are in being: and[e] he has moreover proposed divers considerations, which seem to render it probable, though not certain, that it is really his.

1. This Synopsis is not the same with that found among the works of Athanasius, of which a distinct account was given[f] formerly; but, as[g] Montfauçon says, very different from it, and vastly superior to it.

2. This Synopsis, published as Chrysostom's, is not perfect; it has a proœm or prologue, in which is a general enumeration of the books of the Old and the New Testament; after that follows a Synopsis of the Old Testament, representing the contents of each book, excepting that there are some things wanting in the manuscripts to make it complete; but there is not any Synopsis of the books of the New Testament. There can be little or no room to doubt, that the author composed likewise a Synopsis of the books of the New Testament; and, if Chrysostom be the author, it may be supposed that he enlarged very much in the account of St. Paul's epistles. The want, therefore, of the latter part of the Synopsis, concerning the New Testament, may be ascribed to the negligence of some transcriber, or to some accident.

3. In the proœm are enumerated these following books of scripture: 'The[h] historical books of the Old Testament; in the first place the Octateuch, meaning the five books of Moses, and Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, which are all expressly named; the four books of the Kingdoms; Ezra;

[d] Vid. S. Chrysostom. Opp. T. vi. p. 314—391.

[e] Vid. Præf. T. vi. et Diatriba in Synops. ib. p. 308, &c. [f] P. 161, &c.

[g] Illa vero in libris omnibus historicis, in Pentateucho, in libris Regum, et in prophetis, toto cœlo differt ab hac nostrâ Synopsi. Nec est huic comparanda, ut quivis statim perspiciat. In libris vero Salomonis, in Sapientiâ, in Siracide, Esther, Tobiâ, Judith, eadem ipsa est. Augurorque, illum Synopseos librorum hujusmodi ex nostrâ Synopsi mutuatum esse. Nam illius Synopseos scriptorem nostræ Synopseos auctore ætate longe inferiorem esse non dubito, nec dubitabit puto quisquam——Putaverim autem Chrysostomum hoc operis Antiochiæ adornavisse, fortasse antequam operam concionandi susciperet, ut hoc satis amplo compendio ad verbi Dei prædicationem uteretur, et ad manum haberet, unde concionum argumenta mutuaretur. Diatrib. in Synops. ib. p. 313.

[h] Ετι τοινυν της παλαιας το μεν ιστορικον. κ. λ. Synops. Scr. S. T. vi. p. 315. A.

the[i] books of moral counsel, the Proverbs, the Wisdom of Sirach, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles: the[k] prophetical are the books of sixteen prophets, undoubtedly meaning, though they are not here named, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the twelve lesser prophets; and, beside these, Ruth and David.'

4. These are all the books of the Old Testament, which are mentioned in the proœm: in this last place, instead of Ruth, I presume, should be Job. Montfaucon[l] suspected a fault here: the correction seems to me very easy. At the end of the proœm the books of the New Testament are enumerated: that part will be transcribed at length hereafter.

5. In the Synopsis following the proœm, are represented the 'contents of the five books of Moses, Joshua, the Judges, the four books of the Kingdoms, the first and second books of Ezra, (that is, Ezra and Nehemiah,) Esther, Tobit, Judith, Job, the Wisdom of Solomon, which is so called, and said to have been written by Solomon, the Proverbs of Solomon, Sirach, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Micah, Nahum:' the rest is wanting: the books of Maccabees do not appear either in the proœm or the Synopsis. David, likewise, or the book of Psalms is wanting in the Synopsis, as are also several of the twelve prophets, and all the New Testament.

III. Whether this Synopsis of sacred scripture be throughout Chrysostom's work, without any interpolations, may be questioned; but I would observe farther, that, from Chrysostom's other works, universally allowed to be genuine, it is apparent that he received no books of the Old Testament, as of authority, beside those received by the Jews.

1. For he says, that[m] Malachi was the last of the prophets; and in the Synopsis, as before cited, he says there were sixteen prophets: who they are cannot be questioned.

2. His manner of quoting those books, which were not received by the Jews, farther shows this. When he quotes Sirach or Ecclesiasticus, it is thus: So[n] says one of our wise men; a[o] certain wise man; a[p] certain wise man rea-

[i] Το δε συμβελευτικον, ὡς ἁιτε παροιμιαι. κ. λ. p. 316. D.

[k] Το δε προφητικον, ὡς οἱ δεκα ἑξ λεγω προφηται, και Ρεθ και Δανιδ. Ib.

[l] Vel forte Ρεθ hic mendose irrepserit. Ib. p. 316.

[m] Ακουσον γαν τε Μαλαχιε, τε μετα τες αλλες προφητας ελθοντος. Adv. Jud. Orat. v. T. i. p. 647. C.

[n] Εγω δε ὑμιν και λογον ὑπερ τουτων ερω σοφε τινος ανδρος των παρ' ἡμιν. Adv. Oppugn. Vit. Mon. l. 3. T. i. p. 81. B.

[o] Σοφος τις ανηρ. Hom. cum Presb. ordinat. fuit. T. i. p. 438. C.

[p] Και γαρ και τουτο δηλων τις σοφος ελεγεν. Ad Pop. Antioch. Hom. 10. T. ii. p. 111. C. Σοφος τις ανηρ, και φιλοσοφειν ειδως——παραινει. Laud.

sons, or advises, and the like. To put down all the places where Ecclesiasticus is so quoted by Chrysostom, in the several volumes of his works, would be loading the margin beyond what is agreeable.

3. He quotes the books of [q] Wisdom and [r] Tobit exactly in the same manner.

4. Chrysostom has several times spoken[s] of the Greek version of the books of the Old Testament, said to be made by order of Ptolemy king of Egypt, about three hundred years before the coming of Christ; and, he says, that[t] all the books of the Old Testament were originally written in Hebrew, and were translated from thence into Greek; which must be understood of the Jewish canon; for most of the other books, generally called apocryphal by Protestants, were written in Greek.

IV. I shall now transcribe the conclusion of the foremen-tioned proœm of the Synopsis, which is to this purpose: 'The[u] books of the New Testament are, the fourteen epistles of the apostle Paul; the four gospels; two of which were written by John and Matthew, Christ's disciples, the other two by Luke and Mark, of whom one was disciple of Peter, the other of Paul: the former conversed with Christ, and were eye-witnesses of what they wrote; the other two wrote what they had received from eye-witnesses; and the book of the Acts, written also by Luke; and three catholic epis-tles,' or three of the catholic epistles. That is the whole of that part of the proœm.

The order of enumeration is remarkable: to place St. Paul's epistles first, before the gospels, is a singularity. Montfaucon[v] supposeth this to be owing to Chrysostom's zeal for the apostle Paul, whose epistles therefore first offered

Eustath. in. T. ii. p. 603. *Δια τουτο παραινων τις φησι.* Hom. ii. in 2 Thess. T. xi. p. 521. A.

[q] *Ὁπερ και σοφωτατος τις συνιδων ελεγεν.* Ad Stagir. l. 1. T. i. p. 165. A. *Και ἑτερος ελεγεν.* T. ii. p. 99. C. *Λεγει τις σοφος ανηρ.* T. xi. p. 131. 4.

[r] *Ακουε δε και αλλου τινος λεγοντος.* Hom. 4. in ep. ad Philipp. T. xi. p. 226. D.

[s] Vid. adv. Jud. Or. i. T. i. p. 595. De Prophetiar. Obscur. Hom. 2. T. vi. p. 585. C.

[t] *Πασαι αἱ Θειαι βιβλοι της παλαιας διαθηκης τῃ Ἑβραιων γλωττῃ εξ αρχης ησαν συντεθειμεναι. Και τουτο παντες αν ὡμιν συνομολογησαιεν.* κ. λ. In Gen. Hom. 4. T. iv. p. 25, 26.

[u] *Εστι δε και της καινης βιβλια αἱ επιστολαι αἱ δεκατεσσαρες Παυλου, τα ευαγγελια τα τεσσαρα, δυο μεν των μαθητων του Χριστου, Ιωαννου και Ματθαιου· δυο δε Λουκα και Μαρκου· ὡν ὁ μεν του Πετρου, ὁ δε του Παυλου, γεγονασι μαθηται. Οἱ μεν γαρ αυτοπται ησαν γεγενημενοι, και συγγενομενοι τῳ Χριστῳ· οἱ δε παρ' εκεινων τα εκεινων διαδεξαμενοι εις ἑτερους εξηνεγκαν· και το των Πραξεων δε βιβλιον, και αυτου Λουκα ἱστορησαντος τα γενομενα· και των καθολικων επιστολαι τρεις.* Ap. Chr. T. vi. p. 318. A.

[v] Vid. Præf. T. vi. n. 3. et Diatrib. in Synopsin, p. 312, 313.

themselves to his thoughts; and he has observed, that[w] in Chrysostom's Commentary upon Isaiah, St. Paul's epistles are mentioned before the gospels.

V. We here see plainly enough what books were received by the composer of the Synopsis; but as it is not certain that he is Chrysostom, as well as for other reasons, it is very fit that we should observe his testimony to the books of scripture in other works indisputably his: and what has been briefly done already, with regard to the Old Testament, shall now be done at large for the New.

1. In his first homily upon St. Matthew, or the introduction to his homilies upon that gospel, he says: 'Though[x] Christ had many disciples, two apostles only wrote a history of him; and two others, who were disciples of apostles, one of Paul, the other of Peter, who joined their labours with John and Matthew. One evangelist might have sufficed; but four confirm the truth——Luke[y] informs us of the reason of his writing; "that," says he, "thou mightest know the certainty of those things, wherein thou hast been instructed;" that is, that being again or often instructed in those things, thou mayest be fully persuaded of their certainty, and continue in that persuasion. John[z] has not mentioned the reason of his writing; but, as ancient tradition handed down to us from our ancestors assures us, he did not write without a reason; it is said to be this: Whereas the other evangelists had chiefly insisted on the things relating to the Lord's humanity, and there was danger lest the doctrine concerning his divinity should be overlooked, and Christ also moving him thereto, he was at length induced to write a gospel. This account is confirmed from the introduction to his gospel, and from the whole of it, which is sublimer than those of the others——Matthew is said to have written his gospel at the request of the Jewish believers, who desired him to put down in writing what he had taught them by word of mouth; and he is said to have written in Hebrew. Mark[a] is said to have written his gospel in Egypt, at the request of the believers there. Matthew, writing to Jews, was contented to bring down our

[w] *Ου γαρ ώσπερ αἱ επιϛολαι αἱ Παυλȣ και τα ευαγγελια υφ' ἑν συνετεθησαν, ȣτω δε και προφητειαι.* In Es. cap. ii. T. vi. p. 18. C.

[x] *Και τι δηποτε τοσȣτον οντων των μαθητων, δυω γραφȣσιν εκ των αποϛολων μονοι, και δυο εκ των τȣτοις ακολȣθων· ὁ μεν γαρ Παυλȣ, ὁ δε Πετρȣ μαθητης ων, μετα Ιωαννȣ και Ματθαιȣ τα ευαγγελια εγραψαν—τι ȣν; ȣκ ηρκει εἱς ευαγγελιϛης παντα ειπειν; ηρκει μεν· αλλα γαρ τεσσαρες οἱ γραφοντες εισι. κ. λ.* In Matt. Hom. 1. T. vii. p. 5. A. B. C.

[y] Ib. p. 6. C.

[z] Ib. p. 6. C. p. 7. A. B. C.

[a] *Και Μαρκος δε εν Αιγυπτῳ, των μαθητων παρακαλησαντων αυτον.*

Lord's genealogy from Abraham and David; but Luke, writing for all in general, went higher up, to Adam. Moreover, Matthew begins with the genealogy, forasmuch as nothing was so desirable to the Jews as to know that Jesus was a descendant of David; but Luke begins with other things, and then comes to the genealogy. The general reception of the gospels is a proof that their history is true and consistent; even the enemies of the truth receive them; for since the writing of the gospels many heresies have arisen, holding opinions contrary to what is contained in them, who yet receive the gospels, either entire or in part.——In[b] what place each one of the evangelists wrote cannot be said with certainty; but that they do not disagree, I shall endeavour to show in the following discourses.' Soon after he says, as an argument of the truth and consistence of the history in the gospels, that[c] when they were written there were many living who might have contradicted them, if there had been any ground for so doing; and there were many enemies and opposers; for the gospels, when written, were not hid in a corner, or buried in obscurity; but they were made known to all the world, and were publicly read before enemies as well as others, even as they are now.

2. So writes Chrysostom, in the introduction to his homilies upon St. Matthew's gospel; and certainly this is an ample testimony to the four gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. I need not make any remarks upon what we have seen; I may leave that to the reader; I only observe, that what was just transcribed, seems contrary to what was before said; but perhaps all may be reconciled in this manner; he had said, that Matthew wrote at the request of the Jewish believers in Judea; and Mark in Egypt, at the request of the believers there; but those things were said upon the ground of general report and common fame, only. Here he says: of those things we are not certain, and need not assert them as such; but wherever the gospels were written, they are true and harmonious; that may be justly maintained, and clearly demonstrated, to the satisfaction and conviction of all unprejudiced men.

3. In his homilies, Chrysostom sometimes compares the

[b] *Ενθα μεν ȣν εκαϛος διατριβων εγραψεν, ȣ σφοδρα ἡμιν δει ισχυρισασθαι· ὁτι δε ȣδε κατ' αλληλων εϛησαν, τȣτο δια πασης της πραγματειας πειρασομεθα αποδειξαι.* Ib. p. 8. B.

[c] *—πως—επιϛευοντο, ανεκηρυττοντο, πανταχȣ της οικȣμενης; και τοι πολλοι οἱ μαρτυρες των λεγομενων ησαν· πολλοι δε και οἱ εχθροι και πολεμιοι. Ου γαρ εν γωνιᾳ μιᾳ γραψαντες αυτα κατωρυξαν· αλλα πανταχȣ γης και θαλαττης ἡπλωσαν ὑπο παντων ακοαις· και εχθρων παροντων ταυτα αναγινωσκετο, καθαπερ και νυν.* Ib. p. 9. A.

evangelists, and shows their agreement. I refer in the margin[d] to one place, the 28th homily upon St. Matthew's gospel, where he compares his account with those of Mark and Luke.

4. In reconciling Matthew's and Mark's accounts of Peter's denying Christ, he says, 'These[e] things Mark had from his master; for he was a disciple of Peter; and what is very remarkable, though he was a disciple of Peter, he relates his fall more particularly than any of the rest.'

5. Explaining the history of our Lord's paying the didrachm, or tribute-money, which is in Matt. xvii. 24—27, and particularly those words, "That take, and give unto them for me and thee;" he says, 'Mark,[f] who was a disciple of Peter, omits this, because it was honourable to that apostle; but he relates the history of his denial of Christ; and perhaps his master forbade him to insert such things as tended to aggrandize him.'

6. I would just observe here, that I do not remember Chrysostom to say, in his Commentaries upon the Acts, that John, surnamed Mark, was the writer of the gospel, though the mention of him occurs there so frequently; nor do I recollect this to be said by our author any where else; but as he calls him disciple of Peter, it is very likely that he supposed him to be the same Mark, who is mentioned, 1 Pet. v. 13.

7. In the beginning of the fourth homily upon St. John's gospel, he says, 'The[g] other evangelists having chiefly insisted upon our Saviour's humanity, there was danger, lest his divinity, or eternal generation, should have been neglected by some; and men might have been of the same opinion with Paul of Samosata, if John had not written; but whereas Matthew begins his history with Herod the King; Luke with Tiberius Cesar; Mark with the baptism of John; he, ascending at once above time and ages, says: "In the beginning was the Word."

[d] In Matt. Hom. 28. [al. 29.] in. T. vii. p. 333.

[e] ——και ταυτα παρα τυ διδασκαλυ μαθων· και γαρ φοιτητης ην τυ Πετρυ. Ὀθεν μαλιστα αν τις αυτον εκπλαγειη, ὁτι ὁ μονον ουκ εκρυψε το ελαττωμα τυ διδασκαλυ, αλλα και των αλλων σαφεστερον απηγγειλεν. In Matth. Hom. 85. [al. 86.] T. vii. p. 805. C.

[f] Ιδε και το φιλοσοφον της τυ Πετρυ γνωμης. Τυτο γαρ ὁ φαινεται Μαρκος ὁ τυτυ φοιτητης γεγραφηκως το κεφαλιον, επειδη πολλην εδεικνυ την εις αυτον τιμην· αλλα την μεν αρνησιν και αυτος εγραψε, τα δε ποιησαντα αυτον λαμπρον απεσιγησε· ισως τυ διδασκαλυ παραιτησαμενυ τα μεγαλα περι αυτυ λεγειν. In Matt. Hom. 58. [al. 59.] T. vii. p. 586.

[g] ——δεος ην τυ μη τινας δια τυτο χαμαιπετεις οντας τυτοις εναπομεινται μονοις τοις δογμασι· ὁ Παυλος επαθεν ὁ Σαμοσατευς, κ. λ. In Joan. Hom. 4. [al. 3.] T. viii. p. 27. A. B.

Speaking of our Lord's predictions concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, and the calamities that befell the Jewish people in the time of Vespasian and Titus, which happened, as he says, not till above forty years after our Saviour's death; he observes, that[h] John and several others were then living, who had heard Christ speak those words.

9. Again; in a homily upon Matt. xxiv. John[i] writes 'not of any of these things, lest it should be thought that he took an advantage from the event; for he was still living a good while after the destruction of Jerusalem. But they who were dead before the destruction of Jerusalem, and saw none of those things, record these predictions; which is a manifest proof of the certainty of Christ's foreknowledge.'

These passages show, Chrysostom supposed, that St. John did not write his gospel till after the destruction of Jerusalem.

10. Several things relating to the first three evangelists, may be seen at the beginning of the fourth homily upon St. Matthew; where he says, 'He[k] thinks that Matthew wrote first, Mark next, and Luke afterwards:' but I do not perceive him to assign reasons of any moment for that supposition. He there also says, that[l] Luke had the fluency of Paul, and Mark the conciseness of Peter; both learning of their masters.

11. In the first homily upon the epistle to the Romans, he says, 'that[m] Moses did not put his name to his five books; nor did the historians, who wrote after him, prefix their names to their works; nor did Matthew, or John, or Mark, or Luke, put their names to their writings; but the blessed Paul every where prefixeth his name to his epistles, excepting that to the Hebrews, where he had reason to be upon the reserve. What is the reason of this? They delivered their writings to those who were present, when it is needless to put down the name; he sent his writings to

[h] Ετι γαρ Ιωαννης τε ευαγγελιστε ζωντος, και ἑτερων, πολλων των τε Χριστε συγγενομενων, ταυτα ακουσαντες. In Matt. Hom. 69. [al. 70.] T. vii. p. 680. B.

[i] Συ δε μοι σκοπει τε πνευματος οικονομιαν, ὁτι τουτων ουδεν εγραψεν Ιωαννης, ἱνα μη δοξῃ εξ αυτης των γεγενημενων της ἱστοριας γραφειν· και γαρ και μετα την ἁλωσιν ζῃ χρονον πολυν. Αλλ' οἱ προ της ἁλωσεως αποθανοντες, και μηδεν τουτων ἑωρακοτες, αυτοι γραφουσιν, ὡστε πανταχοθεν διαλαμψαι της προῤῥησεως την ισχυν. In Matt. Hom. 76. [al. 77.] T. 7. p. 734. B.

[k] Εμοι δοκει ὁ μεν Ματθαιος προ των αλλων ηρχθαι τε πραγματος——ὁ δε Μαρκος μετ' εκεινον. In Matth. Hom. 4. [al. 3.] T. 7. p. 46. A.

[l] Και ἑκατερος δε ὁμοιως τον διδασκαλον εμιμησατο· ὁ μεν τον Παυλον, ὑπερ τους ποταμους ῥεοντα· ὁ δε τον Πετρον, βραχυλογιας επιμελουμενον. Ibid.

[m] Tom. ix. p. 429. C. D.

those who were at a distance, in the form of an epistle, where the addition of the name is necessary.'

VI. 1. The Acts of the Apostles he received, and[n] ascribes to St. Luke very often. He refers to the book of the Acts, 'as showing[o] the fulfilment of Christ's promise, recorded in John xiv. 12, where, he says, are related many miracles of the apostles; but not all, nor of all Christ's apostles, but of some only.'

2. In the third volume of the Benedictine edition of Chrysostom's works, are four homilies upon the title and beginning of the Acts of the Apostles, and the writer of the book. There[p] were five homilies upon this subject spoken by Chrysostom; but[q] the second is either totally lost, or so disfigured by alterations, that a small part of it only, if any, can be depended upon for genuine, as the Benedictine editors have assured us.

3. Those homilies were preached in the time of Pentecost; and in the first of them, laying down the plan of his discourses, he proposes to inquire, by[r] whom the book of the Acts was written, and when and why it had been appointed to be read over at that time of the year. The design of that which was the second homily, and is lost, was to show who wrote the book of the Acts. In the now third homily upon this subject, recollecting what had preceded in this argument, he says, that[s] in the second discourse he had inquired who wrote this book; and, by the grace of God, it had been found to be the evangelist Luke. In the second of those homilies, according to the present order, he[t] considers the reason why the blessed and excel-

[n] Vid. de Virgin. T. i. p. 321. C. Cont. Jud. et Gent. T. i. p. 577. E. et Hom. in Juvent. et Maxim. T. ii. p. 577. A.

[o] De S. Bab. contr. Jul. &c. T. ii. p. 538. D.

[p] Ex hisce autem octo homiliis, quatuor priores sunt in principium, seu titulum libri Actorum. In hoc tamen argumentum quinque unâ serie concliones habuerat, ut non semel testificatur Joannes noster: sed secunda, in quâ quærebatur, quis esset auctor libri Actuum Apostolorum, intercidit, &c. Præf. in. T. iii. sect. i.

[q] Secundam, ubi de auctore libri Actorum edisserebat, et Lucam esse demonstrabat, reperimus quidem: sed, heu! misere deformatam, et cum spuriis immixtam.—Itaque male auctam et consarcinatam homiliam, etsi quædam *γνησια* et ad præsens argumentum pertinentia habeat, cum sinceris admiscere non ausi sumus, sed ad finem hujus tomi ablegavimus. Monitum ad Homil. in. Princ. Act. T. iii. p. 48.

[r] *Δει δε προτερον μαθειν, τις το βιβλιον εγραψε—και ποτε εγραψε, και περι τινων, και τινος ἑνεκεν τῃ ἑορτῃ ταυτῃ νενομοθετηται αυτο αναγινωσκεσθαι.* In Pr. Act. Hom. T. iii. p. 54. C. D.

[s] *Μετ' εκεινην εν τῃ δευτερᾳ ἡμερᾳ ἐζητησαμην, τις ην ὁ το βιβλιον γραψας, και ευρομεν τῃ τȣ Θεȣ χαριτι Λȣκαν τον ευαγγελιστην—κ. λ.* In Princip. Act. Hom. 3. T. iii. p. 74. C. D.

[t] *Δια τȣτο και μακαριος ȣτος, και γενναιος, και θαυμασιος Λȣκας ȣτως*

lent, and admirable Luke, entitled his book 'the Acts,' not the miracles, of the Apostles: he elsewhere calls the writer of this book[u] the great and excellent Luke, disciple of Paul. The design of the fourth homily, in the present order, is[v] to show, why the Acts of the Apostles were read in the time of Pentecost: that is, between Easter and Whitsuntide.

4. In the ninth tome of Chrysostom's works, of the Benedictine edition, is a course of homilies upon the book of the Acts, fifty-five in number.

5. In the first of those homilies he says, 'That[w] the book of the Acts may be as useful to us as the gospels; inasmuch as it contains excellent principles, and many miracles, as well as great examples; and shows the fulfilment of the promise, which Christ had made to the disciples, of sending down upon them the Spirit; for which reasons it deserves our attentive perusal, and careful consideration.' He moreover says, that[x] from this book alone is to be known, how the christian religion was planted in the world.

6. 'In[y] the discourses of the apostles recorded in the Acts, he says, there is little said about Christ's divinity; but they discourse chiefly of his humanity, and passion, and resurrection, and ascension; because his resurrection and ascension to heaven, were the points necessary to be proved and believed at that time.'

7. That[z] Luke, the writer of the Acts, was inspired, may be proved, he thinks, several ways: for miracles were then very common, and gifts of the Spirit were bestowed upon all believers in general. It may be argued also from 2 Cor. viii. 18, 19; he understanding the apostle to speak there of Luke.

8. Chrysostom's conclusion of his homilies upon the Acts is very oratorical. Luke[a] leaves us thirsting for more; but,

επεγραψε το βιβλιον, Πραξεις Αποστολων, ϗ Θαυματα Αποστολων. Ib. Hom. 2. p. 65. D.

[u] Τις ϗν ταυτα παντα φησιν; Ὁ τϗ Παυλϗ μαθητης, ὁ τιμιος και μεγας Λϗκας. Ib. Hom. 4. p. 88. E.

[v] Ἰδωμεν δε λοιπον τινος ἑνεκεν το βιβλιον των Πραξεων των Αποστολων εν τῳ καιρῳ της πεντηκοστης αναγινωσκεται. Hom. 4. T. iii. p. 88. A. Vid. ib. B. C. D. et p. 89. C. D.

[w] Ουδε γαρ ελαττον αυτων ευαγγελιων ωφελησαι ἡμας δυνησεται· τοιαυτης εμπεπλησται φιλοσοφιας, και δογματων ορθοτητος, και Θαυματων επιδειξεως. κ. λ. In Act. Ap. Hom. 1. T. ix. p. 1.

[x] In Pr. Act. Ap. T. iii. p. 63. C.

[y] Δια δη τϗτο τοσαυτα περι Χριστϗ διαλεχθεντες, ολιγα μεν περι της Θεοτητος αυτϗ ειρηκασι——το γαρ ζητϗμενον τϗς τϗτο ην, το πιστευθηναι, ὁτι ανεστη, και ανεβη εις ϗρανϗς. Hom. 1. T. ix. p. 3. A.

[z] Ib. p. 4. D. E.

[a] ——και αφησι διψωντα τον ακροατην, ὡστε λοιπον αφ' ἑαυτϗ λογιζεσθαι ——παντως γαρ οἱα τα προτερα, τοιαυτα εσχε και μετα τϗτο——τι βελει

if he had proceeded, it would have been only a repetition of like discourses and works, like dangers, difficulties, and sufferings.

9. In a homily upon Col. iv. 14, "Luke the beloved physician salutes you," he says: 'This [b] is the evangelist. It is likely there were others of that name: therefore, he distinguisheth him by his profession.'

10. Upon 2 Tim. iv. 11, he [c] commends Luke for his constant attendance on the apostle; and speaks of him as writer of a gospel, and the Acts.

11. I would observe here, that I do not recollect Chrysostom to have said any where, that Luke was of Antioch; though this is said by Jerom, and some others.

12. In his first homily upon the title and beginning of the Acts of the Apostles, he says: 'To [d] many this book is unknown; by others it is despised, because it is clear and easy.' The first of his homilies upon the whole book begins in this manner: 'Many [e] know not this book nor the writer of it.' Which expressions have induced some learned men to think, that the book of Acts lay in much obscurity, and was not well known among christians. 'The gospels,' says, [f] Mill, 'were soon spread abroad, and came into all men's 'hands. But the case was somewhat different with other 'books of the New Testament, particularly the Acts of the 'Apostles, which was not thought to be so important, and 'had few transcribers.' These expressions likewise led Mr. Beausobre to say, that [g] the book of the Acts had not at the beginning, in the eastern churches, the same authority with the gospels and epistles.

13. I have already [h] said something relating to this point. But it seems to me not a little strange, that any should understand Chrysostom to speak nothing more than real truth, or plain matter of fact: they are only oratorical expressions, in which he aggravates extremely. The book of the Acts was annually read and explained at Antioch, at Pentecost, understanding that word in the larger sense, as comprehending the time between Easter and the day of Pentecost.

μαθειν τα μετα ταυτα; τοιαυτα εστι κἀκεινα· δεσμα, βασανοι, μαχαι, φυλακαι, επιβουλαι, συκοφαντιαι, θανατοι καθημερινοι. In Act. Hom. 55. T. ix. p. 412. D. 414. B.

[b] In Col. Hom. 12. T. xi. p. 412. E. F.

[c] *Αυτος γαρ σφοδρα αδιασπιστως ειχεν αυτω, ὁ και ευαγγελιον γραψας, και τας καθολικας πραξεις.* In 2 Tim. Hom. 10. T. xi. p. 720. E.

[d] In Pr. Act. Hom. 1. T. iii. p. 54. C.

[e] *Πολλοις τουτο το βιβλιον ουδ' ὁτι ενι γνωριμον εστιν, ουτε αυτο, ουτε ὁ γραψας αυτο και συνδεις.* T. ix. p. 1.

[f] Prolegom. n. 242.

[g] Hist. de Manich. l. i. ch. 5. T. i. p. 293. See also Remarques sur le N. T. 3. p. 173.

[h] Vol. iii. p. 402.

This was the custom in Chrysostom's time: nor was it new, as we perceive from the homilies before cited. It had been appointed by their ancestors; and Chrysostom inquires into the reasons of that appointment. Moreover, he speaks in a like manner in his preface, or argument to St. Paul's epistles: where[i] he says, 'he wishes he was better known; for some are so ignorant of him that they do not exactly know the number of his epistles.' And yet he had just before said, that the blessed Paul's epistles were read very often, sometimes twice, sometimes thrice, or even four times in a week. Chrysostom, therefore, is to be understood to mean, in both places, no more than this: That he wished the Acts of the Apostles, and Paul's epistles, were better known to his hearers than they were; and that he was grieved to think how little acquainted some men were with those parts of sacred scripture.

VII. 1. In a Homily upon Repentance, supposed to be a genuine work of Chrysostom, it is said: 'The[k] blessed apostle Paul, Christ's orator, fisherman of the whole universe, by the spiritual nets of his fourteen epistles catches the whole world, and brings them into the way of salvation.'

2. Chrysostom published homilies, or commentaries upon St. Paul's fourteen epistles, which are still extant. In[l] the proœm to his homilies upon the epistle to the Romans, he speaks of the time of several of them, to whom I refer the reader: however, I shall observe here several particulars, as briefly as I can. He says, that the epistle to the Romans, though placed first, was not first in the order of time, as many think. It was written before any of those which were sent from Rome, but not till after several others; for both the epistles to the Corinthians were written before it: and the first epistle to the Thessalonians was written before either of those to the Corinthians. To the Philippians he wrote from Rome; to the Hebrews likewise he wrote from thence. The[m] epistle to Timothy [meaning the second] was also written from Rome, when the apostle was a prisoner

[i] Αλγω δη και οδυνωμαι, ὁτι τον ανδρα τετον ϗχ' ἁπαντες ισασιν, ὡσπερ ειδεναι χρη· αλλ' ούτω τινες αυτον αγνοουσιν, ὡς μηδε των επιστολων τον αριθμον ειδεναι σαφως. Argum. Ep. ad Rom. T. ix. p. 425.

[k] Και τι προς τον μακαριον αποστολον Παυλον, τον ῥητορα τϗ Χριστϗ, τον της οικουμενης ἁλιεα, τον δια δεκατεσσαρων επιστολων, ὡσπερ δια δικτυων πνευματικων, πασαν την οικουμενην εις σωτηριαν σαγηνευσαντα, κ. λ. De Pœnit. T. xiii. p. 190. C.

[l] Vid. Argument. Ep. ad Rom. T. ix. p. 425—427.

[m] Και την προς Τιμοθεον δε επιστολην και αυτην απο Ῥωμης δεδεμενος επεμψεν· ἡ και εσχατη μοι δοκει πασων ειναι των επιστολων. Εγω γαρ ηδη σπενδομαι, φησι——ὁτι δε τον βιον εκει κατελυσε, παντι πϗ δηλον εστι. Ib. p. 427. B.

here: and it seems to him to be the last of all Paul's epistles. The epistle to Philemon likewise is a late epistle; for the apostle was then arrived to extreme old age: referring to ver. 9. Nevertheless it was written before the epistle to the Colossians, as appears from the end of that epistle. [See Col. iv. 7—9.] I likewise think, says he, that the epistle to the Galatians was written before that to the Romans. So writes Chrysostom in the proœm to his homilies upon the epistle to the Romans.

3. In the argument of the epistle to the Ephesians, he says, it [n] was written from Rome, when Paul was prisoner here. In the preface to the epistle to the Philippians he says, the [o] apostle was then a prisoner at Rome. In the first homily upon the epistle to the Colossians he says, that [p] epistle, and the epistles to the Ephesians, and to Philemon, and to Timothy, were written when the apostle was in bonds. Here also he says again, that [q] the [second] epistle to Timothy was written a short time before his death. From the inscription of the epistle to the Colossians [i. 1.] he concludes, that [r] Timothy was known to the saints at Colosse. In the first homily upon the second epistle to Timothy, he says again, he [s] thinks the apostle was then near his end: in another homily upon the same epistle, he says, it [t] was full of consolation, and a sort of testament. In his first homily upon the epistle to Titus he says, that, probably, Titus [u] was a Corinthian; and [v] Paul was at liberty at the time of writing that epistle: and [w] it was written before the second epistle to Timothy. And he observes, that [x] Paul had determined to winter at Nicopolis, a city of Thrace. See Tit. iii. 12.

4. I do not recollect, that Chrysostom any where takes particular notice of the time of writing the first epistle to Timothy: whether it was, that he could not determine it, or that he took it for granted, that it was written about the same time with the second to Timothy: or whatever else may be the reason of this silence, when he had so many opportunities to speak of it, I cannot say. Mr. Tillemont [y] supposeth Chrysostom to say, that [z] this epistle was written in the last years of his life; but I do not perceive Chrysostom, in the

[n] T. xi. p. 2. A.
[o] T. xi. p. 190. A.
[p] T. xi. p. 322. B.
[q] Ib. p. 323. A.
[r] Ibid. p. 323. E.
[s] In 2 Tim. Hom. 1. T. xi. p. 658. C.
[t] *Και πασα δε ἡ επιστολη παραμυθιας εστι πληρης, και ὡσανει διαθηκη τις εστι.* In 2 Tim. Hom. 9. T. xi. p. 917. B.
[u] T. xi. p. 729. B.
[v] Ibid. C. et 230. B.
[w] Ib. 730. B.
[x] In Ep. ad Tit. Hom. 6. T. xi. p. 766. B.
[y] St. Paul. art. 47. Mem. T. i.
[z] In 2 Tim. Hom. 1. sub in.

place referred to, to speak of the time of the first epistle, but of the second rather.

5. It does not appear from Chrysostom's writings, that he had any doubt whether the epistle to the Hebrews was written by Paul; he always quotes it as his. In[a] the preface to his homilies upon it, he says, 'The epistle was written to Jews; and as he thinks, to the Jews at Jerusalem, and in Palestine. He adds; When Paul had been in bonds two years at Rome, he was set at liberty, and then went into Spain. Afterwards he came to Jerusalem, and made a visit to the Jewish believers there [Referring to Rom. xv. 24; and Hebr. xiii. 23.]: then he came to Rome, and was put to death by Nero.'

6. He often says, the[b] epistle was sent to the believers from amongst the Hebrews. And he says, that[c] when he wrote to the Hebrews, he did not put his name at the beginning, as he did in all his other epistles, because the Jews, both believers and unbelievers, were averse to him.

7. Chrysostom always cites the epistles to the Ephesians, with that title; and in his argument[d] of the epistle gives an account of the city of Ephesus. He has no doubt about the common inscription: "To the saints that are at Ephesus, and faithful in Christ Jesus."

8. Upon Col. iv. 16: "And that ye likewise read the epistle from Laodicea," he observes: 'Some[e] say, that hereby is not meant an epistle sent to them, but an epistle sent by them to Paul; for he does not say the epistle written to the Laodiceans, but from them. Surely Chrysostom did not know, that the epistle to the Ephesians was at any time called the epistle to the Laodiceans.

9. The first epistle to the Thessalonians he quotes, as[f] written to the Macedonians.

VIII. 1. We now come to the Catholic epistles. The proœm to the Synopsis, cited above, speaks of but three only; meaning, as may be supposed, the epistle of James, the first epistle of Peter, and the first epistle of John; which three are also quoted in Chrysostom's other writings.

[a] Πῶ δε ἐσιν επιστελλει; Εμοι δοκει, εν Ἱεροσολυμοις και Παλαιστινῃ.—Δυο μεν ὢν ετη εποιησεν εν Ῥωμῃ δεδεμενος· ειτα αφειθη, ειτα εις Σπανιας ηλθεν, ειτα εις Ιουδαιαν εβη, ὁτε και Ιουδαιους ειδε. Και τοτε παλιν ηλθεν εις Ῥωμην, ὁτε και ὑπο Νερωνος ανηρεθη. In Ep. ad Hebr. Præf. T. xii. p. 2. D. E.

[b] Vid. Ep. 15. T. iii. p. 602. B. In Gen. Hom. 35. T. iv. p. 356. D. In Joann. Hom. 2. [al. 1.] T. viii. p. 14. A.

[c] Vid. Hom. in illud. In faciem Petro restiti. T. iii. p. 371.

[d] Tom. xi. p. 1, 2. [e] ——Ου γαρ ειπε, την προς Λαοδικεας, αλλα την εκ Λαοδικειας φησι γραφεισαν. In Col. Hom. 12. T. xi. p. 413. B.

[f] Μακεδοσι γαρ επιστελλων, ωτως ελεγεν. Ep. 2. T. 3. p. 549. E.

And Dom Bernard de Montfaucon, the learned Benedictine editor of St. Chrysostom's works, says, he[g] has no where observed therein any citations of the other four epistles, called catholic.

2. The epistle of St. James is quoted several times: it[h] is expressly quoted, as written by James the Lord's brother. I refer to[i] a place or two more, where words of the epistle are cited. Indeed, I think, he quotes this epistle as often as any other of the catholic epistles received by him. He speaks elsewhere of James, as[k] a most excellent person, brother of the Lord, and bishop of Jerusalem.

3. The first epistle of St. Peter, and the first epistle of St. John, were universally received. I need not, therefore, refer to any of Chrysostom's citations of them.

4. There is a homily, supposed by some to be Chrysostom's, by others doubted of, wherein it is said, 'That[l] the first epistle of John is received by all; but the fathers have rejected the second and third, as not in the canon.' Montfaucon[m] thinks that homily was preached by a presbyter, before Flavian, bishop of Antioch: though, therefore, the homily be not Chrysostom's, it shows the sense of the church of Antioch, in his time, concerning St. John's epistles. Several other learned men, as[n] Mill, and[o] Lampe, have taken notice of this passage, to whom I refer; but I do not think it needful to transcribe them.

That[p] homily was first published by Cotelerius, and as

[g] Et vere sanctus hic Doctor, qui scripturæ sacræ libros omnes in homiliis suis adhibet, quatuor istarum epistolarum loca nusquam affert; aut saltem hujusmodi loca in ejus scriptis nondum deprehendi. Etiamsi vero deprehenderentur, non tamen inde sequeretur, eam scripturæ partem canonicam haberi. Nam illis temporibus non pauca erant in quibusdam ecclesiis, quæ legebantur quidem, sed canonica esse non reputabantur, *αναγινωσκομενα μεν, μη κανονιζομενα δε.* Diatrib. in Synops. T. vi. p. 309.

[h] —*παραξω υμιν αξιοπιστον μαρτυρα, τον αδελφοθεον Ιακωβον φασκοντα· Η πιστις χωρις των εργων νεκρα εστιν.* De Pœnit. Hom. 9. T. ii. p. 348. E.

[i] De Sacerdot. l. iii. T. i. p. 384. E. Hom. in Eliam et Viduam. T. iii. p. 333. C. In Ep. ad Philem. Hom. 3. T. xi. p. 788. C.

[k] Vid. in Mat. Hom. 5. T. 7. p. 78. A. In Act. Ap. Hom. 46. T. ix. p. 348. A.

[l] *Των δε εκκλησιαζομενων, ᾳ των αποκρυφων μεν ἡ πρωτη επιστολη. Την γαρ δευτεραν και τριτην οἱ πατερες αποκανονιζουσι. Την μεντοι πρωτην επιστολην ἁπαντες ειναι Ιωαννου συμφωνως απεφηναντο.* Ap. Chrys. Opp. T. vi. p. 430. A. B.

[m] Quod autem ecclesia Antiochena secundam et tertiam Joannis non reciperet, id liquido comprobatur ex homiliâ mox edendâ, quam prior publicavit Joannis Chrysostomi nomine Cotelerius, quamque probamus in monito infra, non Chrysostomi esse, sed cujusdam presbyteri Antiocheni illius ævo, coram Flaviano episcopo concionantis. Diatrib. in Synops. T. vi. p. 309.

[n] Prolegom. n. 224.

[o] Lampe, Prolegom. in Joann. p. 104.

[p] In illud scripturæ dictum: 'In quâ potestate hæc facis?' Matth. xxi 23. Ap. Coteler. Monum. Gr. T. iii. p 121—157.

Chrysostom's; and it is quoted as his by Lampe, just mentioned, and [q] Wolfius; but the judgment of Montfaucon appears to be the more probable.

IX. Chrysostom has no where quoted the book of the Revelation, nor taken any passage from it, nor alluded to it in any of his works, so far as can be perceived; though, as [r] Montfaucon well says, he had many occasions so to do in discoursing upon moral subjects. It may be added: and in his discourses in praise of the martyrs. This, I think is allowed by the learned; and [s] that Chrysostom has taken no more notice of the book of the Revelation in all his writings, than he would have done if he had been totally ignorant of it.

X. So that Chrysostom's works in general, and the forementioned Synopsis, ascribed to him, agree very well together.

These then are the books of the New Testament received by him: the four gospels; the Acts of the Apostles; fourteen epistles of Paul; the epistle of James; one epistle of Peter; one epistle of John.

I may add, that there is not, in Chrysostom's works, the least appearance of an especial regard for any other christian writings, as of authority.

In Chrysostom may be frequently found the usual general titles and divisions of the books of scripture: such [t] as the Old and New Testament; apostles and prophets; gospels, apostles, and prophets: and the like.

XI. Suidas, the lexicographer, whose age is uncertain, placed by [u] Cave near the end of the tenth, by others [v] supposed to have written near the end of the eleventh century, has an article concerning St. John, which is to this purpose. 'John [w] the divine and evangelist, being returned from his

[q] Prolegom. in Joan. p. 242. Ap. Cur. Crit. T. v.

[r] Certe Joannes Chrysostomus, qui auctor operis fertur in titulo, nunquam Apocalypsi usus est in homiliis, aliisque libris suis, etsi ad mores informandos, in quo genere maxime versatur sanctus doctor, in Apocalypsi multa idonea opportunaque reperiantur, præcipueque in tribus prioribus capitibus. Quantamcunque diligentiam adhibuerim, ut explorarem, num quicquam in tantâ operum serie ad Apocalypsin spectans deprehenderetur, nihil hactenus reperi. Et tamen multa erant in libris, verbi gratiâ, de sacerdotio, quæ ad rem maxime conferre videbantur. Diatrib. in Synops. T. vi. p. 310.

[s] —Chrysostomus in tot monumentis Apocalypsin ita prætermittit, ut ipse eam ignorâsse, et scriptum quodvis eandem allegans Chrysostomo suppositum esse videatur. J. A. Bengel. in N. T. p. 777.

[t] Vid. Contr. Anom. Hom. 11. T. i. p. 542. B. Adv. Jud. Or. 5. T. i. p. 648. D. De Laz. Hom. 3. ib. p. 739. D. et passim.

[u] H. L. T. 2. p. 107. Vid. et Kuster. Præf. et Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. v. c. 40. T. ix. p. 620. &c. et T. 10. p. 1. &c.

[v] Vid. Fabric. ib. T. ix. p. 626. note [p].

[w] Ιωαννης—ὁ θεολογος και ευαγγελιστης, απο της εν Πατμῳ εξοριας επανελ-

'banishment in the island Patmos, wrote his gospel when 'he was an hundred years of age, and he lived after that 'till he was an hundred and twenty years old. Whilst 'he dwelled at Ephesus, he wrote his Theology [or gospel]. 'Chrysostom receives also his three epistles, and the Reve-'lation.'

That article must have been taken out of an homily, or oration, concerning John the divine and apostle, ascribed to [x] Chrysostom, though it is not named by Suidas. In which homily it is said, 'That, for the word of God, John was 'banished into Patmos by the Roman emperor Domitian, 'where he wrote the Revelation, and [y] afterwards his three 'holy epistles: when [z] he was returned to Ephesus, he wrote 'his gospel, being an hundred years of age; and he lived 'to be full an hundred and twenty years old:' but that homily is placed, by the Benedictine editor, among spurious works. And in the advertisement before it, he says it[a] did not deserve to be published, being only the work of some impertinent Greek. And in a note[b] he says, that he knows not of any, who have said that John reached to the age of an hundred and twenty years, beside this anonymous writer.

XII. Let us now observe some marks of respect for the scriptures.

1. Matthew, [c] filled with the Spirit, wrote what he wrote.

2. This [d] the publican, meaning Matthew, led by the eyes of the Spirit, will teach us.

3. Hear [e] the blessed Paul, or rather Christ speaking in him.

4. He represents the vast importance and usefulness of St. Paul's epistles in this manner: Whence [f] has he a prerogative among the other apostles? And why is he in the

θων, συνταττει το ευαγγελιον ων ετων ρ, διαρκεσας ἑως ρκ. Ἐκει δε διαγων συγγραφεται την Θεολογιαν. Δεχεται δε ὁ Χρυσοστομος και τας επιστολας αυτȣ τας τρεις, και την Ἀποκαλυψιν. Suid. v. *Ιωαννης.*

[x] Ap. Morell. T. vi. p. 603. &c. et in edit. Benedict. T. viii. inter Spuria. p. 130. &c.

[y] —*επειτα και τας ἁγιας αυτȣ τρεις επιστολας.* Ib. p. 131. C.

[z] —*κακεισε διατριβων συνταττει το ευαγγελιον, ων ετων ἑκατον, διαρκεσας ἑως ὁλων ἑκατον εικοσιν. Ἐκεισε διαγων συγγραφεται την Θεολογιαν, μαλλον δε εν ȣρανοις, ὁθεν αυτην εκομισατο.* Ib. C. D.

[a] Jure porro hanc orationem prætermisit Savilius, utpote indignam quæ legatur. Nam est otiosi cujusdam Græculi, ut nemo non videt. Monit. p. 130.

[b] 94 ætatis annos ipsi tribuit Epiphanius.. Qui vero centum viginti annos emensum dixerit, neminem vidi, præter hunc anonymum. Not. ib. p. 131.

[c] —*Τȣ πνευματος εμπλησθεις εγραψε ἁπερ εγραψε.* In Matt. Hom. 1. T. vii. p. 4. A.

[d] In Matt. Hom. 1. ib. p. 17. C.

[e] De Sacerd. l. iv. T. i. p. 401. B.

[f] De Sacerd. l. iv. ib. p. 412, 413.

mouth of all men, even Jews and Gentiles, as well as christians? It is owing to his epistles, by which he is profitable not only to the faithful of that time, but now also; and by which he will be profitable to all in future times, till the last coming of Christ; nor will he cease to be useful, as long as the human race subsists: for, as a wall built of adamant, his writings every where defend the churches throughout the world.'

5. In other places he speaks of the apostles, or their writings, as[g] the walls of churches, for their defence and security, and designed for future times, as well as for the present.

6. He says, it[h] were better that the sun should be extinguished, than that the words of David should be lost.

7. The third homily, upon the parable of 'the rich man and Lazarus,' contains very forcible exhortations to the reading of the scriptures. At the beginning of that homily he says to his hearers: 'That[i] he often acquaints them before-hand with the subject which he intends to treat of, that in the mean time they might read the portion of scripture, which would be the ground of his discourse, and consider it; and I always advise, and shall never cease to advise and call upon you, not only to attend to what is said here, but also to be diligent in reading the divine scriptures at home. Nor[k] let any man allege those frivolous excuses; I am engaged in public affairs; or I have a trade, and a wife and children to take care of; in a word I am a secular person; it is not my business to read the scriptures, but theirs rather who have retired from the world to a solitary life. So far are these things from making out a valid, or even tolerable excuse, that upon these accounts, and for these very reasons, you have the more need to read the scriptures.'

8. In that argument he says, the[l] reading the scriptures will be an excellent preservative against sin: and that ignorance of the scriptures is the thing that has occasioned heresies, and all the corruption and wickedness which there is in the world.

9. At the beginning of a homily upon St. John's gospel, he earnestly exhorts his hearers[m] to read, some time in the

[g] —επειδε γαρ τα γραμματα αποστολικα τειχη των εκκλησιων εστιν, κ. λ. Hom. in 2 Tim. iii. 1. T. vi. p. 282. B.

[h] De Pœnit. Hom. 2. T. ii. p. 288. C.

[i] De Lazar. Hom. 3. T. 1. p. 737. A. B. Vid. et p. 738—740.

[k] Μη γαρ μοι λεγετω τις τα ψυχρα ρηματα εκεινα—

[l] Μεγαλη ασφαλεια προς το μη αμαρτανειν των γραφων ἡ αναγνωσις, κ. λ. Ib. p. 740. D. E.

[m] In Joan. Hom. 11. [al. 10.] T. viii. p. 62. A. B.

week, the portion of scripture that is to be explained the next Lord's day; and to consider it well, that they may come the better prepared to receive instruction, when it shall be explained in public.

10. In another homily upon the same gospel, he finely shows, how[n] the divine oracles are suited to cure all the maladies of the soul, and to implant and cherish all virtue.

11. He often shows the usefulness of the scriptures; he says, they[o] deliver from evil thoughts, and assist men against evil passions, and excessive grief. I refer[p] to another like passage.

12. Upon this point he enlarges very much, in the third homily upon the title and beginning of the book of the Acts; where he says, that[q] to read the scriptures is to converse with God. Accordingly, in another place,[r] he considers the scriptures as an epistle from God himself. In a homily upon St. John's gospel, he says: It[s] is not the evangelist that speaks, but God, who speaks to us by him. At the beginning of another homily upon the same gospel, he says; There[t] is nothing vain or insignificant in the divine scriptures; for they are the dictates of the Holy Spirit. And he observes, that[u] it is a great unhappiness not to be acquainted with the scriptures, and that[v] men's ignorance in the scriptures, is the cause of all manner of evil.

13. His observations upon Col. iii. 16, contain an earnest exhortation to all to read the scriptures. '"Let[w] the word of God dwell in you," says the apostle; and not only "let it dwell in you," but "richly" also, in abundance. Hear you, who are men of the world, who have a wife and children, how he requires you especially to read the scriptures; and not hastily, but with care and diligence; nor do you look for any other teacher; you have the oracles of God; no one teaches like them; another instructor, from some wrong principle, may conceal from you many things of great use; I[x] therefore exhort all of you to procure

[n] Μεγα των θειων γραφων το κερδος ——— παντοδαπων γαρ εστι φαρμακων θησαυρος τα θεια λογια, κ. λ. In Joan. Hom. 37. [al. 36.] T. 8. p. 211. B.

[o] In Pr. Act. Hom. 3. T. iii. p. 72. E.

[p] De Capt. Eutrop. Hom. T. iii. p. 388. B.

[q] T. iii. p. 73. C.

[r] In cap. 1. Gen. Hom. 2. T. iv. p. 9. A. Et omnino vid. in Matth. Hom. 1. T. vii. p. 18. A. B.

[s] In Joan. Hom. 2. T. viii. p. 7. B.

[t] In Joan. Hom. 50. [al. 49.] T. viii. p. 293. D. E.

[u] Μεγα κακον αγνοειν γραφας. In Act. Ap. Hom. 34. T. 9. p. 265. C.

[v] Τουτο παντων αιτιον των κακων το μη ειδεναι τας γραφας. In Coloss. Hom. 9. T. xi. p. 390. C. D.

[w] In Col. Hom. 9. ibid.

[x] Ακουσατε, παρακαλω, παντες οἱ βιωτικοι, και κτασθε βιβλια, φαρμακα της

yourselves Bibles; if you have nothing else, take care to have the New Testament, particularly the Acts of the Apostles, and the gospels, for your constant instructors, that in all trial you may have recourse to them for proper remedies.'

14. Having bestowed great commendations upon Aquila and Priscilla, especially the last, and having recommended them to the imitation of others, and said, that they arrived at such eminent virtue by entertaining and conversing with Paul, he goes on: 'But[y] some one may say, What then shall I do, who have not Paul to converse with? If you will,' says he, 'you may have him more entirely than they had; it was not the sight of Paul that made them what they were, but his words. If you will, you may have Paul and Peter and John, yea, and the whole choir of prophets and apostles, to converse with frequently. Take then the books of those blessed men, and read their writings frequently; and they will make you equal to the tentmaker's wife. But why do I say, you may have Paul? If you will, you may have Paul's Master; for he himself will speak to you in Paul's words.'

15. Speaking of the chamberlain of Candace, queen of Ethiopia, who read the scriptures sitting in his chariot, he says, 'We[z] need not any of us be ashamed to imitate him, though an eunuch and a barbarian, who, when he was travelling, did not omit to read. That barbarian is fit to be master to us all; to men in private life, to soldiers, to men in high stations; in a word, to all men and women; that all may learn, that no time is improper for reading the divine oracles; and that we ought to read them, though we do not understand them. By this means the scriptures will be fixed in our memories; and what we do not understand at the first reading may be understood at another.'

16. In a homily upon the second epistle to the Thessalonians: 'If[a] any should say, he does not know what is in the scriptures; I should ask, Why do you not know? Is it in Hebrew, or Latin, or any other strange language? Is it not in Greek?'

17. The scriptures are compared by him to many things;

ψυχης. Ει μηδεν ἑτερον βελεσθε, την γεν καινην κτασθε, των αποστολων τας Πραξεις, τα ευαγγελια, διδασκαλες διηνεκεις, κ. λ. In Col. H. 9. ib. p. 391.

[y] In Ep. ad Rom. Hom. 30. T. ix. p. 743. A. B.

[z] In Gen. Hom. 35. T. iv. p. 351. E. et p. 352.

[a] Αλλ' ουκ οιδα, φησι, τα εν ταις θειαις γραφαις κειμενα. Δια τι ουκ οιδας; Μη γαρ Εβραϊστι; μη γαρ Ρωμαϊστι; μη γαρ ἑτερογλωσσαις ειρηται; Ουχ Ἑλληνιστι λεγεται; In 2 Th. Hom. 3. T. xi. p. 528. C.

to[b] a field or garden of flowers; to[c] a rich treasure, and refreshing fountain; they are styled by him[d] a spiritual treasure, an[e] inexhaustible treasure; they are compared to[f] rich spices and incense for their fragrance; to[g] an ocean quite calm, and ever free from tempests, so that the farther you wade into it, the more you will be pleased.

18. In one place he compares the scriptures to a workman's tools: 'Do[h] you not observe,' says he, 'that they who work in iron, and your goldsmiths, and silversmiths, and artificers of all sorts, take care to have their tools entire, and in order? If they are lost, they are ruined; upon no consideration, therefore, will they part with them; and, if they are in a strait, by the use of these they may extricate themselves, and recover their former state. Their instruments are, the hammer, anvil, tongs; the instruments of our art are, the apostolical and prophetical books, and all the divinely inspired and useful scripture; and as they, with their instruments, form any vessels which they have in hand; so we, by ours, are to form our minds, and correct them when perverted, and renew them when decayed.'

19. 'The[i] ultimate end of the scriptures,' he says, 'is our amendment; we therefore explain the scriptures, not only that you may understand them, but that you may improve your manners. Without this, our reading and expounding are in vain.'

20. By all which I think it appears, that, in Chrysostom's time, the Bible was not reckoned a dangerous book; but it was supposed, that the more men read and studied the scriptures, the better it would be for them.

21. Women[k] and children wore small gospels, or sentences of them, about their necks, as preservatives against evil accidents; but he advises, that they should rather take care to write the laws and precepts of the gospel upon their hearts. In another place also, speaking of the Jewish phylacteries, he observes, that[l] many christian women had gospels hung about their necks.

22. He censures those who[m] gratified their vanity, in

[b] In Gen. Hom. 34. in. T. iv. p. 434. C. [c] In Gen. Hom. iii. p. 14. A. B. [d] In Gen. Hom. 60. p. 580. D. Vid. ib. Hom. 21. p. 180. E. [e] In Gen. Hom. 8. p. 58. D. E.
[f] Hom. in 2 Tim. iii. 1. T. 6. [g] Hom. in Terræ Mot. et Laz. 6. T. i. p. 786. A. [h] In Laz. Hom. 3. T. i. p. 738. A.—D.
[i] In Prophet. Obscur. Hom. 2. T. vi. p. 192. B. [k] Ad Pop. Antioch. Hom. 19. T. ii. p. 197. D. E. [l] In Matt. Hom. 72. [al. 73.] T. vii. p. 703. [m] *Και πασα αυτων σπεδη περι των ὑμενων της λεπτοτητος, και το των γραμματων καλλος—ὁτι χρυσοις εχει γραμμασιν εγγεγραμμενον.* In Jo. Hom. 33. [al. 32.] T. viii. p. 188. A. B.

having the scriptures written in golden letters, and upon fine parchment; but did not take care to understand them.

23. In a homily upon the beginning of the Acts, he speaks as[n] if the scriptures were translated into Indian, and British; and into the languages of all people in general. In a homily upon the beginning of St. John's gospel, he says, that[o] Syrians, Egyptians, Indians, Persians, and other nations, though barbarian, having translated the words and doctrines of that evangelist, had learned to philosophize.

XIII. I shall take notice of but one various reading, which is, that the beginning of the eighth chapter of St. John, concerning the adulterous woman, does not appear in Chrysostom's homilies upon St. John's gospel: nor[p] has he any where else quoted, or referred to, that paragraph.

XIV. In the next place, I shall observe some explications of texts.

1. He seems to have supposed the[q] beginning of St. Matthew's gospel, "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ," to be the title, not of the genealogy, but of the whole book of the gospel.

2. He handsomely illustrates[r] Matt. xx. 23, "It is not mine to give: but it shall be given to them for whom it is prepared."

3. Abraham,[s] he says, forbears to give hard words to the rich man, calling him "son," Luke xvi. 25: a fine observation, which has been highly adorned by archbishop Tillotson, in his most excellent sermons upon the parable of the 'Rich Man and Lazarus.'

4. He thinks that[t] Judas was present when our Lord instituted the memorial of himself.

5. When Christ says, Matt. xxviii. 20, "Lo, I am with you always, unto the end of the world;" he[u] does not speak to the disciples only, but in them to all.

6. Upon John i. 9, he says 'Christ[v] is "the light of the world," as he did all that lay in his power to enlighten it;' that is, all he could, or all that was fit to be done.

7. Nathanael, he says, was[w] not only sincere, as our Lord

[n] In. Pr. Act. H. 3. T. iii. p. 71. D.
[o] In Jo. Hom. 2. [al. 1.] T. viii. p. 10. B.
[p] Vid. Montf. Præf. ad T. viii. sect. v. n. 3.
[q] In Matt. Hom. 2. T. vii. p. 23. C.
[r] Contr. Anom. Hom. 8. T. i. p. 521.
[s] Ὁρα φιλοσοφιαν, ὁρα φιλοξοργιαν δικαιε. Ουκ ειπεν· Απανθρωπε, και ωμε, και παμπονηρε, τοσαυτα κακα διαθεις τον ανθρωπον,—εκ ερυθριας, εδε αισχυνης; Αλλα τι; τεκνον, φησιν, απελαβες τα αγαθα σε. De Laz. Hom. 2. T. i. p. 735. D. E.
[t] De Prodit. Jud. Hom. i. T. ii. p. 383. D. E.
[u] In Matt. Hom. xv. T. vii. p. 185. C.
[v] In Joan. Hom. 8. [al. 7.] T. viii. p. 48. B.
[w] In Jo. H. 20. [al. 19.] T. viii. p. 116. A.

said, and the event showed, but he was also learned; therefore Philip referred him to 'Moses and the prophets.'

8. He thinks that[x] Christ twice drove the buyers and sellers out of the temple.

9. He thinks that[y] Paul wisely silenced the evil spirit in the Pythoness, though it gave a good testimony to him. See Acts xvi. 16—18.

10. Upon Acts xvii. 22, he says, Paul[z] commends them as it were, saying at least nothing offensive: 'I see you to be superstitious, that is, religious.'

11. When some at Athens said of Paul, Acts xvii. 18, "He seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods, because he preached to them Jesus and the resurrection;" he says, that[a] by resurrection, or anastasis, they intended a goddess.

12. Chrysostom[b] does not blame Gallio at all; but considers him to have been a man of equity and moderation.

13. He[c] thinks that Crispus and Sosthenes are both one; that is, Crispus was also called Sosthenes. See Acts xviii. 8, and 17.

14. He says, By[d] the overruling providence of God, Paul was sent to Rome a prisoner, that he might not be soon expelled as a Jew.

15. He supposes Paul to say, he[e] feared, lest he should be rejected. See 1 Cor. ix. 27.

16. He mentions[f] the Marcionite interpretation of baptism for the dead, 1 Cor. xv. 29; and then his own.

17. 2 Cor. viii. 18, By "the brother, whose praise is in the gospel," some[g] understand Luke: and think that Paul speaks of his written gospel: others understand Barnabas; and think that, by gospel, is meant preaching.

18. Upon 2 Thess. ii. 4, he says, the '[h] man of sin' will not sit in the temple of God, and at Jerusalem only, but in the churches every where. In a following homily[i] he says, it is the Roman empire that hinders the manifestation of Antichrist.

[x] In Mat. Hom. 67. [al. 68.] T. vii. p. 663.

[y] De Laz. H. 2. T. i. p. 728. C.

[z] ——ωσπερ εγκωμιαζων αυτες, δοκει βδεν λεγειν βαρυ· ως δεισιδαιμονεστερες υμας, φησι, θεωρω, τϐτ' εστιν ευλαβεστερες. In Act. Ap. Hom. 38. T. ix. p. 286. E.

[a] Και γαρ την αναστασιν θεον τινα ειναι ενομιζον, ατε ειωθοτες και θηλειας σεβειν. In Act. Hom. 38. T. ix. p. 286. D.

[b] In Act. Hom. 39. p. 296.

[c] Ibid. p. 297. C. D.

[d] In Act. Hom. 39. p. 295. C.

[e] Ad Pop. Antioch. Hom. i. T. i. p. 5. C. D.

[f] In Cor. Hom. 40. T. x. p. 378. B.—E.

[g] Τινες μεν τον Λϐκαν· και φασι, δια την ιστοριαν, ηνπερ εγραψε· τινες δε τον Βαρναβαν· και γαρ το αγραφον κηρυγμα ευαγγελιον καλει. In 2 Cor. Hom. 18. T. x. p. 564. E. Vid. et Grot. in loc.

[h] In 2 Th. Hom. 3. T. xi. p. 525. C.

[i] Ib. Hom. 4. p. 529. C.

19. When Paul says, 2 Tim. i. 16, that 'all they of Asia had forsaken him;' he[k] intends such as were at Rome.

20. By the 'church in Philemon's house,' ver. 2, he understands[l] his family, the whole of which was christian. Upon Rom. xvi. 5, "Likewise greet the church that is in their house:" he says, that[m] Aquila and Priscilla had made their house a church, by making all therein believers, and by opening it to all strangers.

XV. Having put down these interpretations of texts of scripture, I proceed to some other things: and, in the first place, I shall take some observations concerning our Saviour.

1. Jesus,[n] he says, was called Christ, from the anointing of the Spirit, which was poured out upon him as a man.

2. Jesus Christ, he thinks, 'wrought[o] no miracles in the time of his infancy; therefore, the miracles ascribed to him in early life, are false and fictitious.' He collects this from John's not knowing him to be the Christ, when he came to be baptized by him; and also, from[p] John ii. 3, and 11. Afterwards, in another homily, he expresseth his persuasion very positively, that[q] our Lord wrought no miracles before his baptism; though some others, at that time, were of a different opinion.

3. Upon Matt. ix. 1, "And he entered into a ship, and passed over, and came into his own city;" he says, By[r] his "own city," the evangelist means Capernaum; for our Lord was born at Bethlehem, educated at Nazareth, and dwelt at Capernaum.

4. The[s] Lord Jesus disdained luxury, and was an example of a frugal and laborious life, always walking on foot, and sometimes until he was weary.

5. He[t] speaks highly of the great honour of the christian name, that we should be called from Christ; and he says, that Paul so called us. In another place, agreeably to what

[k] In 2 Tim. Hom. 3. T. xi. p. 673. B.

[l] In Philem. Argum. T. xi. p. 772. H. Conf. Hom. 1. p. 775. C. D. et in 1 Cor. Hom. 44. T. x. p. 409. E.

[m] In Rom. Hom. 30. T. ix. p. 741. C.

[n] In Rom. Hom. 1. T. ix. p. 430. B.

[o] Εντευθεν ἡμιν λοιπον δηλον, ὁτι και τα σημεια εκεινα, ἁ παιδικα ειναι φασιν τȣ Χριστȣ ψευδη και πλασματα τινων εισαγοντων εστιν, κ. λ. In Joan. Hom. 17. [al. 16.] T. viii. p. 99. D.

[p] In Jo. Hom. 21. [al. 20.] p. 121. D. E. et 122.

[q] Ειπον και πρωην ὁτι τινες ȣκ αρχην ταυτην ειναι φασι—αλλ' ὁτι μεν τοι μετα το βαπτισμα των σημειων ηρξατο, και προ τȣ βαπτισματος ȣδεν εθαυματȣργησε, και εμπροσθεν εδηλωσαμεν. In Jo. Hom. 23. [al. 22.] ib. p. 132. A.

[r] —'Η μεν γαρ ηνεγκεν αυτον ἡ Βηθλεεμ· ἡ δια εθρεψεν ἡ Ναζαρετ· η δε ειχεν οικȣντα ἡ Καπερναȣμ. In Matt. Hom. 29. [al. 30.] T. vii. p. 342. B.

[s] In Jo. Hom. 31. [al. 30.] T. viii. p. 178. D.

[t] In Jo. Hom. 19. [al. 18.] p. 113. C.

is recorded, Acts xi. 26, he says, that[u] the disciples were first called christians at Antioch; and he esteems that[v] the great prerogative of that city above all others. He takes notice of this elsewhere; and has a fine argument with the people of Antioch, that[w] they should therefore strive to excel in christian virtues. This[x] honour is particularly celebrated in a homily upon the eleventh chapter of the Acts, not yet referred to.

XVI. I shall now take some observations concerning Christ's apostles.

1. Upon occasion of St. Matthew's catalogue of the apostles, at the beginning of the tenth chapter of his gospel, he makes divers observations upon that, and the other catalogues of them in Mark and Luke. Here,[y] as also often elsewhere, he calls Peter chief. In another homily upon St. Matthew, he calls[z] the three disciples, whom our Lord took with him into the Mount, chiefs: he says, that[a] four of the disciples were fishermen, and two publicans, even Matthew and James; intending, as I suppose, James the son of Alpheus.

2. The[b] office of apostle, he says, implies a spiritual supremacy, or consulship: and the whole world was committed to them.

3. He says, an[c] apostle is a man sent from God; nor can he say any thing of his own, but only what he receives from heaven: therefore Christ said, "Call no man your master on earth; for one is your Master, who is in heaven;" to denote, that the whole of our religion is derived from above, from the Lord himself, though men are employed as ministers.

4. In the introduction to his homilies upon St. Matthew's gospel, he says: The[d] apostles did not come down from the Mount, bringing in their hands tables of stone; but they had the spirit in their mind, and a certain treasure and fountain of doctrines and gifts, and all good things, which they poured forth every where upon all occasions, insomuch that, by the divine favour, they[e] were made living Bibles, and laws.

5. In another place: 'A[f] prophet cannot be an apostle

[u] Ad Pop. Antioch. Hom. 3. T. ii. p. 36. E. [v] Ad Pop. Antioch. H. 17. p. 176. B. C.

[w] In Matt. H. 7. T. vii. p. 116. A. [x] In Act. Ap. H. 25. T. ix. p. 201. [y] In Matt. Hom. 32. [al. 33.] T. vii. p. 369. B.

[z] In Matt. Hom. 56. [al. 57.] p. 565. E. [a] In Matt. Hom. 32. p. 369. B. [b] In Pr. Act. Hom. 3. T. iii. p. 77. B. Vid. quæ ibidem sequuntur, et p. 76. [c] In Es. cap. 1. T. vi. p. 4. C. [d] In Matt. Hom. 1. T. vii. p. 3. C. [e] Βιβλια και νομοι γινομενοι δια της χαριτος εμψυχοι. Ib. [f] In Pr. Act. Hom. 3. T. iii. p. 76. A.

and a prophet; but an apostle is also a prophet in the highest sense, and has gifts of healing, and divers kinds of tongues, and interpretations of tongues.'

6. Agreeably to which, upon Eph. ii. 20, he observes; 'Apostles[g] and prophets are the foundation; but Paul mentions apostles first, though last in time.'

7. Some other observations concerning the apostles may be here taken notice of.

8. 'None[h] more unlearned,' he says, 'than Peter; none more simple than Paul: and yet they overcame, and put to silence, philosophers, orators, and rhetoricians.'

9. 'Paul,'[i] he says, 'was ignorant, and Plato learned; nevertheless some christians, but foolishly, would have it otherwise: let us rather own that the apostles were ignorant, unlearned, poor, mean, obscure.' In another place he says, Paul[k] was a Cilician, a tanner, poor, destitute of Greek learning, knowing only the Hebrew language, which was much despised: but, as some learned men think, Chrysostom here exaggerates beyond the truth; as indeed orators are very apt to do: however he had a good view in it; for, if Paul and other apostles had been learned, it might have been argued by infidels, that their success in preaching the gospel had been owing to their skill and eloquence, and not to the power and grace of God, as he says.

10. It is wonderful simplicity, which[l] he ascribes to Paul, in his answer to king Agrippa, Acts xxvi. 29.

11. Chrysostom was a great admirer of the apostle Paul. There[m] are seven homilies, entitled, Of his Praises. He observes to his hearers, that[n] they knew very well, when Paul was once mentioned, he was apt to dwell there, and divert from the thread of his discourse. I shall put in the margin[o] an instance of this kind; by which, though I transcribe a part of the passage only, an intelligent reader will form an idea of what Chrysostom just now said.

12. Upon Eph. iv. 1, "I therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you;" he[p] does most oratorically extol the greatness of Paul on account of his sufferings. The[q] con-

[g] In Eph. Hom. 6. T. 11. p. 39. B. [h] Præf. in Ep. ad Rom. T. 9. p. 428. E. [i] In 1 Cor. Hom. 3. T. x. p. 20. C. D. E.

[k] Κιλιξ ὁ ανθρωπος ην—σκυτοτομος, πενης, της εξωθεν σοφιας απειρος, Ἑβραϊστι μονον ειδως, γλωτταν διασυρομενην παρα παντων και μαλιστα παρα των Ιταλων. In 2 Ep. Tim. Hom. 4. T. xi. p. 682. E.

[l] In Act. Hom. 52. T. 9. p. 393. C. [m] De Laudibus Apostoli Pauli, T. ii. p. 476, &c. [n] In Es. xlv. 7. T. 6. p. 149. C.

[o] —Εκκαιωμαι γαρ εις τον τ῾ ανδρος ποθον, και δια τ῾το συνεχως αυτον περιστρεφων ὁ πανομαι. κ. λ. In Gen. Hom. 11. T. 4. p. 88. A. B. C.

[p] In Eph. Hom. 8. T. xi. p. 53—56. [q] In Rom. Hom. 32.

clusion of his homilies upon the epistle to the Romans, is full of affection for the apostle Paul, and is an highly finished piece of oratory. I refer to some other places,[r] where our author's respect for Paul is very conspicuous.

XVII. Chrysostom often speaks of the speedy and wonderful progress of the christian religion in the world. It is not easy to forbear taking a good number of his passages upon this head.

1. He says,[s] all the world flocked to Bethlehem: for no other reason than to see the place where Christ was born.

2. He speaks[t] of the gospel being preached, and churches planted among the Romans, Persians, Scythians, Moors, Indians, and Britons.

3. In another place[u] he celebrates the praises, and the success of the gospel preached by fishermen and tent-makers; and mentions, among its converts, Goths, Scythians, Thracians, Sarmatians, Indians, Britons.

4. 'The[v] apostles of Christ were twelve, and they gained the whole world.'

5. Zeno,[w] Plato, Socrates, and many others, endeavoured to introduce a new course of life, but in vain; whereas Jesus Christ not only taught, but settled a new polity, or way of living, all over the world.

6. 'Notwithstanding[x] the absurd opinions and evil practices which had obtained, Christ, in a short time, delivered men from them all; and that not the Romans only, but also the Persians, and the barbarian nations. This he accomplished, not by arms, nor by bribes, nor by wars and battles; but beginning with eleven men, and those poor, mean, illiterate, unexperienced, unarmed, without shoes, and having one coat only, he persuaded great numbers of men in all nations to change their sentiments and manners.'

7. 'The[y] doctrine and writings of fishermen, who were beaten, and driven from society, and always lived in the midst of dangers, have been readily embraced by learned and unlearned, bondmen and free, kings and soldiers, Greeks and barbarians.'

8. He observes, that[z] the many persecutions, which christians had suffered, had not been able to destroy them.

T. ix. p. 757—760. [r] De Mutat. Nom. Hom. 1. T. iii. p. 102. A. B. In Act. Ap. Hom. 25. T. ix. p. 201. C.

[s] Contra Jud. et Gentil. T. i. p. 561. C. [t] Ibid. p. 575. B. C.

[u] Hom. 8. antehac non edit. T. xii. p. 371, 372.

[v] Adv. Jud. Or. 1. T. i. p. 592. C. Vid. et p. 588.

[w] Adv. Jud. T. i. p. 631. D. [x] Contr. Jud. et Gentil. T. i. p. 559. A. B. [y] In Matt. Hom. 1. T. vii. p. 10. B.

[z] In Pr. Act. Hom. 2. T. iii. p. 61. D. E.

He particularly takes notice, that[a] as elsewhere, so in Persia, there had been severe persecutions, and many martyrs; yet the christian religion still subsisted there.

9. 'Though[b] there were such, and so many opposers; though kings and tyrants, and people, strove to extinguish the spark of faith, such a flame of true religion arose as filled the whole world. If you go to India, and Scythia, and the utmost ends of the earth, you will every where find the doctrine of Christ enlightening the souls of men: even the barbarian nations have learned to philosophize, and have embraced true religion instead of their ancient customs.—The Lord of all, by eleven men, fishermen, unlearned and simple, has attracted all mankind; who, as if they had wings, have gone over the world, sowing the seeds of true religion, and rooting up evil affections, and perverse customs and practices.'

10. There are many other places where Chrysostom talks very agreeably of the swift progress, and wide extent of the christian religion: to[c] some of which I refer in the margin.

11. He says, that[d] christianity rather declines under christian emperors: so far is it from being cherished by the honours of this world. But it thrives most when it is persecuted, or lies under worldly discouragements.

12. He says, christians[e] do not persecute, but heathenism falls of itself: nor did christian emperors ever enact such severe laws against heathens, as the worshippers of dæmons had done against christians.

13. He afterwards argues excellently concerning the christian doctrine: and says, that[f] Peter and Paul, one a fisherman, the other a tent-maker, would never of themselves, and without divine assistance, have attempted the design of reforming the world, unless they had been mad. But that they were not mad, their words and the acceptance which they met with, show.

14. He seems to say, that[g] the cities in the Roman empire, which continued heathens, were few and small.

15. He computes[h] the city of Antioch to have in it two hundred thousand people; and[i] the number of christians in

[a] Contr. Jud. et Gent. T. i. p. 559. B. [b] In Gen. Hom. 28. T. iv. p. 276. C. D. [c] In Ep. ad Rom. Hom. 2. T. ix. p. 433. In Cor. Hom. 3. T. x. p. 20, 21. Hom. 5. p. 37.

[d] De S. Bab. Contr. Gentil. T. ii. p. 548. C. [e] De S. Bab. contr. Jul. &c. T. iv. p. 540. A. B. [f] Ibid. p. 541. A. B. [g] De S. Bab. &c. T. iv. p. 548. D. [h] Hom. in. S. Ignat. T. ii. p. 597. A.

[i] Και γαρ τη τε Θεε χαριτι εις δεκα μυριαδων αριθμον οιμαι τες ενταυθα συναγομενες τελειν· In Matt. Hom. 85. [al. 86.] T. vii. p. 810. A.

it a hundred thousand: there were in it, therefore, as also appears clearly from Chrysostom's work, many[k] Jews and Gentiles: however, he says, in another place, that[l] the christians were the majority of the city. He speaks, as[m] if there might be seen, in his time, the house in which Paul dwelt at Antioch. There[n] were three thousand poor people maintained by the church at Antioch, beside relief occasionally given to others.

16. We perceive from Chrysostom, that[o] christian assemblies were more numerous at Antioch, than at Constantinople. He seems to say, that[p] the country people about Antioch used another and a barbarous language, but nevertheless were christians. By the other and barbarous language, probably, he means Syriac; whereas, the citizens of Antioch spoke Greek.

XVIII. Chrysostom often shows the credibility of the evangelical history.

1. 'The[q] evangelists, he says, have related, who of the disciples were fishermen, and who was a publican; the former a low, the other a disreputable employment: and that Philip was not much more honourable, appears from his country, and the place of his nativity. By relating such things they have secured their credit in the more honourable events of their history. For when they conceal nothing which is dishonourable, either to their Master or themselves, why should they be suspected, when they speak of the miracles that were done by him? They have related all the ignominious sufferings of the cross, and have mentioned those progenitors of their Master, who were remarkable for their faults or their meanness. Such things show their veracity; and that they did not write with a view to please any men, nor to magnify themselves.'

2. Chrysostom speaks admirably of the harmony of the evangelists. 'If[r] there had been an exact agreement about every thing, in time, place, and expression, few would have believed them; the agreement would then have been ascribed to human contrivance, and because they had concerted matters together before-hand. But the difference in

[k] Vid. Adv. Jud. Or. 1. T. i. p. 588—593.

[l] ——*το πλεον της πολεως χριστιανον· και ετι μην νοσωσι τινες ιουδαϊσμον.* Adv. Jud. Or. 1. p. 592. C. D.

[m] In Ep. ad Rom. H. 30. T. ix. p. 743. C.

[n] In Matt. H. 66. [al. 67.] T. vii. p. 658. B.

[o] Contr. Anom. Hom. 11. T. i. p. 541. C.

[p] Ad Pop. Antioch. Hom. 19. T. ii. p. 189. B. Vid. De Sanctis Martyr. ib. p. 651. A.

[q] In Matt. Hom. 30. [al. 31.] T. vii. p. 348. C. D.

[r] In Matt. Pr. T. vii. p. 5, 6.

lesser things, which is observable in them, prevents all suspicion of this kind, and is a proof of their sincerity; but in important things there is no difference between them. They all relate the same doctrine: that Jesus was made man, that he wrought miracles, that he was crucified, buried, and rose again; and that he will come again to judgment; that he delivered salutary precepts, and did not promulgate a law contrary to the old: about these things there is a full agreement. But if all do not relate the same miracles, or with the same circumstances, a difference about these, and such like things, needs not cause any uneasiness: yea, it is the greatest proof of their sincerity, and establisheth the truth of their history.'

3. Upon Matth. xxvi. 67, 68, 'Observe here,' says[s] he, 'and admire the veracity of the evangelists. Though these things were reproachful, they have related them with all faithfulness, concealing nothing.'

4. So likewise upon Matth. x. 4, "And Judas Iscariot, who also betrayed him," he says: 'They[t] did not decline to mention those things, which might appear to be dishonourable to their Master or themselves. He likewise observes there, that[u] when Matthew comes to the traitor, he does not write as an enemy, but as an historian; he does not say, that wicked and hateful wretch, but calls him, from the place of his habitation, Judas Iscariot.'

5. In the same forecited preface to St. Matthew's gospel, or first homily upon it, he does justly and strongly extol the philosophy, or just sentiments, of the apostles, and their prodigious success, as a proof of the divine power and presence with them: 'That[v] a few men, some fishermen, another a publican, all illiterate, and destitute of worldly wealth and authority, should prevail both living and dead, and bring over to their scheme not one, or two, or twenty men, or a hundred, or a thousand, or ten thousand, but cities, and nations, and people.'

6. I know not how to forbear to take notice of one place more where Chrysostom says: 'For the christian religion to have been spread over the world without miracles, would be a greater miracle than any recorded in the New Testament.'

He is arguing for the truth of Christ's resurrection and says: 'If[w] he had not risen, there would not have been any miracles wrought in testimony to it; nor would any have been able to work any miracles in his name: whereas the

[s] In Matt. Hom. 85. [al. 86.] T. vii. p. 803. E. [t] In Matt. H. 32. [al. 33.] p. 369. B. [u] Ib. p. 369. A. [v] In Matt. Hom. 1. T. vii. p. 9. [w] In Princ. Act. H. 4. T. iii. p. 92, 93.

same power wrought miracles before and after his crucifixion; yea, more and greater after it than before. But how does it appear that miracles were wrought then? will an infidel say. From whence does it appear that Christ was crucified? From the holy scriptures, he will answer. Well, that miracles were then done, and that Christ was crucified, is manifest from the holy scriptures; for they relate both the one and the other. And if the adversary should say, that the apostles wrought no miracles, it may be replied: You make their power and the Divine favour greater, if indeed, without miracles, they allured so large a part of the world to true religion. For that would be the greatest and most wonderful miracle of all; that a company of twelve men, poor, mean, illiterate, despicable, should draw over to themselves so many cities, and nations, and people, and kings, and tyrants, and philosophers, and rhetoricians; and, in a word, the whole earth, without working any miracles. But do you expect to see miracles done now? I will show you some, and greater than any that are recorded: not one dead man raised to life, not one blind man restored to sight, but the whole earth recovered from the darkness of error; not one leper cleansed, but many nations washed from the leprosy of sin. What miracle dost thou desire, man, beyond this great change made in the world all on a sudden?'

So says Chrysostom: and I think his argument is conclusive. There is no effect without a cause: there were, in his time, great numbers of christians, and many churches had been planted in most parts of the world. The doctrine of the gospel, therefore, had been preached to them; but Jesus, the author of that doctrine, had been crucified: his doctrine, therefore, was not supported by worldly power. His disciples, at first, were mean and despised; and yet they spread his religion over the world: consequently they were supported by the power of God, working miracles in confirmation of the doctrine taught by them, as the evangelical history says. Otherwise, if you deny the truth of the miracles recorded in the New Testament, you must suppose a greater miracle; which is, that God immediately and powerfully influenced the minds of men to embrace the doctrine taught by Christ's disciples. For to say, that this change had been made in the world without any cause; or that men forsook their old sentiment and practices, and embraced the christian religion upon the bare word of a few mean and illiterate men, without any other reason inducing them thereto; is an absurdity so manifest, as not to be admitted by any.

XIX. We will now observe some places, where Chrysostom speaks of miraculous powers in the church.

1. In one place he says, the[x] ashes of the holy martyrs drive away dæmons: in another place, that[y] where dæmons see the bodies of martyrs lying, they flee away. He also says, that[z] bodies of martyrs have great power. Celebrating a martyr, named Julian, he says, he[a] will allege not ancient things, but of the present time: for take a dæmoniac and madman, and bring him to that holy sepulchre, where are the martyr's relics; and you will see him draw back, and flee away. Again, he says, that[b] dæmons dread the dust of martyrs; and wherever they are buried, they flee away from their sepulchres, though they do not shun the sepulchres of other dead men. Once more he speaks, as[c] if in his time many miracles were done by the martyrs.

2. In a homily at the feast of Pentecost, he supposeth, that in his time there were not any miraculous gifts; and he assigns the reasons of it: 'For[d] signs are for unbelievers, not for believers, as we are; nor is that any unkindness to us; but God rather does us honour in withdrawing the evidence of miracles.'

3. He speaks largely upon the same subject in another place. 'At[e] the rise of christianity, and for spreading it in the world, through the great goodness of God, miraculous gifts were bestowed upon many; upon some who were unworthy, and not truly pious; but now they are not bestowed upon the worthy, because we do not stand in need of such things.'

4. 'The[f] apostles wrought miracles in their time; but now such things are past and gone; whereas, good works, and a holy conversation, are always necessary for those who would be saved.'

5. In his books of the Priesthood, an early work, written before 375, he says: 'Paul[g] was formidable to dæmons; but all the men of this time, united together, cannot, by many prayers and tears, do so much as Paul's handkerchiefs. Paul raised the dead, and did many other great

[x] Ad Pop. Antioch. Hom. 8. T. ii. p. 93. B.
[y] De Macc. 1. T. ii. p. 623. A. [z] De SS. Bernic. &c. T. ii. p. 645. D. [a] In Julian. M. T. ii. p. 674. D. Vid. et in S. Barlaam. M. ib. p. 686. A. B.
[b] De S. Drosid. M. T. ii. p. 691. D.
[c] De S. Bab. Contr. Jud. et Gent. T. ii. p. 555. C. D.
[d] De S. Pentec. Hom. 1. T. 1. p. 464. C.
[e] In Princ. Act. Hom. 2. T. iii. p. 65. B. Vid. et p. 64. C. D.
[f] In Pr. Act. Hom. 2. T. iii. p. 65. E. Vid. et Hom. 3. p. 76.
[g] De Sacerd. l. iv. T. 1. p. 411. A.

works; insomuch, that he was thought by the heathens to be a god.'

6. 'When[h] the Jews were in the wilderness, many miracles were wrought. So likewise among us, at our deliverance from error: but afterwards they ceased, when religion was once firmly planted. And if, after the settlement of the Jews in Canaan, there were miracles, they were not so numerous, nor so frequent as before: in like manner has it been in our times. And when the Jews would have rebuilt the temple, they were prevented by the eruptions of fire at the foundation.'

7. Chrysostom speaks there, and also[i] elsewhere, of other miracles in the time of Julian; as well as of the defeat of the attempt to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem.

8. To proceed: He says, miracles[k] were formerly needful to spread the knowledge of God over the world; but now they are not needful.

9. Again: 'God[l] has now ceased to work miracles.'

10. 'Some[m] there are who ask, why there are no miracles now? If you believe, as you ought to do; if you love Christ, as you should, you have no need of miracles: for miracles are for them that believe not.'

11. The[n] Gentiles were offended at two things: that christians did not love one another; and that there were no miracles. He tells his hearers that they were more offended upon the former account than the latter; and says, that at first the christian doctrine was recommended by miracles; but now we ought to recommend it by our lives.

12. Upon 1 Cor. xii. 'This[o] whole place, he says, is very obscure. The reason is, that we are unacquainted with the things there spoken of, and such things do not now happen.'

13. In his fourteenth homily upon the epistle to the Romans, particularly ch. viii. 26, "Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what we should pray for as we ought." 'This[p] expression is obscure, because many of the miracles which were then done are ceased; therefore, it is needful to show you the state of things at that time. Then God vouchsafed to those who were baptized

[h] In Matt. Hom. 4. T. vii. p. 47.

[i] In Ps. cx. n. 4, et 5. T. v. p. 271. A.—E. p. 272. A.

[k] In Ps. cxlii. n. 5. ib. p. 455. E. [l] Και γαρ——τα σημεια επαυσεν ὁ Θεος. In Matt. Hom. 32. [al. 33.] T. vii. p. 375. E.

[m] In Jo. Hom. 24. [al. 23.] n. 1. T. viii. p. 138. A.

[n] In Jo. Hom. 72. [al. 71.] T. viii. p. 427. D. E.

[o] In 1 Cor. Hom. 29. T. x. p. 257. E. [p] In Rom. Hom. 14. T. ix. p. 585, 586.

many gifts, which were called "spirits: for the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets," as he says. [1 Cor. xiv. 32.] One had the gift of prophecy, and he foretold things to come; another had the gift of wisdom, and he taught the people; he who had the gift of healing, cured the sick; he who had the gift of working wonderful works, raised the dead; another had the gift of tongues, and he spake in divers languages. Beside all these, there was the gift of prayer; which is called "the spirit:" he who had that gift prayed for the whole multitude. And whereas we are ignorant of many things that are profitable to us, and therefore ask for things not profitable, the gift of prayer came upon some one at that time, who asked for all those things which were profitable for the whole church, and thereby was also very instructive. That gift the apostle here calls "the spirit;" as also the soul of him that received that gift, which interceded with God, and groaned: for he who was favoured with that gift, with great compunction, and inward groaning, asked things profitable for all: of whom the deacon, in our time, who offers prayers for all, is only a symbol. He proceeds to say, that by "the spirit," the apostle does not here mean the Comforter; but a spiritual man, who has the gift of prayer.'

14. Upon 1 Cor. xiv. 'The[q] church was then a heaven, when the Spirit directed all things, moving and inspiring every one of the bishops; but now we have only the symbols of those gifts.'

15. Upon the Acts; speaking of the state of things, when the gospel was first preached by the apostles, he says: 'The[r] earth was then a heaven for the excellent conversation of the believers; and the miracles then wrought; and upon other accounts.'

16. In a homily upon the epistle to the Colossians, some are brought in asking, Why[s] there were then none who raised the dead, and healed diseases? A part of his answer is, that when the faith was to be planted, there were many such; but now there was no need of them.

17. In a homily upon the second chapter of the second epistle to the Thessalonians, he says, 'That[t] the gifts of the Spirit had ceased long ago.'

XX. It may not be amiss to take some of Chrysostom's passages concerning free-will.

[q] In 1 Cor. Hom. 36. p. 339. C. D.
[r] In Act. Ap. Hom. 12. T. ix. p. 100. B.
[s] In Col. Hom. 8. T. xi. p. 387. E.
[t] —Και γαρ παλαι εκλελοιπεν. In 2 Th. Hom. 4. T. xi. p. 591. C. D.

1. He says: All[u] might be like Peter and Paul in virtue, though not in miracles.

2. We[v] are good, or bad, not by nature, but by our own purpose.

3. In another place he says, that[w] no man is good or bad by nature.

4. 'The[x] temptations of Satan can impose no necessity upon us to do evil. We are masters of our own purposes; whether his temptations shall prevail or not.'

5. Speaking of Judas, he says: 'Christ[y] gave him many admonitions and warnings; but he slighted them; and God did not use violence to draw him. As he has put in our power the choice of good or evil, and will have us to be good freely; therefore, if we will not he does not force us: for to be good by necessity is not to be good.'

6. Afterwards, observing upon the different conduct of Judas and the other disciples, he says: 'He[z] and they saw the same miracles; they had the same instructions and the same power. Whence then the difference? It came from the purpose of the mind; that is every where the cause of all good and of all bad actions.'

7. 'If[a] it be asked: Could not Christ have drawn a disciple? I answer: He could. But he would not make him good by necessity, nor draw him by force to himself.'

8. In another place he says, that[b] Judas might have repented and been forgiven, if he had not hastily made away with himself through the excess of his grief. This he thinks to be manifest from the mercy shown to many of those who had crucified Christ.

9. He argues at large, that[c] Paul was not converted by force; but freely, and of his own purpose, according to the call of God.

10. 'If[d] we will but be thoughtful and watchful, we may more easily cure the diseases of the mind than of the body.'

11. He[e] speaks very strongly to the like purpose, in another place; and I shall refer to divers[f] others.

[u] De Compunct. ad Demetr. l. i. T. i. p. 136. C. D.
[v] Adv. Oppugnat. Vit. Mon. l. iii. T. i. p. 83. A.
[w] In 1 ad Cor. Hom. 2. T. x. p. 13. D.
[x] De Laz. Hom. 2. T. i. p. 729. A. [y] De Prodit. Jud. Hom. 1. T. ii. p. 320. D. [z] Ibid. p. 382. A.
[a] De Prodit. Jud. Hom. 2. p. 389. A. Conf. Hom. 1. p. 378. D.
[b] De Pœnit. Hom. 1. T. ii. p. 284. E.
[c] De Ferend. Repreh. Hom. 3. T. iii. p. 127. B. Conf. p. 125. B. C.
[d] In Gen. Hom. 42. T. iv. p. 424. E. [e] In 1 Thess. Hom. 6. T. xi. p. 465. B. C. [f] Vid. in Gen. Hom. 54. T. iv. p. 522. A. in Es. cap. 1. T. vi. p. 12. A. In Jerem. cap. x. 23. T. vi. p. 159—165.

12. Again: 'If[g] we will, we may shake off all our sins.'

13. I refer to[h] his remarks upon John i. 38, as also upon[i] Rom. ix. 21, which I may not stay to transcribe, though they are very observable.

14. 'And[k] that you may perceive the call of God does not necessitate; consider how many of those who are called perish: whence it is evident, that our salvation, or damnation, depends upon our own purpose.'

15. And yet, in one place, he says: 'Without[l] the divine assistance, we are not able to resist the smallest temptation.' And again, 'That[m] we can do no good thing, without assistance from above.'

16. Discoursing on the title of the book of the Acts, he says: Luke[n] did not call it the history of the miracles of the apostles, but of their Acts, which is better: for miracles are a divine gift; acts, the fruit of human industry. However, he afterwards says, that miracles are solely from heaven; acts, from both our care and divine grace.

XXI. I shall conclude, with a few observations upon a variety of subjects.

1. 'If[o] God had been swift to punish, the church had not had Paul——The long suffering of God made him, of a persecutor, a preacher of the gospel; as it did, in another instance, of a publican an evangelist.'

2. 'The[p] Jews, our enemies, keep the scriptures for us; or are our librarians:' a thought very frequent in Augustine, as we have seen. So likewise argues Chrysostom; who proceeds; 'The testimony of an enemy, says he, is always reckoned of great force. The prophecies of the Old Testament, of which we make so good use, are derived to us from those who crucified the Lord Jesus. No man, therefore, can say, that the books of the Old Testament have been forged by us.' And, as he says, in another place: 'If[q] they had understood the prophecies recorded in their scriptures, and could have apprehended the advantage we have from them, they might have been tempted to destroy them.'

3. In[r] Chrysostom's time there were many who went into Arabia to see Job's dunghill. All will readily suppose that

[g] De Pentec. Hom. 1. T. i. p. 467. E. [h] In Jo. Hom. 18. [al. 17.] T. viii. p. 107. D. [i] In Rom. Hom. 14. T. ix. p. 615. A.—E.
[k] In Jo. Hom. 47. [al. 46.] T. viii. p. 281. C. [l] De Paralyt. T. iii. p. 35. C. [m] In Gen. H. 25. T. iv. p. 241. D.
[n] In Inscript. Act. Hom. 2. T. iii. p. 63. D.
[o] De Pœnit. Hom. 7. T. ii. p. 328. B. Conf. de Cruce et Latron. Hom. 1. ib. p. 409. A. B. [p] In Ps. xliv. T. 5. p. 160. C.
[q] In Es. cap. 2. T. 6. p. 20. A. [r] Ad Pop. Antioch. Hom. 5. T. ii. p. 59. A.

Chrysostom was wiser than to go thither himself. And some may be apt to think that he might have shown his dislike of such superstition: but that is more than can be expected from an orator.

4. There[s] were pick-pockets at Antioch, who used to make advantage of Chrysostom's crowded auditories; for which reason he adviseth his hearers not to bring much money to church with them.

5. He says, that[t] Nero put Paul to death, because he had converted a beloved concubine of the emperor: which story I do not think to be well attested. He also informs us, that[u] it was said, that Paul saluted the butler or cup-bearer, and a concubine of Nero. He supposeth, in another place, that[v] his converting Nero's cup-bearer was the immediate occasion of his death; he[w] likewise speaks of Nero's being offended, because the apostle found favour with one of the emperor's friends.

6. The[x] worst of men, he says, are to be relieved when in distress.

CHAP. CXIX.

SEVERIAN, BISHOP OF GABALA, IN SYRIA.

SEVERIAN, bishop of Gabala, in Syria, once friend, afterwards rival and enemy of St. Chrysostom, flourished[a] about the year 401: for a particular account of him and his works I refer to[b] others. Divers homilies have been ascribed to him which are not certainly known to be his. I shall quote, or refer to such works only, the genuineness of which is generally, or universally acknowledged.

[s] Contr. Anom. Hom. 4. T. i. p. 479. [t] Adv. Oppugnat. Vit. Mon. l. i. T. 1. p. 48. D. E. [u] *Λεγεται Νερωνος και οινοχοον και παλλακιδα ασπασαι.* In Act. Ap. Hom. 46. T. ix. p. 349. D.

[v] *Παρεστε ηδη τω Νερωνι, και διεφυγεν· επειδη και τον οινοχοον αυτε κατηχησε, τοτε αυτον απετεμεν.* In 2 Tim. Hom. 10. T. xi. p. 722. B.

[w] *Προσεκρουσε γαρ τοτε τω Νερωνι, τινα των ανακειμενων αυτω οικειωσαμενος.* In 2 Tim. Hom. 3. ib. 673. C. [x] De Laz. Hom. 2. T. i. p. 734. C.

[a] Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 375.

[b] Cav. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. ix. p. 267—269. Du Pin, T. iii. Tillem. T. xi. S. Chrysostome, Art. 62, 63, et notes 54—56. Conf. Socr. l. 6. c. 11, et 24. Soz. l. 8. c. 10. 18.

2. Severian was a popular preacher. When Chrysostom had occasion to be absent from Constantinople, he preached in his stead, and with good acceptance; nevertheless, when [c] he spake Greek, there appeared, to nice ears, somewhat Syrian in his pronunciation.

3. Severian is not only mentioned by the Greek ecclesiastical historians; but [d] Gennadius likewise has given him a place in his book of Illustrious Men.

4. He was reckoned by his contemporaries well skilled [e] in the sacred scriptures; and his remaining works are full of citations of the scriptures, and marks of the highest respect for them.

5. At the beginning of his first homily upon Genesis, or, the Creation of the World, he says, 'Our [f] salvation is the design of every book of sacred scripture; for our good every thing is written, the end of the law of Moses, of the preaching of the prophets and of the apostles, is, that we may obtain true piety, and be saved.'

6. He often quotes the four gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and Paul's epistles, particularly that [g] to the Hebrews.

7. In the forecited homily or oration, he says, 'Both [h] the Testaments have a great agreement, as proceeding from the same Father. In the Old Testament the law precedes, then follow the prophets; in the New, the gospel precedes, and then follow the apostles.' Presently afterwards he says, 'In [i] the New Testament are twelve apostles, and four evangelists.'

8. In an oration concerning Seals, Severian expresseth himself in this manner: 'Let [k] heretics often observe that saying, "In the beginning was the Word." Indeed, the three evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, when they began their preaching, did not immediately say what became Christ's dignity, but what was suitable to their hearers' capacity. Matthew,[l] at the beginning of the gospels, says, "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of

[c] —*αλλα και Ελληνιστι φθεγγομενος, Συρος ην την φωνην.* Socr. l. 6. c. xi. in.—*την Συρων δασυτητα—επι της γλωττης εφερεν.* Soz. l. 8. c. 10. in.

[d] Severianus, Gabalensis ecclesiæ episcopus, in divinis scripturis eruditus, et in homiliis declamator admirabilis fuit. Unde et frequenter ab episcopo Joanne et imperatore Arcadio ad faciendum sermonem Constantinopolim vocabatur, &c. Genn. de V. I. cap. 21.

[e] Soz. ib. p. 770. A.

[f] De Mundi Creat. Hom. i. ap. Chr. T. vi. p. 436. A. ed. Bened.

[g] De Mund. Creat. Or. 2. p. 444. A. et passim.

[h] —*Και εν τη νεᾳ χαριτι προηγειται το ευαγγελιον, και ακολαθθσιν αποστολοι.* Ap. Chr. T. vi. p. 439. B.

[i] Ibid.

[k] De Sigillis, ap. Chrys. T. xii. p. 411. E. 412. A.

[l] *Ὁ Ματθαιος αρχην ποιησαμενος των ευαγγελιων λεγει.* Ibid.

David, the son of Abraham." Why does he not say, "the son of God?" Why does he, with such low expressions conceal his dignity?' Having answered those queries, he also observes the beginnings of the gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, and adds: 'All [m] three, therefore, attended to his dispensation in the flesh; and, by his miracles, gradually instilled his dignity.' He afterwards compares John to thunder, and says, he is terrible to heretics; whilst the other three evangelists only lightened. He likewise says, until[n] John wrote, the best defence of the right faith and the best weapons against heretics were wanting.

9. In the remaining works of Severian there is little notice taken of the catholic epistles, none at all of the Revelation. It is likely that this last was not received by him, and that he received three only of the catholic epistles. Cosmas says, 'Severian,[o] bishop of Gabala, in his book against the Jews, 'rejects them; forasmuch as the most say, they were not 'written by apostles, but by some others, who were barely 'presbyters.' Cosmas's expressions are ambiguous: he may seem to speak of all the catholic epistles; but it is likely that he ought to be understood of some of them only.

10. Moreover, in the homily upon the brazen serpent, generally allowed to be Severian's, are the words of 1 Pet. ii. 22; they are quoted as Paul's; but I take that to be the fault of the copyist. Peter having been written in a contracted manner, some ignorant and hasty scribe read Paul, and put his name in his transcribed copy. So the place is: 'As[p] also Isaiah agrees with the blessed Paul, [Peter,] who says; "Who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth."' And, in his discourse on Seals, the[q] beginning of the first epistle of John is expressly cited as John's; and it may be reasonably supposed, that he likewise received the epistle of James.

11. Upon the whole, Severian received the four gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, fourteen epistles of the apostle Paul, and three of the catholic epistles; and, for the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, he had the highest regard.

[m] Ib. p. 412. D.

[n] *Εκρυπτετο δε τα κατα των αἱρετικων βελη, και το της ορθης δοξης επιτειχισμα ωδεπω τῳ κηρυγματι της ευσεβειας εγηγερτο.* Ib. p. 412. D. E.

[o] *Ὁμοιως και Σευηριανος, ὁ Γαβαλων, εις τον κατα Ιωδαιων λογον αυτας απεκηρυξεν· ϐ γαρ αποστολων φασιν αυτας οἱ πλειϐς, αλλ' ἑτερων τινων πρεσβυτερων αφελεσθερων.* Cosm. Top. Chr. l. 7. p. 292. c. Ap. Montf. Nov. Coll. PP. T. ii.

[p] *Καθως και ὁ μακαριος Ησαϊας συνῳδα τῳ μακαριῳ Παυλῳ. κ. λ.* De Serp. Hom. ap. Chr. T. vi. p. 515. A.

[q] De Sigillis, ap. Chr. T. xii. p. 414. C.

CHAP. CXX.

SULPICIUS SEVERUS.

I. *His time and works.* II. *His character, and the character of his writings.* III. *His testimony to the scriptures.* IV. *Select passages.*

I. SULPICIUS SEVERUS,[a] of Aquitain, in Gaul, author of a sacred history, in two books; and of the life of Martin, bishop of Tours; and some other works; is placed, by Cave, at the year 401, about which time he finished the above-mentioned history; which is a summary account of the affairs of the Jews, and of the church, from the beginning of the world to the consulship of Stilicho and Aurelian, or the year of Christ 400. We are assured, by Gennadius, that he was a presbyter; he is supposed to have died about the year 420.

I shall place in the margin[b] a large part of Gennadius's chapter, containing an enumeration of his works; who also says, that Sulpicius, in his old age, embraced Pelagianism; but being convinced of his error, he showed his repentance by perpetual silence afterwards; that is, as some suppose, by writing no more books.

II. Sulpicius embraced some of the notions of the Millenarians, as was of old observed by[c] Jerom, and still

[a] Vid. Cav. H. E. T. i. Voss. Hist. Lat. l. 2. c. 12. Fabric. ad Gennad. cap. 19. Pagi ann. 395. n. 20. 431. n. L. Basnag. ann. 400. n. 16. Du Pin, Bib. T. iii. p. 145. Tillem. Mem. T. xii.

[b] Severus presbyter, cognomento Sulpicius, Aquitaniæ provinciæ, vir genere et literis nobilis, et paupertatis atque humilitatis amore conspicuus, clarus etiam sanctorum virorum, Martini Turonensis episcopi, et Paulini Nolensis notitiâ, scripsit non contemnenda opuscula. Nam epistolas ad amorem Dei et contemtum mundi hortatorias scripsit sorori multas, quæ notæ sunt. Scripsit et ad Paulinum prædictum duas, et ad alios alias—Composuit et Chronica. Scripsit et ad multorum profectum Vitam B. Martini monachi et episcopi, signis et prodigiis ac virtutibus illustris viri. Et collationem Postumiani et Galli, se mediante et judice, de conversatione monachorum orientalium et ipsius Martini habitam, in dialogi speciem, tribus incisionibus comprehendit—Hic in senectute suâ a Pelagianis deceptus, et agnoscens loquacitatis culpam, silentium usque ad mortem tenuit, ut peccatum, quod loquendo contraxerat, tacendo pœnitens emendaret. Gennad. de Vir. Ill. cap. 19.

[c] Neque enim juxta judaïcas fabulas gemmatam et auream de cœlo expectamus Jerusalem—quod ut multi nostrorum—et nuper Severus noster in dialogo, cui Gallo nomen imposuit. Hieron. in Ezech. cap. 36. T. iii. p. 952.

appears in[d] his works, in[e] part. He gives[f] a common, but wrong interpretation of Gen. vi. 1—4, by 'sons of God' understanding angels; an interpretation that[g] may be found in many of the ancients. His accounts of Martin of Tours are reckoned, by some, a remarkable instance of credulity. Du Pin says, he[h] was very credulous in point of miracles; but Tillemont[i] believes every word; though[k] the accounts which Sulpicius gave of Martin were not believed by all in his own time.

I add but one thing more in the way of character of Sulpicius: his style is neat and elegant; but his sacred history, after the period of the evangelical writings, is too short, and even defective; he has not one word of the reign of the emperor Julian; and if it should be said, that his design was sacred, not civil history, that would not amount to a good defence; since it is well known, that the church was not unconcerned in the transactions of that reign.

III. His testimony to the books of the New Testament will lie in a small compass.

1. Having related the affairs of former times to the coming of Christ, he[l] declines to write particularly what is recorded

[d] Unde creditur, etiamsi se gladio ipse transfixerit [Nero], curato vulnere ejus servatus; secundum illud, quod de eo scriptum est: 'Et plaga mortis ejus curata est.' [Apoc. xiii. 3.] Sub seculi fine mittendus, ut mysterium iniquitatis exerceat. Hist. Sacr. l. 2. cap. 29. al. 42. Conf. ejusd. Dialog. ii. cap. 14. al. 16.

[e] See Tillem. Mem. T. xii. S. Sulpice Severe. Art. 8.

[f] Quâ tempestate cum jam humanum genus abundaret, angeli, quibus cœlum sedes erat, speciosarum formâ virginum capti, illicitas cupiditates adpetierunt; ac naturæ suæ originisque degeneres, relictis superioribus, quorum incolæ erant, matrimoniis se mortalibus miscuerunt—Ex quorum coitu gigantes editi esse dicuntur, cum diversæ inter se naturæ permixtio monstra gigneret. Hist. Sacr. l. i. c. 2. al. 3.

[g] Vetus opinio Judæorum; quam et plurimi veterum christianorum, et doctorum ecclesiæ amplexi fuerunt. Joh. Vorst. in Severi loc.

[h] Ubi supra, p. 145. [b].

[i] Ce dessein paroît aussi facile que favorable, puisq' il n' y a qu' à suivre les pas d'un excellent historien, et à mettre fidèlement en François ce qu' il a parfaitement bien écrit en Latin. St. Martin de Tours, Art. i. T. x.

[k] Hæc plerisque in eodem monasterio constitutis incredibilia videbantur. Nedum ego confidam omnes, qui hæc audient, credituros—Quanquam minime mirum, si in operibus Martini infirmitas humana dubitaverit; cum multos hodieque videamus, nec evangeliis quidem credidisse. Dialog. 2. cap. 13.

[l] Sub hoc Herode, anno imperii ejus tertio et xxx. Christus natus est, Salino et Rufino consulibus, viii. kalendas Januarias. Verum hæc, quæ evangeliis, ac deinceps Apostolorum Actibus continentur, adtingere non ausus, ne quid formâ præcisi operis rerum dignitatibus diminueret reliqua exsequar. Herodes post nativitatem Domini regnavit annos iv. Nam omne ejus tempus vii. et xxx. anni fuerunt. Post quem Archelaüs tetrarcha annos ix. Herodes annos xx. et iv. Hoc regnante, anno regni octavo et decimo Dominus crucifixus est, Fusio Gemino et Rebellio Gemino consulibus. A quo tempore usque in

in the gospels, and in the Acts of the Apostles, written by Luke; which book, he says, contains an history of the apostles to the time of Paul's coming to Rome, in the reign of Nero.

2. He says, that[m] John, the apostle and evangelist, was banished by Domitian into the isle Patmos: where he had visions, and where he wrote the book of the Revelation, which is either foolishly or wickedly rejected by many. The Revelation is expressly quoted again, as the apostle John's, in an epistle[n] supposed to be his; and is referred to, or quoted by him, in other places.

3. In the same epistle is quoted[o] the epistle of James.

4. I forbear to take notice of quotations of other books of the New Testament, as altogether needless.

5. His general divisions of the books of scripture are such as these: 'the[p] law, the prophets, the gospels and apostles; the[q] law and the apostles; the[r] Old and New Testament.'

IV. I shall now select a few remarkable passages:

1. 'Eternal[s] life,' he says, 'is not to be obtained but by obedience to all God's commandments; for the scripture says, "If thou wilt enter into life keep the commandments:" [Matt. xix. 17.] therefore, as he adds, virginity alone will not avail.'

2. Sulpicius has[t] a general and summary account of the heathen persecutions; of which some farther notice may be taken by us hereafter.

Stilichonem consulem sunt anni cccIxxii. Apostolorum Actus Lucas edidit, usque in tempus, quo Paulus Romam deductus est, Nerone imperante. Hist. Sacr. l. 2. cap. 27, et 28. al. cap. 39, 40.

[m] Interjecto deinde tempore, Domitianus, Vespasiani filius, persecutus est christianos. Quo tempore Johannem apostolum atque evangelistam in Pathmum insulam relegavit; ubi ille, arcanis sibi mysteriis revelatis, librum sacræ Apocalypsis, qui quidem a plerisque aut stulte, aut impie, non recipitur, conscriptum edidit. Ibid. cap. 31. al. 45.

[n] De his enim beatus apostolus Joannes loquitur, quod sequantur agnum quocumque ierit. [Apoc. xiv. 4.] Ad Soror. Ep. 2. cap. 3. p. 555. edit. Jo. Cleric. Lips. 1709.

[o] Nolo enim tibi in hoc blandiaris, si aliqua non feceris, cum scriptum sit: 'Qui universam legem servaverit, offenderit autem in uno, factus est omnium reus.' [Jac. ii. 10.] Ib. cap. 12. p. 566.

[p] Tibi vero, post tanta documenta, post legem, post prophetas, post evangelia, post apostolos, si delinquere volueris, quomodo indulgeri possit, ignoro. Ibid. cap. 12. p. 567. [q] Si contra legalia et apostolica instituta indecens aliquid aut loquuntur, aut cogitant. Ib. cap. 15. p. 569.

[r] Domini est etiam lex Novi et Veteris Testamenti, in quibus ejus eloquia sancta refulgent. Ib. cap. 16. p. 570.

[s] Æterna vero vita nonnisi per omnem divinorum præceptorum custodiam promereri potest, scripturâ dicente, 'Si vis in vitam æternam pervenire, serva mandata.'—Nihil ergo virginitas sola proficiet. Ib. cap. 6. p. 558.

[t] Vid. Hist. Sacr. l. ii. cap. 28—32. al. cap. 40—49.

3. He supposeth, that[u] Simon Magus was overcome by the united prayers of Peter and Paul, after[v] the arrival of Paul at Rome; when he had been sent thither, by order of Festus.

4. He supposeth[w] Peter and Paul to have had the honour of martyrdom in the general persecution of Nero, which had been ordered by the edicts of that emperor; consequently, in the year of Christ 64 or 65, when Peter was crucified, and Paul beheaded.

5. Sulpicius, in his Sacred History, complains very much of[x] the covetousness of the christian clergy in this time; and,[y] in another part of the same work, he speaks of the contentions which there were among the bishops, and of their pride, ambition, and other faults, to the neglect of their charge, and the great offence of good men.

6. Another thing very observable in Sulpicius Severus is, that he was against all persecution, and disliked the interposition of magistrates in things of religion: this I suppose to have appeared in the extracts formerly made from him[z] in the history of Priscillianism. It has been confirmed also by a passage, since taken notice of in the chapter of[a] St. Jerom; which passage I would now transcribe more at large, by way of proof of the same thing: it is in one of the Dia-

[u] Etenim tum illustris illa adversus Simonem Petri ac Pauli congressio fuit. Qui cum magicis artibus, ut se deum probaret, duobus suffultus dæmoniis evolâsset, orationibus apostolorum fugatis dæmonibus, delapsus in terram populo inspectante disruptus est. Ibid. cap. 28. al. 41.

[v] Vid. supra in eodem capite.

[w] Hoc initio in christianos sæviri cœptum. Post etiam datis legibus religio vetabatur: palamque edictis propositis, christianum esse non licebat. Tum Paulus ac Petrus capitis damnati; quorum uni cervix gladio desecta, Petrus in crucem sublatus est. H. S. l. ii. cap. 29. al. 41.

[x] Levitis enim in sacerdotium adsumtis nulla portio [terræ] data, quo liberius servirent Deo. Equidem hoc exemplum non tacitus prætererim, legendumque ministris ecclesiarum libenter ingesserim. Etenim præcepti hujus non solum immemores, sed etiam ignari mihi videntur: tanta hoc tempore animos eorum habendi cupido veluti tabes incessit. Inhiant possessionibus, prædia excolunt, auro incubant, emunt venduntque, quæstui per omnia student. At si qui melioris propositi videntur, neque possidentes, neque negotiantes, quod est multo turpius, sedentes munera expectant: atque omne vitæ decus mercede corruptum habent, dum quasi venalem præferunt sanctitatem. Sed longius quam volui egressus sum, dum me temporum nostrorum piget tædetque. H. S. l. i. cap. 23. al. 43.

[y] Et nunc, cum maxime discordiis episcoporum turbari aut misceri omnia viderentur, cunctaque per eos odio aut gratiâ, metu, inconstantiâ, invidiâ, factione, libidine, avaritiâ, arrogantiâ, desidiâ, essent depravata, insanis consiliis et pertinacibus studiis certabant. Inter hæc plebs Dei, et optimus quisque, probro atque ludibrio habebatur. Ib. l. ii. c. ult.

[z] This vol. chap. cvii.

[a] Page 415 of this volume.

logues of our author, particularly mentioned among his works by Gennadius, in his chapter transcribed above.

The Dialogue was composed about the year 405: Postumian and Gallus are the speakers, and Sulpicius presides. Postumian had made a voyage into the east; he embarked at Narbone, and arrived at Alexandria in[b] 401, or[c] 402; he was three years in Egypt and Palestine: being returned into Gaul, he gives his friends an account of what he had met with in the several parts of his voyage.

'Thenceforward,'[d] says Postumian, 'we had a prosperous voyage to Alexandria, where were very disagreeable 'disputes between the bishops and the monks; for there 'had been several synods, in which it was decreed, that none 'might either read or keep the works of Origen, who was 'esteemed a most skilful interpreter of the sacred scriptures. 'But the bishops had observed wild notions in his works: 'which his friends, not daring to defend, said, they had been 'fraudulently inserted by heretics; and therefore, they said, 'it was improper to condemn all the rest, because there 'were some things liable to just reprehension. Men might 'still be entrusted with the reading of his works; for, with 'due care and discretion, they might easily distinguish the 'interpolated opinions, from what was said agreeably to 'the catholic doctrine: nor was it very wonderful to find 'some heretical opinions foisted into late writings, when 'some had attempted to corrupt the scriptures. But the 'bishops were peremptory, that the good and the bad ought 'to be all condemned together with the author: they said 'that there were more than enough books allowed by the 'church; and that the reading of such books ought to be 'prohibited which might be more hurtful to ignorant people 'than profitable to the knowing. As for myself, who have

[b] Pagi Ann. 401. n. xx. [c] S. Sulp. Severe. art. 8. T. xii. Tillem.

[d] —prosperoque cursu septimo die Alexandriam pervenimus, ubi fœda inter episcopos et monachos certamina gerebantur, ex eâ occasione, quia congregati in unum sæpius sacerdotes frequentibus decrevisse synodis videbantur, ne quis Origenis libros legeret, aut haberet: qui tractator sacrarum scripturarum peritissimus habebatur. Sed episcopi quædam in libris ipsius insanius scripta memorabant, quæ adsertores ejus defendere non ausi, ab hæreticis potius fraudulenter inserta dicebant: et ideo non propter illa quæ in reprehensionem merito vocarentur, etiam reliqua esse damnanda, cum legentium fides facile possit habere discrimen, ne falsata sequeretur, et tamen catholice disputata retineret. Non esse autem mirum, si in libris neotericis et recens scriptis fraus hæretica fuisset operata, quæ in quibusdam locis non timuisset incidere evangelicam veritatem. Adversum hæc episcopi obstinatius renitentes pro potestate cogebant recta etiam universa cum pravis et cum ipso auctore damnare; quia satis superque sufficerent libri, quos ecclesia recepisset; respuendam esse penitus lectionem, quæ plus esset nocitura insipientibus, quam profutura sapientibus. Mihi autem ex illius libris curiosius indaganti admodum multa

'had the curiosity to read his works, I must say, that very 'many things pleased me: but I observed some things in 'which undoubtedly he was mistaken; which his friends 'affirm to be interpolations. I wonder how one and the 'same man could be so different from himself: where he is 'in the right, he has not an equal since the apostles; where 'he is in the wrong, no man has erred more shamefully. 'Among all his opinions, contrary to the catholic doctrine, 'which have been extracted out of his works by the bishops, 'nothing has given so much offence, as his notion concerning 'the recovery and salvation of the devil. On account of 'this, and other such like things, taken notice of by the 'bishops, disputes have arisen. And when the bishops were 'not able to compose them, by a very wrong management, 'the Præfect ["meaning the Augustal Præfect at Alex-'andria"] has been called in to govern the church; by 'whose armed force our friends the monks have been dis-'persed, and driven into several countries: nor can they any 'where find a resting place, all people being prohibited by 'edicts to receive them. One thing affected me very much, 'that Jerom, a true catholic, and well acquainted with the 'christian doctrine, who, in former times was reckoned a 'follower of Origen, should now, with much earnestness, 'condemn all his writings: nor did I dare hastily to pass 'my own judgment. But it was said, that very learned and 'very excellent men differed upon this occasion; but 'whether it be an error, as I think, or a heresy, as others say, 'it not only could not be suppressed by many censures of

placuerunt: sed nonnulla deprehendi, in quibus illum prava sensisse non dubium est, quæ defensores ejus falsata contendunt. Ego miror unum eundemque hominem tam diversum a se esse potuisse, ut in eâ parte, quâ, probatur, neminem post apostolus habeat æqualem; in eâ vero, quâ jure reprehenditur, nemo deformius doceatur errâsse. Nam cum ab episcopis excerpta in libris illius multa legerentur, quæ contra catholicam fidem scripta constaret, locus ille vel maximam parabat invidiam, in quo editum legebatur, quia Dominus Jesus, sicut pro redemtione hominis, in carne venisset, crucem pro hominis salute perpessus, mortem pro hominis æternitate gustâsset, ita esset eodem ordine passionis etiam diabolum redemturus; quia hoc bonitati illius pietatique congrueret, ut qui perditum hominem reformâsset, prolapsum quoque angelum liberaret. Cum hæc atque alia ejusmodi ab episcopis proderentur, ex studiis partium orta est seditio. Quæ cum reprimi sacerdotum auctoritate non posset, scævo exemplo ad regendam ecclesiæ disciplinam præfectus adsumitur, cujus terrore dispersi fratres, ac per diversas oras monachi sunt fugati, ita ut propositis edictis in nullâ consistere sede sinerentur. Illud me admodum permovebat, quod Hieronymus, vir maxime catholicus, et sacræ legis peritissimus, Origenem secutus primo tempore putabatur, quem nunc idem præcipue vel omnia illius scripta damnaret. Nec vero ausus sum de quoquam temere judicare. Præstantissimi tamen viri et doctissimi ferebantur in hoc certamine dissidere. Sed tamen sive error est, ut ego sentio, sive hæresis, ut putatur, non

'the bishops, but has spread itself far and wide, and has 'increased by opposition abundantly more than it could 'have done otherwise: this is the disturbance with which 'Alexandria was agitated when I arrived there. The bishop 'of the city received me very courteously, beyond my expec-'tation, and would have detained me with him; but I had 'no mind to stay in a place where our friends had been so 'lately injured: for though perhaps it may seem, that they 'ought to have obeyed the bishops; nevertheless, it was by 'no means fit, that for this cause so many men, professing 'christianity, should be so grievously treated, especially by 'bishops.'

This is the passage at full length: every candid and understanding reader is able to judge, whether it proves what it is alleged for. Mr. Tillemont, speaking of our author's Dialogues, having commended the purity of the style, and the art with which they are written, adds: 'It[e] is also ob-'served, that the judgment which he passes upon the dis-'turbances raised in the east, upon the occasion of Origen, 'is very wise and very moderate.'

CHAP. CXXI.

CHROMATIUS, BISHOP OF AQUILEIA.

1. CAVE says, that[a] Chromatius, bishop of Aquileia, flourished about 401, and died about the year 410. But he must have been a man of note, and probably bishop, before the end of the fourth century: for Rufinus[b] had been

solum non reprimi non potuit multis animadversionibus sacerdotum, sed nequâquam tam late se potuisset effundere, nisi contentione crevisset. Istiusmodi ergo turbatione cum veni Alexandriam, fluctuabat. Me quidem episcopus illius civitatis benigne admodum, et melius quam opinabar, excepit, et secum tenere tentavit. Sed non fuit animus ibi consistere, ubi recens fraternæ cladis fervebat invidia. Nam etsi fortasse videantur parere episcopis debuisse, non ob hanc tamen causam multitudinem tantam sub Christi confessione viventem, præsertim ab episcopis, oportuisset affligi. Dial. i. cap. 3. al. c. 6, 7.

[e] On trouve aussi que le jugement, qu'il porte, des brouilleries excitées en Orient sur le sujet d' Origène, est très sage et très modéré. S. Sulp. Sev. art. 8. T. xii.

[a] H. L. T. i. p. 378.

[b] Ego, sicut et ipse et omnes nôrunt, ante annos fere triginta in monasterio jam positus, per gratiam baptismi regeneratus, signaculum fidei consecutus sum per sanctos viros Chromatium, Jovinum, et Eusebium, opinatissimos et proba-

baptized in 370, or thereabout, by Chromatius, then presbyter, under Valerian, bishop of Aquileia. We gave an account of Fortunatianus, another bishop of Aquileia, some while[c] ago.

2. Chromatius was one of Jerom's friends. He[d] desired Jerom to translate the Hebrew scriptures of the Old Testament into Latin; which, I think, is much to his honour. To him[e] Jerom inscribed his Commentaries upon the prophet Habakkuk, and some other works; and he calls him, more than once, a most learned and holy bishop. Rufinus likewise dedicated to him some of his works, particularly his Latin translation of Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, not[f] published by him till after the year 400. Indeed Chromatius was friend of both: and,[g] when they fell out, he endeavoured to moderate or reconcile the difference between them. There[h] is a letter of Chrysostom to him, which is much in his praise. I omit divers things that might be mentioned, referring to[i] others, and particularly to Tillemont, whose account of Chromatius is the fullest and exactest that I have seen.

3. Neither Jerom, nor Gennadius, nor any other ancient writer, speaks of any works published by Chromatius. Nevertheless there are some pieces generally received as his, they being ascribed to him in the manuscript copies; particularly,[k] homilies, or tracts upon the eight beatitudes, the rest of the fifth chapter of St. Matthew, and part of the sixth, and upon Matth. iii. 14.

4. I observe only a few things: Here are quoted most of the generally received books of the New Testament; in par-

tissimos in ecclesiâ Dei episcopos; quorum alter tunc presbyter beatæ memoriæ Valeriani, alter archidiaconus, alius diaconus, simulque pater mihi et doctor symboli ac fidei fuit. Rufin. in Hieron. Invect. i. ap. Hieron. T. iv. p. 350.

[c] P. 236.

[d] Si Septuaginta interpretum pura, et ut ab eis in Græcum versa est, editio permaneret, superflue me, mi Chromati, episcoporum sanctissime atque doctissime, impelleres, ut Hebræa volumina Latino sermone transferrem. Præf. in Paralip. T. i. p. 1022. Conf. Eund. Adv. Ruf. l. ii. T. iv. p. 425.

[e] Primum, Chromati, episcoporum doctissime, scire nos convenit, corrupte apud Græcos et Latinos nomen Ambacum prophetæ legi qui apud Hebræos dicitur Abacuc. Pr. in Ab. T. iii. p. 1591.

[f] Vid Pagi ann. 395. n. 21.

[g] Testem invoco Jesum conscientiæ meæ, qui et has literas, ei tuam epistolam judicaturus est, me ad commonitionem sancti Papæ Chromatii voluisse reticere, et finem facere simultatum, et vincere in bono malum: sed, quia minaris interitum, &c. Adv. Ruf. l. iii. T. iv. p. 437.

[h] Ep. 155. T. iii. p. 689. ed. Bened.

[i] Cav. H. L. Du Pin, T. iii. p. 83. Le Long Bib. S. p. 675. Tillem. Mem. T. xi.

[k] Ap. Bib. PP. T. v. p. 976—990.

ticular, the Acts of the Apostles, the[l] epistle to the Hebrews, and[m] the Revelation.

5. He has also expressly quoted[n] the epistle of James.

6. He[o] several times quotes the first epistle of Peter, and the first epistle of John, as if they were their only epistles: nevertheless, it may be reckoned probable, or even unquestioned, that he received more.

7. Explaining the Lord's Prayer, in Matthew vi. he[p] takes no notice of the doxology at the end.

8. He quotes Eph. iv. 30, after this manner: "And[q] grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, wherewith," or whereby, "ye were sealed in the day of redemption." We saw that text quoted in the same manner by[r] St. Cyprian.

9. He[s] compares the scripture to a lamp, which ought not to be hid: but forasmuch as Jews and heretics are apt to render it obscure by misinterpretations, it ought to be set up in the church; that thereby all may be enlightened, and guided in the way of salvation.

CHAP. CXXII.

A COMMENTARY UPON ST. MARK'S GOSPEL, ASCRIBED TO VICTOR, PRESBYTER OF ANTIOCH.

1. THERE is a Commentary upon St. Mark's gospel, generally ascribed to Victor, presbyter of Antioch, placed by Cave at 401. Concerning which, I would refer to[a] several, and among them to[b] R. Simon, who, beside other things, says, 'that in most manuscripts it is said to be Vic-

[l] Ib. p. 979. C. [m] P. 980. B. 983. A.

[n] P. 983. E. [o] Beatus Petrus in epistolâ suâ commonet. p. 981. B. et D. Joannes in epistolâ suâ ait. p. 986. F. [p] Vid. p. 987.

[q] Unde et apostolus ait: Nolite contristare Spiritum Sanctum in quo signati estis in die redemtionis. p. 983. A. [r] See Vol. iii. p. 37.

[s] —quod non aliquo cæcæ mentis velamine operiendum est vel obscurandum, ut Judæi et hæretici faciunt, qui perspicuam lucem prædicationis divinæ pravis interpretationibus obtegere et occultare nituntur.—Unde lucerna hæc legis ac fidei non occultanda nobis est, sed ad salutem multorum semper in ecclesiâ velut in candelabro constituenda, ut veritatis ipsius luce et nos fruamur, et omnes credentes illuminentur. p. 981. A. B.

[a] Cav. H. L. T. i. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 232, 233. et T. vii. p. 769. Huet, Origenian. l. iii. p. 274, 275. Du Pin, Bib. T. iii. P. ii. 74.

[b] Hist. Crit. des Comment. du N. T. ch. 5. p. 79, 80. ch. 30. p. 426, &c.

'tor's, in some Origen's, in others Cyril's of Alexandria; 'but that it is not Origen's, nor Cyril's, nor Victor's, nor 'any other particular author's; but is a collection out of 'many fathers;' which way of speaking seems to me not to be exact; for though it be a collection out of several, and a kind of chain, that collection was made by some one author. And since it is evident, that it is not Origen's; and very probable, that it is not Cyril's; it may be fitly allowed to be Victor's, to whom it is ascribed in most manuscripts.

2. There are in it divers things which to me appear well worthy of notice. Du Pin says: 'This author confines 'himself to the literal and historical sense, which he illus-'trates by very solid and judicious remarks.' There has been an edition of it[c] in Greek and Latin; but as I have it not, I must content myself with the Latin translation, in the[d] Bibliotheca Patrum.

3. At the very beginning, the author owns, that his Commentary was collected out of several. Many,[e] he says, had written Commentaries upon the gospels of Matthew and John; a few only upon Luke's; none at all upon Mark's, so far as he could find, upon careful inquiry into the writings of the ancients: he determined, therefore, to put together, in a short compass, what ecclesiastical writers had occasionally said in their works, by way of explication of this gospel.

4. That is a good testimony to the four gospels. The composer of this work then proceeds: 'This[f] Mark, called also John, who wrote a gospel after Matthew, was son of Mary, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, in whose house

[c] Vid Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 235.

[d] Victor, presbyter Antiochenus, in sacrosanctum J. C. evangelium secundum Marcum. Ap. Bib. PP. Lugdun. T. iv. p. 370—414.

[e] Quandoquidem permulti in Matthæi et Joannis, pauci vero in Lucæ, nulli autem omnino, ut equidem arbitror, in Marci evangelium scripserunt: (certe veterum monumentorum indices studiose evolvens, nullum qui illud disseruisset, in hodiernum usque diem comperi:) visum est mihi, quæ ecclesiæ doctores sparsim et per partes in præsentem evangelistam annotârunt, in unum quasi corpus redigere, succinctamque in hoc ipsum quoque evangelium explanationem conscribere. Ibid. p. 370. G.

[f] Cæterum Marcus hic, qui alio nomine Joannes appellatus est, post Matthæum evangelii historiam contexuit.—Et quidem initio, ut in iisdem illis Apostolorum Actis proditum exstat, adhærebat Barnabæ cognato suo et Paulo. Verum ubi Romam venisset, secutus est Petrum. Quare is in priori suâ canonicâ ad hunc modum de illo scribit. Marcus itaque cœlestis doctrinæ semen, quod ab apostolis hauserat, cum alibi, tum Romæ quoque; ad tempus proseminavit. At vero cum alio jam avocaretur, ab iisque, qui Romæ Christo per fidem adjuncti fuerunt, ut salutaris prædicationis seriem scripto exponeret, enixe rogaretur, haud gravatim annuit. Atque hinc evangelium, quod secundum Marcum inscribitur, natum traditur. Ibid. H.

at Jerusalem the apostles were wont to meet. [See Acts xii. 12—17.] For a while, as appears from the same book of the Acts, he accompanied his relation Barnabas, and Paul; but when he came to Rome, he joined Peter, and followed him; for which reason he is particularly mentioned by Peter in his canonical epistle. [1 Pet. v. 13.] Mark is also mentioned by Paul in his epistle to the Colossians [iv. 10]; and in his second to Timothy. [2 Tim. iv. 11.] Mark, therefore, for a while dispersed the seed of the heavenly doctrine which he had received from the apostles, as elsewhere, so also at Rome; but when he was obliged to go from thence, and was earnestly desired by the believers at Rome to write a history of the preaching of the heavenly doctrine, he readily complied with their request. This is said to have been the occasion of writing the gospel according to Mark.'

5. Here we see whom this writer thought the evangelist Mark to be. He agrees with many ancient writers, whom we have already consulted, in saying, that Mark wrote his gospel at Rome, at the earnest request of the believers there; and he confirms the supposition of the late date of Mark's gospel, in that it was not written till after his acquaintance with the apostle Peter at Rome.

6. This Commentary contains many observations for reconciling the several evangelists; which seems to be the main design of it.

7. The author supposes[g] Mark to write by inspiration. After which he presently adds an observation from Origen, upon the words of ver. 2, of this gospel: "As it is written in the prophets:" or, as in some copies, 'in Isaiah the prophet.'

8. He says, that[h] Levi, in Mark ii. 14, and Luke v. 27, is the same with Matthew, as he calls himself, Matt. ix. 27.

9. Upon Mark iii. 7, 8, where it is said: "And a great multitude followed him from Galilee, and from Judea," and other places, he observes, 'that[i] the evangelists did not

[g] Evangelista Marcus, Spiritu illo, qui e sublimi in hominum corda demittere solet, afflatus, a prophetico oraculo evangelium orditur. In Marc. cap. 1. ib. p. 371. A.

[h] Est autem Levi hic idem omnino cum evangelistâ Matthæo. Et quidem Marcus et Lucas nomen, quod illi familiare erat, primævâ appellatione obnubunt. At ipse vero Levi, dum evangelii historiam contexit, palam quæ ad se pertinebant, denuntiat. Ait enim: Cum transiret Jesus, &c. p. 375. B.

[i] Cum evangelista Marcus magnam hominum turbam Christum a Galilæâ consecutam dicit, brevi compendio multa simul comprehendit. Neque enim ambitiose, magnoque verborum apparatu et pompâ verba de Christo facere soliti sunt evangelistæ, singula videlicet quæ vel dicta vel facta fuerant, prolixâ oratione exaggerando; verum, quo auditorum infirmitati consulant, op-

aim to aggrandize Christ, their master, by writing prolixly every thing said and done by him; but have omitted many of his words and works; and have used a concise and compendious manner of writing.'

10. Here[k] are many good observations upon the history of the cure of the dæmoniac, related, Mark v. 1—20. When[l] the dæmoniac answered, his name was Legion; he says, that word should not be understood to denote any certain number, but many, or a great multitude.

11. In his remarks upon the history of the woman with the hemorrhage, related, ch. v. 21—34, he observes, that[m] Mark has particulars omitted by Matthew.

12. Upon Mark vi. 7—13, particularly ver. 13, he says, that[n] the like history is in Luke; 'but that Mark is the only evangelist who speaks of the disciples "anointing with oil them that were sick:" which method of healing is also mentioned by James, in his epistle.' See James v. 13—15.

13. Upon ch. v. ver. 39, he says: 'It[o] was owing to modesty that our Lord said of Jairus's daughter; "She is not dead, but sleepeth:" though she was really dead, and he intended to raise her up to life.'

14. He particularly considers the history in Mark x. 35—40. I put in the margin[p] a part of his observations. The

positum sectati, omnia breviter et concise narrant. Et quæ sequuntur, p. 376. G.

[k] Vid. p. 380. G.—381. G.

[l] 'Et dicit ei: Legio mihi nomen est.' Non dicit numerum præcise, sed simplici voce magnam adesse multitudinem indicat; siquidem exacta numeri discussio nihil ad rei quæ quærebatur notitiam faciebat. p. 381. E.

[m] Quin hoc quoque signum Matthæus compendio absolvit. Multa namque prætermittit ille, quæ Marcus addit. Marcus enim præter alia scribit, Dominum retro conversum, quisnam illum tetigisset, sciscitatum, mulieremque exterritam, trementemque seipsam prodidisse, atque ita tandem a Christo Domino audivisse: Fides tua te salvam fecit. p. 382. B.

[n] His similia exponit Lucas quoque. Verum quod de mysticâ unctione et olei usu hic subjungitur, hoc inter evangelistas solus Marcus commemorat. Interim quæ apostolus Jacobus in suâ canonicâ narrat, ab his non dissentiunt. [Jac. v. 14, 15.] In Marc. cap. vi. ver. 13. p. 383. F.

[o] Quin per hoc quoque, quod puellam extinctam dormire asserit, neque statim se illam exsuscitaturum promittit, omnem fastum, omnemque inanem jactantiam ab opere illo secludit. Ille ergo omni superbiâ vanâque gloriâ vacuitatem consectatur. At vero operis excellentia famam illius longe lateque diffundit. p. 382. F. G.

[p] Quod itaque Christus dicit, ejusmodi est. Moriemini quidem mei causâ, eritisque in passione socii. At hoc interim sat non est, ut primas sedes jure vobis vindicetis. Si enim alius quispiam accesserit, qui una cum martyrio omnem aliam virtutem secum deportaverit, aut certe multo plura, multoque excellentiora virtutum ornamenta in medium attulerit, quam vos, ille utique præcedet. Neque enim quia vos amo, aliisque certâ quâdam ratione antepono, ob id opulentiore repulso, primatum vobis assignabo. Illis igitur ejus-

sum of what he says upon ver. 39, 40, is, that Christ is the judge, and the dispenser of all rewards; but the first places in his heavenly kingdom will not be disposed of by affection and favour, but shall be given to the most virtuous.

15. Upon Mark xi. 15—17, he argues, that[q] Christ twice drove the buyers and sellers out of the temple. But some, it seems, thought that this was done by our Lord but once only; and at the time mentioned by St. John at the beginning of his gospel.

16. The evangelist John is here called the[r] Divine.

17. The composer of this work seems not to have had, in his copies, our conclusion of St. Mark's gospel; for he explains the beginning of the sixteenth chapter of St. Mark's gospel to the end of the eighth verse, and no farther; there ends his commentary: nevertheless, he was acquainted with the remainder. And in his remarks upon the first verse of the 16th chapter, he says: 'In[s] some copies of Mark's gospel it is said: "Now when Jesus was risen early the first day of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene;" and what follows. But that seemed to be contrary to what is said by Matthew, ch. xxviii. 1: therefore, some had supposed Mark's gospel to have been interpolated: but he thinks there is no necessity for admitting that supposition; and he proposes a method of reconciling the difference.'

Somewhat like this may be seen in an[t] Oration of Gregory Nyssen upon Christ's Resurrection, and likewise in a Harmony of the Evangelists ascribed to Severus, who was bishop of Antioch[u] in 513, and afterwards; which has been published by[v] Montfauçon.

modi primatus paratus est, qui per illustriora opera primis sedibus capessendis præ cæteris idoneos se reddiderunt, &c. p. 397. D. E.

[q] ——Sunt tamen qui dicant, tres evangelistas, dum Christi ad Hierosolymorum civitatem, ejusdemque in templum ingressum describunt, accuratâ temporis ratione missa, rem ipsam tantum prosecutos esse: Johannem vero, qui historiam illam cæteris diligentius enarrat, satis aperte insinuare, Christum Dominum ea primo ascensu patrâsse, quæ reliqui paullo ante mortem contigisse commemorant, &c. p. 398. F. G.

[r] Ut Johannes theologus loquitur. p. 376. G.

[s] At quia in quibusdam evangelii Marci exemplaribus habetur: 'Surgens autem Jesus mane primâ Sabbati, apparuit primo Mariæ Magdalenæ,' &c. Hoc autem illi adversari videtur quod legitur apud Matthæum. Hic enim 'vespere Sabbati' Dominum resurrexisse scribit. Propterea comperti sunt, qui hunc Marci locum a falsariis vitiatum existiment. Verum, ne ad hic confugere videamur, ad quod cuivis confugere proclive est, Marci contextum uno duntaxat commate ab eâ quam offert difficultate vindicare possumus. p. 414. A. B.

[t] De Chr. Resurr. Orat. 2. p. 411. Tom. 3.

[u] Vid. Cav. in Severo, H. L. T. i. p. 499.

[v] Severi, Archiep. Antiocheni Concordantia Evangelistarum circa ea

They who are curious may consult Mill, Bengelius, Wetstein, Wolfius, and others, upon this point.

18. I have selected out of this Commentary a few only, of many observations, that deserve notice. Upon the whole, it is a good performance; and we may hence perceive, that there were some, before our times, who read the scriptures with care and understanding.

19. My readers, I hope, will not omit to recollect, that beside the testimony to the four gospels, we have seen in this work quotations of the Acts, of several epistles of the apostle Paul, and of the first epistle of Peter. I would here add, that[w] the epistle to the Hebrews is quoted in this Commentary; and[x] the epistle of James.

20. This writer, like many other of the ancients, asserts[y] free-will in strong terms.

CHAP. CXXIII.

INNOCENT I. BISHOP OF ROME.

1. INNOCENT the First succeeded Anastasius, in the year 402. The seventh and last degree, or article of a letter of his to Exuperius bishop of Tholouse, contains a catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament, which are in the canon.

2. 'The[a] scriptures of the New Testament are these; four books of the gospels; fourteen epistles of the apostle Paul; three epistles of John; two epistles of Peter; an epistle of Jude; an epistle of James; the Acts of the Apostles; the Apocalypse of John.' After which, mention is made of some other writings, which ought to be rejected and condemned.

quæ in sepulcro Domini contigerunt. Item de Sabbatis, et de varietate Exemplarium S. Marci evangelistæ. Ap. Montt. Bibl. Coislin. p. 68—75. Vid. in specie, p. 74.

[w] P. 372. D.

[x] Vid. supra, p. 584. not. [n].

[y] Vid. p. 377. A. et p. 379. G. H.

[a] Qui vero recipiantur in canone sanctarum scripturarum, brevis adnexus ostendit—Item Novi Testamenti: evangeliorum libri quatuor, apostoli Pauli epistolæ 14, epistolæ Joannis tres, epistolæ Petri duæ, epistola Judæ, epistola Jacobi, Actus Apostolorum, Apocalypsis Joannis. Cætera autem—non solum repudianda, verum etiam noveris esse damnanda. Innoc. ad Exuper. Ep. Tholos. ap. Labb. Conc. T. ii. p. 1256.

3. It should be observed, that [b] many of Innocent's letters are suspected to be suppositious; this in particular, and especially the last decree or article in it: for it is not very easy to conceive what reason there should be for Innocent to send a catalogue of books of scripture to Exuperius: and it may not be amiss to take notice that this letter of Innocent is not represented to be written, as in council, but only upon his own authority.

4. Nevertheless, after all, we cannot forbear to observe, with some satisfaction, that this catalogue of scripture is exactly the same with our own.

CHAP. CXXIV.

PAULINUS, BISHOP OF NOLA, IN ITALY.

I. *His time.* II. *His testimony to the scriptures.*

I. PONTIUS MEROPIUS PAULINUS, or PAULINUS NOLANUS,[a] placed by Cave at the year 393, was born about 353: ordained presbyter in 393; bishop of Nola in Campania in 409, as some think; or, as Pagi [b] argues, and with great appearance of probability, in 403. He died in 431, in the 78th year of his age.

II. I observe in him a few things:

1. His works, in prose, abound with texts of scripture, quoted or alluded to.

2. As Paulinus quotes Ps. ciii. or civ. ver. 18, agreeably to Jerom's version, I place [c] the quotation below, with a critical remark of [d] Jerom upon that text.

[b] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 379. Basnag. Hist. de l'Eglise, l. viii. c. 8. n. vi. p. 439. Beaus. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 359.

[a] Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. Fabric. ad Gennad. cap. 48. Pagi ann. 431. n. 53. Basnag. ann. 394. n. 10, 11. 432. n. 5. Paulin. Vit. ad Calc. opp. edit. Paris. 1685. Du Pin, T. iii. p. 146. Tillem. Mem. T. xiv.

[b] Ann. 403. n. 10—13. Vid. eund. A. 431. n. 53.

[c] 'Montes' enim, inquit, 'excelsi cervis, et petra refugium herinaceis.' Ad Amand. Ep. 9. [al. 22.] n. 4. p. 45. Paris. 1685. 4to.

[d] 'Petra refugium herinaceis.'] Pro quo in Hebræo positum est 'Sphannim,' et omnes χοιρογρυλλιες voce simili transtulerunt exceptis Septuaginta, qui 'lepores' interpretati sunt. Sciendum autem, animal esse non majus hericio, habens similitudem muris et ursi. Unde in Palæstinâ αρκτομυς dicitur; et magna est in istis regionibus hujus generis abundantia; semperque in caver-

3. Paulinus often quotes the Canticles: I place below[e] two of his quotations of that book.

4. He quotes[f] the book of Ecclesiasticus with great respect, as written by Solomon.

5. In a letter, supposed to be written in the year 400, to Amandus, then presbyter, and afterwards bishop of Bourdeaux, and successor to Delphinus, Paulinus speaks after this manner: 'He says, that[g] John outran Peter, and came first to the sepulchre, because he was the youngest: he also says, it had been handed down by tradition, that John survived all the other apostles, and wrote the last of the four evangelists, and so as to confirm their most certain histories; but though he was last in time, he was first in point of sublimity; he there also speaks of John as writer of the Revelation; and as he proceeds, he observes, that[h] in the beginning of St. John's gospel all heretics are confuted, particularly Arius, Sabellius, Photinus, Marcion, and the Manichees.

6. Paulinus often quotes the[i] book of the Acts,

nis petrarum, et terræ foveis habitare consueverunt. Ad Sunn. et Fret. Ep. 135. T. ii. p. 658.

[e] ———quâ et in Canticis Canticorum voce blanditur: 'Columba,' inquit, 'mea, perfecta mea, quoniam caput meum repletum est rore, et crines mei gut-'tis noctis.' [cap. v. 2.] Ad Sever. Ep. 23. [al. 3, et 4.] n. 33. p. 143.—Hæc oscula sponso suo jam tunc parabat ecclesia, quando cantabat: 'Oscule-'tur me ab osculis oris sui.' [cap. i. 2.] Ib. n. 37. p. 146.

[f] Nam in Ecclesiastico per Salomonem loquitur divina sapientia: 'Quia 'multi periclitati sunt auri causâ, et facta est in facie illius perditio ipsorum.' [cap. xxxi. 6.] Ad Milit. Ep. 25. [al. 39.] p. 168.

[g] Subvenit itaque nobis, et de evangelio adolescentis apostoli beata velocitas illa, quâ Petrum affectu currendi parem, sed majoris ævi pondere tardiorem, ad sepulcrum Domini præcucurrit; ut resurrectionem corporis prior inspiceret, qui solus in pectore recumbebat. Unde geminos in alveum cordis sui traxerat fontes, quos in orbem idem postea revelationis et evangelii præco diffudit——Idem, ultra omnium tempora apostolorum ætate productâ, postremus evangelii scriptor fuisse memoratur; ut sicut de ipso vas electionis ait: [Gal. ii.] quasi columna firmamentum adjiceret fundamentis ecclesiæ, priores evangelii scriptores consonâ auctoritate confirmans; ultimus auctor libri tempore, sed primus in capite sacramenti. Quippe qui solus e quatuor fluminibus ex ipso summo divini capitis fonte decurrens de nube sublimi sonat: 'In principio erat verbum.' Transcendit Möysen——Iste et evangelistis cæteris, vel ab humano Salvatoris ortu, vel a typico legis sacrificio, vel a prophetico præcursoris Baptistæ præconio evangelium resurrectionis exorsis, altius volans, penetravit et cœlos. Ad Amand. Ep. 21. [al. 24.] n. 1, 2. p. 114.

[h] Joannes igitur, beatus Dominici pectoris cubator,—inebriatus Spiritu Sancto,—ab ipso intimo et infinito omnium principiorum principio evangelii fecit exordium. Quo uno omnia diaboli, quæ in hæreticis latrant, ora claudantur. Ibid. n. 4. p. 115.

[i] ——sicut illi in Actibus Apostolorum, qui, beati Petri prædicatione compuncti, crediderunt in eum quem crucifixerant. Ad Aug. Ep. 50. [al. 43.] n. 5. p. 295.

and all St. Paul's epistles, particularly that[k] to the Hebrews.

7. He[l] celebrates St. Luke as a physician for soul and body; whence it may be concluded, he supposed him to be spoken of in Col. iv. 14. At the same time he ascribes to St. Luke two books; undoubtedly meaning his gospel, and the Acts of the Apostles.

8. He often quotes the epistle of St. James, the first epistle of St. Peter, and the first epistle of St. John; but I do not recollect any quotations in him of the second epistle of St. Peter, or the epistle of St. Jude, or the second and third of St. John: though it may be reckoned highly probable, that they were all received by him.

9. He often quotes[m] or refers to the book of the Revelation, which is ascribed by him to the apostle John, in the passage above cited, and elsewhere.

10. He either read, or at least understood, the apostle's exhortation in 1 Cor. ix. 24, in this manner: 'So run,[n] that ye may all obtain.'

11. I put also in the margin[o] his translation of that expression, 1 Cor. ix. 27, "I keep under my body."

12. He quotes 1 Pet. ii. 23, after this manner: 'But[p] yielded [or committed] himself,' unto death, 'to him that judgeth unjustly.'

13. In a letter written to St. Augustine, in 410, or[q] soon after, he[r] asks of him the solution of divers questions, taken out of the Psalms, the apostle, and the gospel; those from the apostle are taken out of the epistle to the Ephesians, to the Romans, and other epistles of St. Paul.

[k] Itidem apostolus [Eph. vi.] spiritualiter exprimens arma cœlestia,—gladium Spiritûs dicit verbum Dei, de quo ad Hebræos ait: 'Vivus est sermo Dei, et efficax.' [Hebr. iv. 12.] Ad Aug. Ep. 50. n. 17. p. 302.

[l] Hic medicus Lucas prius arte, deinde loquelâ.
Bis medicus Lucas. Ut quondam corporis ægros
Terrenâ curabat ope, et nunc mentibus ægris
Composuit gemino vitæ medicamina libro.
P. 153. D. S. Felice Natal. 9. ver. 424. &c.

[m] Poteras, Roma, intentatas tibi illas in Apocalypsi minas non timere, si talia semper ederent munera senatores tui. Ad. Pamm. Ep. 13. [al. 37.] n. 15. p. 75.

[n] Quæ causa dicendi apostolo fuit: 'Sic currite, ut apprehendatis omnes.' Quod in agone terreno contra est, ubi non potest lucta nisi dispari luctantium sorte finiri, ut unius gloria alterius ignominia sit. Ad. Sever. Ep. 24. [al. 2.] n. 15. p. 161. Conf. Theodoret. in loc.

[o] Lividum facio corpus meum, et in servitutem redigo. Ad Aug. Ep. 50. n. 13. p. 299.

[p] Ad Aug. Ep. 50. [al 43.] n. 7. p. 296.

[q] See S. Paulin. Art. 49. Tillem. Mem. T. 14.

[r] Hæc interim de Psalmis. Nunc et de apostolo quodcumque proponam. Dicit ad Ephesios. Ad Aug. Ep. 50. n. 9. p. 297. Restat ut aliquid et de evangelicis locis suggeram beatitudini tuæ. Ib. n. 14. p. 299.

CHAP. CXXV.

PELAGIUS.

1. CAVE speaks of Pelagius at[a] the year 405, the supposed time of his publishing his heresy: Basnage,[b] at 412: Pagi,[c] at 410, and following years: in whom, as well as in many[d] others, his history may be seen. It is generally allowed, that he was a Briton; and many think, of the country now called Wales. His name was Morgan, or Marigena; which he changed into Pelagius, of more agreeable sound, and the same meaning. His remaining works, beside fragments, or quotations in Augustine and others, are, an[e] epistle to Demetrias, written in 413, or 414; a[f] Commentary upon all St. Paul's epistles, except that to the Hebrews; and,[g] a Confession of Faith, called Symbolum ad Damasum. The most beautiful edition of Pelagius's Commentaries that I know of, is in the twelfth tome of Le Clerc's edition of Augustine's works, which is an additional tome to the Benedictine edition; but the edition of these Commentaries, which I shall refer to, is that in the fifth tome of Martianay's edition of Jerom's works.

2. In the Symbol he says, that[h] he receives the New and Old Testament in the same number of books that the catholic church does. In[i] his Commentaries he vindicates the Old Testament against the Manichees: in his letter to Demetrias, he speaks[k] of the volumes of both the Testaments.

3. In his epistle to Demetrias, and in his Commentaries, he

[a] H. L. T. i. p. 381. [b] Ann. 412. n. 7. &c. [c] Ann. 410. n. 32. &c.
[d] See Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. xiii. S. Augustin. Art. 212—217.
[e] In Append. T. ii. Opp. Augustin. Bened. et T. v. Opp. Hieronym. p. 11—30. [f] Apud Hieron. ibid. p. 925.—1106.
[g] Ap. Hieron. ib. 122—124. et Baron. ann. 417. n. 31—36.
[h] Novum et Vetus Testamentum recipimus, in eo librorum numero, quem sanctæ catholicæ ecclesiæ tradit auctoritas. Symb. Expl. ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 124. [i] Si, dicentibus Manichæis crudelis asseritur Deus Veteris Testamenti,—quomodo hoc loco ab apostolo dicitur, a Deo Novi Testamenti vindictam hominibus inferendam? Comm. in Rom. cap. i. p. 928. M. Hieron. T. v.
[k] Plena sunt utriusque Testamenti volumina hujusmodi testimoniis. Ad Demetriad. p. 16. in cap. vii.—N. B. In quoting the epistle to Demetrias, the pages are those of St. Jerom's fifth tome; and the number of chapters, or sections, refers to the edition of the same epistle, in the appendix to the second tome of St. Augustine's works.

quotes many books of the Old and New Testament; particularly the Acts of the Apostles, the epistle of James, both the epistles of Peter. I need not refer to the places, nor transcribe the words.

4. Whether Pelagius received the epistle to the Hebrews may be questioned: it is, indeed, several times mentioned in [l] his Commentaries upon the thirteen epistles of Paul, but possibly some may suspect those passages to be interpolations: for, if he had received the epistles to the Hebrews as Paul's, he would have written a Commentary upon it, as well as upon the rest. However, it may not be amiss to recollect here, that in the chapter of Augustine it was observed, that [m] Julian, the Pelagian, freely quotes the epistle to the Hebrews as Paul's.

5. In his Commentaries, [n] he quotes the Revelation of John.

6. In his letter to Demetrias, Pelagius speaks highly to the advantage of the scriptures. He tells that lady, that [o] from them only she can receive a full knowledge of the will of God; and recommends to her [p] the study of them: he there [q] speaks of the scriptures, as an epistle sent to us from the Divine Majesty; and he thinks it strange, that men do not receive them with joy and veneration. Upon Coloss. iii. 16, he says, that [r] laymen ought to be skilful in the word of God; and, indeed, [s] Pelagius himself seems to have been always a layman, destitute of ecclesiastical honours: and upon 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17, he says, the [t] scriptures were designed for general use, that we might profit thereby.

7. I shall now observe a few other things, either various readings, or explications of texts.

[l] Sicut et ipse ad Hebræos perhibens docet. In Ep. ad Rom. cap. i. p. 928. Vid. et in Rom. cap. viii. p. 953. in 2 Cor. cap. iv. p. 1018. in Eph. c. v. p. 1058. in Coloss. cap. i. p. 1070. [m] See before, p. 509.

[n] Cum tradiderit regnum Deo et Patri.] Regnum scilicet humani generis, secundum Petri epistolam, et Apocalypsim Joannis, Patri tradendum adserit esse per filium. In 1 Cor. xv. p. 1007.

[o] Scito itaque, in scripturis divinis, per quas solus potes plenam Dei intelligere voluntatem, prohiberi quædam.—Ad Demetr. p. 17. in cap. 9.

[p] Propter quod maxime sanctarum scripturarum studium diligendum est; illuminanda divinis eloquiis anima: et, coruscante Dei verbo, diaboli repellendæ sunt tenebræ. Ib. p. 27. infr. m. cap. 26.

[q] Nobis vero Deus ipse, æterna illa majestas, ineffabilis atque inæstimabilis potestas, sacras literas, et vere adorandos præceptorum suorum apices mittit. Et non statim cum gaudio et veneratione suscipimus? p. 21. cap. 16.

[r] His ostenditur, verbum Christi non sufficienter, sed abundanter etiam laïcos habere debere; et docere se invicem, vel monere. Ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 1074. [s] Vid. Basnag. ann. 412. n. 8.

[t] Ideo data est legis instructio, ut ejus consilio cuncta facientes, juste justa faciamus. Ib. p. 1099.

8. He says, that [u] in some things in the seventh chapter to the Romans, Paul does not speak of himself, now a christian; but of another, still under the law.

9. St. Paul says, 1 Cor. v. 9, "I have written to you in an epistle." Pelagius [v] understands the apostle to mean the epistle which he was then writing: which I take to be right.

10. Upon Galat. i. 19, he says, that [w] James was called the Lord's brother, because he was son of Mary, wife of Cleophas, his mother's sister.

11. I scarce need to observe, that [x] he supposeth the epistle to the Ephesians to be written to the christians at Ephesus.

12. Upon Philip. ii. 14, he says, 'that [y] God works in us to will by persuasives, and setting before us rewards: and he who perseveres to the end will be saved.'

13. Pelagius was [z] an orthodox Homoüsian. And when Paul styles our Lord, Col. i. 15, "the first-born of every creature," or 'of the whole creation,' he [a] supposeth him to intend Christ's human nature; and not that he was first in point of time, but in point of honour and dignity: as Israel is called God's "first born," or best beloved, and most favoured.

14. I likewise put in the margin his explication of Col. i. 19, "that [b] in him should all fulness dwell."

15. In 1 Tim. iii. 16, he [c] had not "God," but 'which'

[u] Numquid non Paulus nondum erat Dei gratiâ liberatus? Unde probatur, quia ex alterius personâ hæc loquitur.—Et rursum in personâ ejus, qui sub lege erat, hæc loquitur. In Rom. cap. 7. ver. 24, 25. p. 948. in. Vid. et ad ver. 18. p. 947. M.

[v] Hoc ipsum in hac epistolâ ita scripsi, non ut a gentibus, sed ab his qui peccant in ecclesiâ separemini. Ad 1 Cor. v. p. 983.

[w] Unde Jacobus secundum cognationem frater Domini dicitur, quoniam de Mariâ Cleophæ, sorore matris Domini, natus esse monstratur. In Gal. p. 1037.

[x] 'Qui sunt Ephesi et fidelibus in Christo Jesu.'] Non omnibus Ephesiis, sed his qui credunt in Christo. In Eph. i. p. 1048.

[y] Velle operatur in nobis suadendo, et præmia promittendo. Qui perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit, &c. Ad. Philip. p. 1094.

[z] Credimus—in verum Dei filium, non factum, aut adoptivum, sed genitum, et unius cum Patre substantiæ, quod Græci dicunt ὁμοούσιον: atque ita per omnia æqualem Deo Patri, ut nec tempore, nec gradu, nec potestate, possit esse inferior. Symb. Explan. ad Damas. ap. Hieron. T. v. p. 122. Conf. Pagi ann. 405. n. 4.

[a] Primogenitus secundum assumti hominis formam, non tempore, sed honore, juxta illud: Filius meus primogenitus Israël. In Col. cap. 1. p. 1070.

[b] In aliis, hoc est, in apostolis, patriarchis, vel prophetis, gratia fuit ex parte. In Christo autem tota divinitas habitavit corporaliter, quasi si dicas summaliter. Ibid. p. 1070.

[c] 'Et manifeste magnum est pietatis sacramentum, quod manifestatum est

" was manifest in the flesh." The [d] same reading is in another Commentary upon St. Paul's thirteen epistles, ascribed to Hilary the deacon: of which an account was given formerly.

in carne.'] Quod scire te cupio sacramentum incarnationis Christi, per quem generi humano pietas collata est. p. 1090.

[d] See p. 385.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

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